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JUNE 2, 1923

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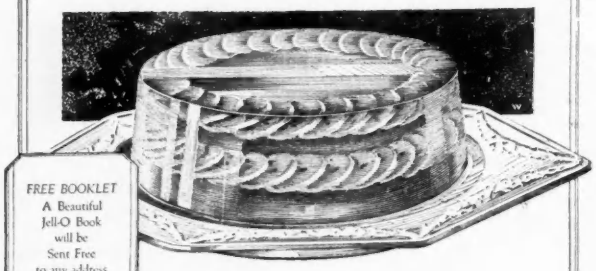

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MOVING about among our colleges this spring and summer is a quiet yet vivid little figure from India. She is Miss Hansa Manubhai N. Mehta (right), daughter of the Prime Minister of Baroda, who is here to study curricula for a women's college in Gujarat Province, India. Miss Mehta herself is a graduate of Bombay University—a coeducational government school, and studied two years in London University. But the Women's Educational Association, which she organized, doesn't consider coeducation as practised in government schools good enough. They want a college to meet Indian women's needs—nursing and domestic science, their own Indian music and art. We are to hear more about it.

THE row below holds two new college deans. At the far left is Miss Bernice V. Brown, the new young Dean of Radcliffe College. She graduated there herself only seven years ago, taking a Radcliffe A. M. and a Radcliffe Ph. D. at two-year intervals afterward. Since 1921 Miss Brown has been Director of the Training School for Public Service in Boston, teaching as well as organizing.

At the right is Miss Annie W. Goodrich, dean of the new school of nursing at Yale University—the first of its sort to be organized at a great university. Miss Goodrich has been teaching nursing at Columbia University and is director of nurses at Henry Street Settlement.

© *Marceau, Boston.*

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IN the center of the page is Miss Grace Abbott, chief of the Children's Bureau and recently representative (unofficial) of the United States at the League of Nations Conference on Traffic in Women and Children. To her has just been added the honor of election as the next president of the National Conference of Social Work; but let Mrs. Stokes tell the story of her choice, page 12.

© *Wide World Photos.*

HERE, in the midst of the Roman Forum, is Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, which shows that she worked in some sightseeing along with the triumphs of the recent Rome Suffrage Congress. Mrs. Catt is now on her way home after an eight months' tour of Europe and South America in the interests of woman suffrage. The summary of her South American survey is published in this issue.

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Vol. LII Old Style
Vol. VIII New Style No. 2

OUR OWN DINGBATS

SOME of those Shriners, wearing their delightful red caps with reading on them, have spilled over from Washington and are brightening up our mayor's jubilee. ◈ ◈ ◈ They have started us to wondering why women don't have all these mystic doings too—or do they? Lady auxiliaries of course we know about; but we suspect that the impulse to call themselves by the names of various denizens of the primeval forest, or the trees thereof; to wear badges and sashes and turbans, is a masculine trait. ◈ ◈ ◈ A throwback, no doubt, to the old days of velvet and doublet and lace, and compensation for their usual quiet plumage. ◈ ◈ ◈ And lest some stray Shriner husband see this, we hasten to admit (in advance) that no, women don't need to put on war paint and queer clothes for special occasions. ◈ ◈ ◈ But it seems that masculine conservatism in dress is ended now. ◈ ◈ ◈ If the stories are true, many a European barnyard is being robbed of bright colored feathers for our husbands and fathers and such to wear in their hats next winter. ◈ ◈ ◈ Of course the reports may be exaggerated. ◈ ◈ ◈ Speaking of zoos, some day we'll tell you the lion story Mrs. Catt told at her welcome home luncheon last week, if she doesn't tell you herself. ◈ ◈ ◈ Our family has recently been in Marion, Ohio, and met the man who first persuaded Mr. Harding to make a speech—a lodge speech, too. ◈ ◈ ◈ And now look you, not only is Mr. Harding President, making good speeches twice a week or so, but he is a Tall Cedar besides. ◈ ◈ ◈ If it is still true that the black bears of Alaska are under one authority and the brown under another, there's a job cut out for him on his trip. ◈ ◈ ◈ That's class feeling for you. ◈ ◈ ◈ Un-American. ◈ ◈ ◈ We haven't been able to think up any way of getting to that world education meeting in California. ◈ ◈ ◈ too big, this country is ◈ ◈ ◈ but this number of the "Citizen" is attending, anyhow, under the chaperonage of the California Civic Center. ◈ ◈ ◈ We do hope that all the strangers notice that it contains one (1) university professor and one (1) state superintendent of education—in their honor. ◈ ◈ ◈ Every once in a while we start in to explore our neighborhood again. ◈ ◈ ◈ It used to be the whole city and parts adjacent, in our youth. ◈ ◈ ◈ Well, not far from us is a little sign that says, "Coffee, three cents." Two doors away is another such sign which reads: "Coffee, five cents. But coffee." ◈ ◈ ◈ Cheapness isn't everything in this world. Not when it comes to coffee anyhow. ◈ ◈ ◈ We would go so far as to pay ten cents. ◈ ◈ ◈ We are going to have a brief look at the ocean in a few days, and wishing no harm to anyone, we are hoping that it stands right up on end. ◈ ◈ ◈ We always consider a flat ocean overestimated —except for bathing purposes. Then we prefer it not only flat but shallow a mile out. And with a lot of shore.

© *Genthe, N. Y.*

THIS is the Home Sweet Home house of the Better Homes campaign which was dedicated June 4. It stands in front of the Treasury in Washington, a stone's throw from the White House, and it was designed —by Don Barber— from the Payne Homestead on Long Island which inspired the writing of Home Sweet Home a hundred years ago. The Department of Agriculture transplanted the trees and shrubs to make the house look as if it had grown there. The rambler roses over the door were, by a special process fooled into blooming this year, contrary to their schedule.

ALL six continents sent delegates to the Suffrage Congress held in Rome last month, and the women pictured in the top row represent three of them. At the left is the fascinating young Brazilian, Bertha Lutz, whom this country knows and loves. At the left is Dr. Margherita Ancona of Italy, noted suffragist and professor of literature. In the center is Mme. Caraoui, of Egypt — for indeed the women of Egypt are joining in this feminist movement with energy and zest. They are making an earnest effort to win freedom from the veil and all it implies.

June 4-10 was Better Homes Week—the second. Mrs. William Brown Meloney, Editor of the **Delineator,** (the lady speaking on the doorstep in the picture), started the movement going last year, and is its secretary. She has lined up with her on a National Council a long list of important people—including Mr. Hoover; the movement has been endorsed by the President; and by the General Federation of Women's Clubs, which built this house and will make it a permanent exhibit. When it was opened so were hundreds of demonstration houses throughout the country, for education in all phases of home life, while during the week lectures on home making and home life were broadcasted from the University of Wisconsin.

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WHY has New York City had so low a baby death rate and so fine a record for its children's health? That's easy—Dr. S. Josephine Baker, organizer of its Bureau of Child Hygiene in 1908, and its Director ever since —until now. She has just resigned, and that is widely felt to be no less than "civic calamity." Last year Dr. Baker was appointed a representative of the United States on the Health Committee of the League of Nations; she is consultant in Child Hygiene in the United States Public Health Service and the New York State Department of Health. She teaches in two universities and lectures. So that it is clear she is not retiring to be idle.

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Vol. LII Old Style
Vol. VIII New Style No. 3

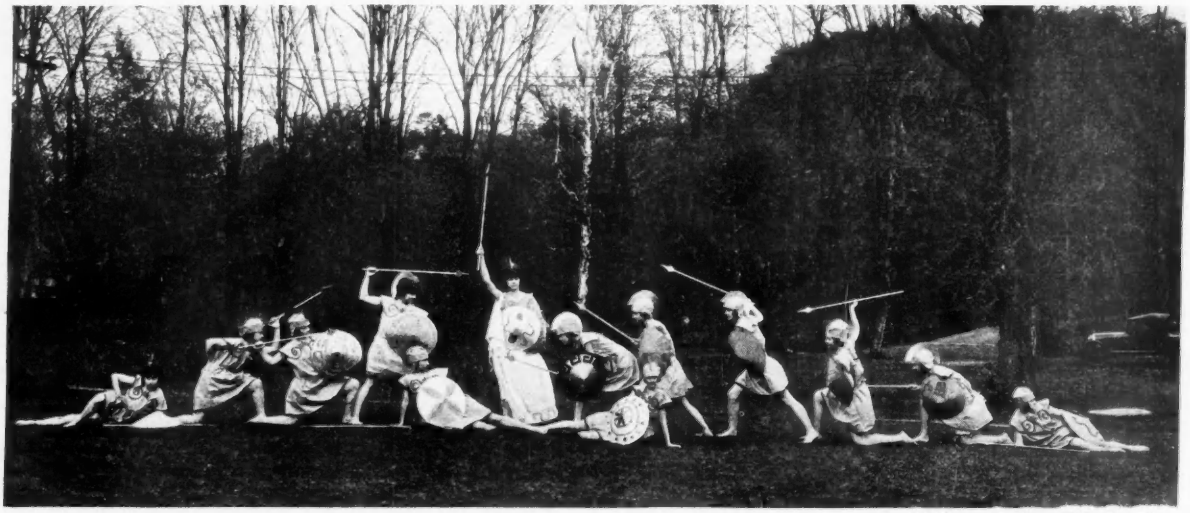
OUR OWN DINGBATS

WE are dingbatting early this time for fear we lose our theme. ◈ ◈ ◈ It might—it just might—cool off and we should be left all exhausted by the heat and with nothing to talk about. ◈ ◈ ◈ It's one of the tricky things about magazines. You try to fix one up and it's too hot and you don't give a continental and you are sure no one else does, either. ◈ ◈ ◈ But you can't just let it go at that and leave a few pages blank, because in the interval between putting the magazine to bed and its appearance in its readers' hands the weather will betray you, and a nice fresh invigorated lot of people will have no charity. ◈ ◈ ◈ Besides, some of them go to cool vacation places for all summer, likely. ◈ ◈ ◈ Only we'd better not think about that. ◈ ◈ ◈ Just the same if we had some of those poems that go

The sun
is
hot
A lot

we should run several. ◈ ◈ ◈ And the only question we will argue is whether linen is, or isn't, cooler, or hotter, than voile. ◈ ◈ ◈ And if so, why? ◈ ◈ ◈ There is a sign on Forty-second Street that says "Horse and Mule Jewelry Sold Here." ◈ ◈ ◈ But we haven't time to hang around and observe the characteristic choices made by the two classes of animals. ◈ ◈ ◈ And in this heat probably they have given up wearing it anyhow. ◈ ◈ ◈ The ocean tipped over a little for us, but it didn't stand on end. It was highly satisfactory, though, combined with a place where there are no autos nor auto horns, no picture shows, nor paint on houses—only lovely grays and greens (including poison ivy.) ◈ ◈ ◈ The sea is an acquired taste with us, but it is pretty strong. We'd love it unreservedly if we had curly hair. ◈ ◈ ◈ We don't want ever to hear anything more about newspaper work making men callous. The story which the "Epworth Herald" collected for itself at first hand in the "New York Times" office proves the contrary. ◈ ◈ ◈ A group of young reporters and special writers had become friendly with a pleasant little group of mice (we had an office mouse once ourself, named Alexander, and know how attached one gets to them), when one day they found the official cat of a restaurant that had been closed by prohibition wandering starved and wretched (Please don't accuse us of writing sob stuff in the interest of liquor.) ◈ ◈ ◈ Well, they just had to take that cat in. ◈ ◈ ◈ Then they began to worry about the mice. ◈ ◈ ◈ But they solved the problem by putting up little warning notices—BEWARE THE CAT—low down on the desks where the mice could see them. ◈ ◈ ◈ The sequel is strangely silent about the mice, but the prohibition victim is incredibly sleek and fat. ◈ ◈ ◈ Our interest in radio has reached a peak. ◈ ◈ ◈ We listened to our President—for forty-five minutes—explain the railroads to Kansas City.

P. S.—Our Cousin has a Tooth.



© Harry Gordon, Holyoke, Mass.

THIS is not simply a page of pretty pictures. It is one little expression of the fine physical freedom college girls enjoy these days. Not so did our mothers disport themselves at school. Not so did we, if we are a couple of decades out. Now, recreation has moved outdoors, in a hundred forms. College dramatics, even—as witness the photographs of the Odyssey, just given by Mount Holyoke girls. Above, you see, is the dance of the warriors, after the return of Odysseus, and below at the left is the Princess Nausicaa's chariot. For the story, we refer you to your memories—or, maybe more reliable, to an English version of the play! Next to the Princess are some Wellesley girls in an extra-curriculum dancing class that carries on in the big outdoors as a dancing club, and exhibits the lovely grace that goes with freedom. In the center are Smith girls, in still lighter vein—Float Day, whereon the girls go the length of being a jolly lot of pirates. Float Day this year was featured by a pageant of floats representing well-known songs. You are allowed to guess the title of this one.

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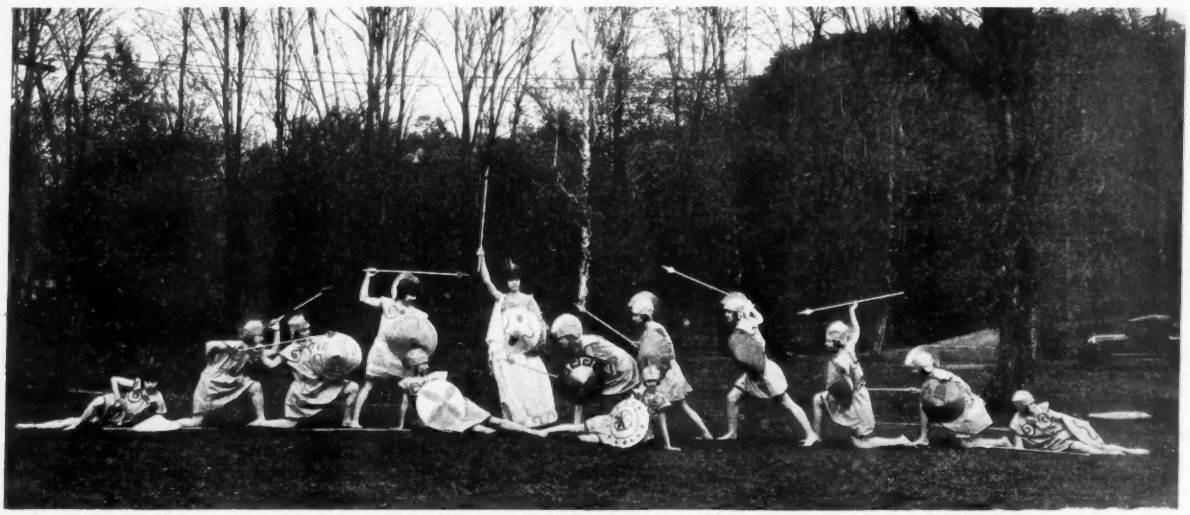
Vol. VIII New Style No. 4

OUR OWN DINGBATS

ALMOST everybody is somewhere else now. ◈ ◈ ◈ though we will say the city doesn't look empty. ◈ ◈ ◈ Well, there are thousands of summer students up here on our hill and they fill up things a lot, including the restaurants. ◈ ◈ ◈ It is the witching time of year when all the letters you write have to be forwarded, and when you send telegrams you are told please don't do it again because they have to be telephoned over a bad line, or delivered by hand across a wilderness and therefore cost the recipient one dollar. ◈ ◈ ◈ Magazines either should not be run in summer, or else should be written by people guaranteed to stay in the place where **Who's Who** says they are (We hope our contributors catch the subtle compliment) ◈ ◈ ◈ Probably radio will soon change all this, and we can just send our voice careering out across the United States paging contributors up mountains and across seas. Speed the day! ◈ ◈ ◈ It is also the time of year when illustrated newspaper sections have a high proportion of sprawled, muscular arms and legs, with nothing on, being tossed over hurdles or along race tracks, or in and out of waves. ◈ ◈ ◈ And it's nearly fifty-fifty men and women, with no way in particular to tell the difference except maybe the way the girls' hair is bound. ◈ ◈ ◈ It certainly is moving fast, this world. ◈ ◈ ◈ And now a physician tells us that pretty soon it will be considered a crime to die at less than seventy-five. ◈ ◈ ◈ We can't help wondering how that crime will be punished. ◈ ◈ ◈ Have we told you the story (out of the Youth's Companion) of the little girl who for the first time saw a cat carrying her kitten by the nape of the neck?—a startling sight, we admit, ◈ ◈ ◈ The child was shocked and indignant. ◈ ◈ ◈ "Kitty, you ain't fit to be a mother," she called scathingly. "You ain't hardly fit to be a father!" ◈ ◈ ◈ They don't say what kind of a father the little girl had. ◈ ◈ ◈ We see that some of the waitresses in Selfridge's store restaurant in London are wearing trousers—nice baggy ones, very becoming. ◈ ◈ ◈ The claim is that the girls can get around faster. ◈ ◈ ◈ So if that's true, we'll know what to complain of hereafter when service is slow. ◈ ◈ ◈ Every day brings fresh revelations of the multitudinous qualifications a President of these United States must have. ◈ ◈ ◈ Driving a tractor is the latest, and not unimportant either. ◈ ◈ ◈ We know, even though we never did more than sit in the seat of a plough, when it was plowing. ◈ ◈ ◈ Hereafter, the list of questions we ask about our candidates will have to include tractor training. ◈ ◈ ◈ We have received no encouragement to campaign for cooler clothes for men. ◈ ◈ ◈ Is it possible that women like men that way? Does it minister to their superiority complex? If we are bucking a complex we might as well quit right now. ◈ ◈ ◈ But maybe, just maybe, the men think it would lead to silk hose again, and fear the modern leg wouldn't stand it.



© Harry Gordon, Holyoke, Mass.

THIS is not simply a page of pretty pictures. It is one little expression of the fine physical freedom college girls enjoy these days. Not so did our mothers disport themselves at school. Not so did we, if we are a couple of decades out. Now, recreation has moved outdoors, in a hundred forms. College dramatics, even—as witness the photographs of the Odyssey, just given by Mount Holyoke girls. Above, you see, is the dance of the warriors, after the return of Odysseus, and below at the left is the Princess Nausicaa's chariot. For the story, we refer you to your memories—or, maybe more reliable, to an English version of the play! Next to the Princess are some Wellesley girls in an extra-curriculum dancing class that carries on in the big outdoors as a dancing club, and exhibits the lovely grace that goes with freedom. In the center are Smith girls, in still lighter vein—Float Day, whereon the girls go the length of being a jolly lot of pirates. Float Day this year was featured by a pageant of floats representing well-known songs. You are allowed to guess the title of this one.

© John Farnum, Springfield Republican.

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© *Wide World Photo*

THE third woman to sit in the British House of Commons, Mabel Philipson, is an unknown quantity politically, since she has never taken part in public life. She is personally attractive, she was a good musical comedy actress and she has been cordially received by Lady Astor and Mrs. Wintringham, who believe she will stand with them on women's measures. Mrs. Philipson won a big majority, from a conservative constituency who were sympathetic over the unseating of their elected candidate, her husband.

ETHEL M. JOHNSON (below) is again named Assistant Commissioner of Labor in Massachusetts. When her term expired last fall no action was taken to fill the place, though her appointment was urged by most of the women's organizations in the state, and such women as Alice Stone Blackwell. But hostile agencies were working against her and one damag ng falsehood after another was issued. The fact is that the protective legislation of Massachusetts for women and children is disliked by certain powerful interests, and Miss Johnson, with the applicat on of the minimum wage law under her special jurisdiction, was not popular with them. Women throughout the state, and farther, will rejoice in her re-appointment.

© *Mme. Albin Guillot, Paris*

THE picture above shows Margery Corbett Ashby, who was elected President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance at its Congress in Rome. Mrs. Corbett Ashby has long been the efficient secretary of the Alliance, and an effective worker for the cause of women in England and abroad.

Mrs. Ashby writes that it is a "difficult task to follow so distingu shed a citizen of your country as Mrs. Catt," and that leads to Mrs. Catt's latest photograph, in the center of the page. Founder of the Alliance in 1902, its first and only president until now, Mrs. Catt declined to stand for reelection, but consented finally to become Honorary President of the Alliance.

© *Bachrach, Boston*

IT is good news that women are now to have representation on the Republican National Committee. A woman from each state is to be chosen Associate member. F.rst of these in point of time was Mrs. Gordon Battelle, of Columbus, Ohio (right), unofficially picked out by both national and state chairmen before the vote for associate members was taken. The choice was then confirmed at once. See opposite page for other names.

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Vol. LII Old Style
Vol. VIII New Style No. 5

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Roy Carruthers *Managing Director*

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The NEW WILLARD
WASHINGTON, D. C.
Frank S. Hight, Managing Director

L. M. Boomer, President

—

Ask for Booklet
"Milady's Home-Away-From-Home"

© *Wide World Photos*

TWELVE Junior college girls are guests of the New York Charity Organization Society, to learn what Sociology textbooks mean in terms of Avenue A. Miss Clare M. Tousley, who ought to be in the picture above, but isn't, is in charge. The girls' are Elizabeth Waterman, Barnard; Mary E. Rodney, Bryn Mawr; Katharine Slayter, Connecticut; Ann McCracken, Elmira; Ruth Blakeslee, Goucher; Mary Bruyn, Mt. Holyoke; Mary Killam, Radcliffe; Jane Griswold, Smith; Esther Briegel, Swarthmore; Janet F. Wurlitzer, Vassar; Mary R. Richards, Wells; Carroll McCarty, Wellesley. The entire expenses of "Junior Month" are met by a gift from a board member of this Society. During their four weeks' stay from July 4 to August 2, these twelve Juniors live, eat, work and play together learning how the various fields of social work dovetail to make the profession in which they are contemplating service. Each Junior is selected by a student-faculty committee from her college. Some of the topics covered are Housing and Health, Child Welfare, Delinquency, Family Social Work, Immigration, Hospital Social Service, Industrial Personnel, Prison Reform, and Social Work with the Mentally and Physically Handicapped.

© *Underwood & Underwood, N. Y. C.*

AT the left, President and Mrs. Harding, on their Western trip, are shown in friendly greeting to some Ute Indian squaws, with special attention to the papooses. Babies first!

THE new president of the National Education Association, Miss Olive M. Jones, knows public schools from A to Z—and a large number of other important matters besides. She is originator and first principal of the day probationary school and is in charge of the entire work for delinquents in New York City.

© *Nikolas Muray, N. Y. C.*

© *Wide World Photos*

Mrs. Raymond Robins

IN this frame of mind, Mrs. Raymond Robins sailed to preside at the Congress of the International Federation of Working Women to be held at Vienna in August. Mrs. Robins is president of the Federation.

ONE of those "twelve greatest American women," Miss Martha Van Rensselaer is beginning just about now to explain Better Homes Week to Belgium. The work is to be in co-operation with the American Relief Administration, with the Belgian Government friendly. Miss Van Rensselaer's field, needless to say, is home economics.

© *Curtis Bell, Inc., N. Y. C.*

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Furs purchased during August Fur Sale will be stored without charge until November 1st.

Charge purchases made during the August Fur Sale will appear on bills mailed November 1st.

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Vol. LII Old Style
Vol. VIII New Style No. 6

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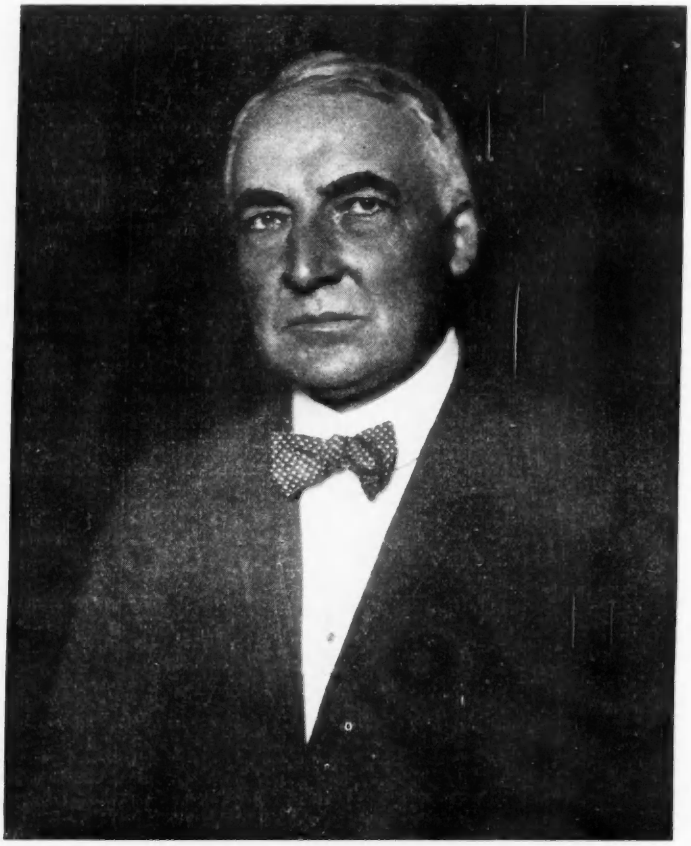
IT'S summer all right. We know it if for no other reason (but there are other reasons) from the appearance of shark stories. ◈ ◈ ◈ We worried about friends who were sea-bathing near the locale picked out by the reporters. ◈ ◈ ◈ Now they are home, intact, and they had heard no more about a shark than the account of a stuffed one in the local museum. ◈ ◈ ◈ Maybe it is taken out annually on a rope. ◈ ◈ ◈ Didn't we tell you something would happen as a result of this vacation practice? Well, a few hundreds of you, anyhow, found we were right, on a page in the last issue where the absence of a line in the Bookshelf turned it into a guessing game. ◈ ◈ ◈ When the alarm was finally raised the printer found the lost line and stopped the presses to tuck it in for the rest of you. ◈ ◈ ◈ Did any one notice that nice "yellow" title in the last editorial department? ◈ ◈ ◈ Yes, "The Bootlegger's Partner." ◈ ◈ ◈ We shall be writing for the sensational fiction magazines yet. ◈ ◈ ◈ The Public Health Service asks you earnestly to count your children's teeth, and when you get to No. 6 from the middle, lower jaw, don't let it be pulled. ◈ ◈ ◈ It seems people have serious illusions about No. 6 and generally regard it as the kind doomed to come out in childhood, whereas it should be the keystone of the arch indefinitely, or something like that. ◈ ◈ ◈ All together now, count! ◈ ◈ ◈ Perhaps the reason we noticed this is that Dr. Alsop has got us so sensitive over health. We carry her reduction diet around in our handbag, and her talk about exercise has increased our morning gestures considerably. ◈ ◈ ◈ When it comes to rushing around in the sun just for the sake of perspiring, well—we'll see next week. ◈ ◈ ◈ We are going where to a pleasing lake will be added two nice children and one dog. ◈ ◈ ◈ No, that doesn't sound right. ◈ ◈ ◈ We are almost sure the parents wouldn't like it. ◈ ◈ ◈ And besides, we are so much more likely than any one else to be added to that lake. And we don't mean to be. ◈ ◈ ◈ We are much intrigued by the idea of the woman horse-clipper of whom we have read, and maybe if that lake country abounds in horses we shall take steps to adopt a new profession. ◈ ◈ ◈ A restless world, isn't it? Now we hear that the Japanese women are starting a movement to get out of kimonos into European dress. ◈ ◈ ◈ Just think of what they will have to stand before they emerge—what social and economic crimes they will be charged with. ◈ ◈ ◈ We wonder that already the idea hasn't been labeled "out of Soviet Russia." ◈ ◈ ◈ With the number of things that have come out of that country, it is a wonder it isn't completely empty. ◈ ◈ ◈ We like the note about the oldest woman in Connecticut, who at 107 has had her taxes abated "forever," on the ground that she is past taxing age. Personally we think the town owes her money.



© *Underwood & Underwood, N. Y. C.*

THE President whose administration saw the first international agreement to reduce armament is secure in history. The man, Warren G. Harding, is secure in the hearts of mourning millions for his big-hearted kindness and friendliness. To the great number already his admirers, the trip west, on which he gave himself with tragic generosity to closer acquaintance with the people, has added thousands. It is doubtful whether any President was ever better loved. He died, a sacrifice to presidential duty, when the world's respect and esteem for him was steadily mounting.

© *P. & O., Inc., N. Y.*

THERE could be no finer example of courage than Mrs. Harding's through the hard fight of her own illness, then the sudden shock of her husband's and the great grief of his death. Throughout their life before the nation the Hardings have been a beautiful instance of married comradeship, and their unaffected cordial friendliness has won hosts of friends. Mrs. Harding has well deserved the fine old characterization of "helpmate."

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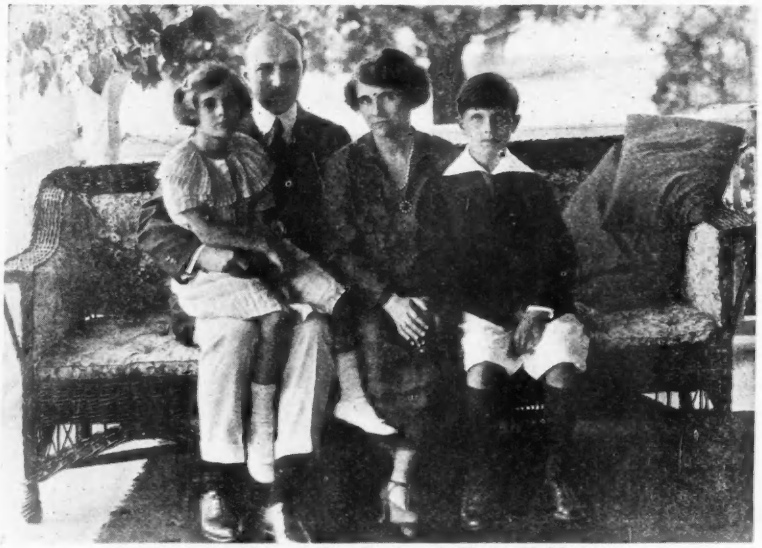
Ask for Booklet
"Milady's Home-Away-From-Home"

Successful Wives with Successful Careers



Mr. and Mrs. Ogden Reid and Their Children

AMONG the very successful careerists who combine with their work a happy home life is May Wilson Preston, whose illustrations always exhibit the last word in smartness and dash. Mrs. Preston finds her most helpful critic in her husband, James Preston, who is well known both as an illustrator and as a painter in oils. Besides their handsome studios in New York, the Prestons have a charming summer workshop at Bellport, Long Island. If Mrs. Preston had not made an enviable position for herself as an illustrator, because of her original handling of materials and colors she would have been in great vogue as an interior decorator. She is never as happy as when directing the carrying out of an entirely new scheme of decoration.

© *Arnold Genthe, N. Y. C.*

Inez Haynes Irwin
(Mrs. Will Irwin)

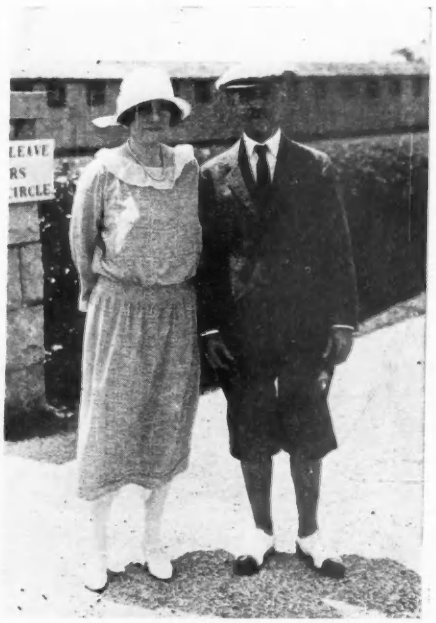
AS treasurer of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party, Mrs. Reid was largely responsible for raising the funds for the campaign which won suffrage for the women of that state. As advertising director of the New York Tribune, she has been extraordinarily successful in increasing its advertising prestige. In addition, Mrs. Reid is a devoted mother, especially interested in educational problems, and an enthusiastic Republican.

MRS. WHITEHOUSE made the transition almost overnight from being a social leader in New York and Newport to being a leader in the woman suffrage movement. Mr. Whitehouse's views on a married woman's career were given in the Citizen of August 11.

© *Paul Thompson, N. Y. C.*

Mr. and Mrs. James Preston

INEZ HAYNES IRWIN made her first reputation with a delightful series of magazine stories, "Phoebe and Ernest." She took a typical boy and girl and followed them through the trials and joys of adolescence to marriage, with an extraordinary understanding of the psychology of young people. Since then many short stories and several novels have come from her pen. During and since the war, Mrs. Irwin has spent much time abroad with her husband, the well-known war correspondent.



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Mr. and Mrs. Norman deR. Whitehouse

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37th and 38th Sts. New York

Frock worn by Miss Martha Lorber

For Mademoiselle

EXACT COPY OF PAQUIN'S MOST SUCCESSFUL MODEL

COAT FROCKS OF CHARMEEN

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This is the Frock Being Worn Now by Smartest Young Women

CHARMEEN IS THE NEW WOOL FABRIC WITH ALL THE SOFT LUSTRE OF BROADCLOTH.

COLORS: NAVY BLUE OR BLACK, WITH A BIT OF WHITE RIBBON ON THE COLLAR. SABLE BROWN WITH MATCHING RIBBON.

Sizes 14 to 20 years

The Woman Citizen

Founded June 2, 1917, continuing *The Woman's Journal*, founded in 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published weekly from 1870 to 1917.

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Vol. LII Old Style.
Vol. VIII New Style. No. 8

OUR OWN DINGBATS

WELL, we have had a half portion vacation. ◆ ◆ ◆ Very fine. ◆ ◆ ◆ We didn't drown,and we have added one to the list of people who teach us to swim. ◆ ◆ ◆ They really ought to incorporate. ◆ ◆ ◆ And one day we hit a small but precocious golf ball a number of times (yes, at each effort), listened to language all full of brassies and putters and niblicks, and suspected that our cherished golf scorn might melt if we risked it often. ◆ ◆ ◆ We also learned by close acquaintance with an amateur caddie (mercy, not ours; it was no trouble to see *our* ball) that one place women have not made good is with this class of youth. ◆ ◆ ◆ You get three guesses as to why. ◆ ◆ ◆ All this we recall through a thick haze of laws passed and fights fought and women elected in which we have been living since. ◆ ◆ ◆ We shall take the rest of that vacation when folks begin to write in and say, Yes, but you didn't tell all about *our* state. But before we start we are going to get a copy of "Moby Dick" to finish. ◆ ◆ ◆ The amateur caddie had one, and we took it from him. ◆ ◆ ◆ We don't care a straw if it is a child's book. ◆ ◆ ◆ We waited till late maturity to read "Treasure Island," and we are not going to be separated from those engaging "Moby Dick" whalers by any convention of classified bookshelves. ◆ ◆ ◆ No, we don't like this city, again. ◆ ◆ ◆ We have been reading some one's rhapsodies about it with a snort. ◆ ◆ ◆ Too full, too noisy, too dirty. ◆ ◆ ◆ And no one need tell us we shouldn't like to live anywhere else. ◆ ◆ ◆ We know that. ◆ ◆ ◆ It would serve us right, we have been told, if we had to stay frozen in at that Vermont lakeside all winter, with no way to get out save an axe. ◆ ◆ ◆ At last some one (we can't find her letter in our piled-up correspondence, so will she please accept our thanks here?) has joined our campaign for freedom in men's clothes. She urges us, in case we are thinking of designing a costume—we really hadn't got that far—to remember that men often have good-looking throats and to give them not only absence of collar but becoming V's or bateau necks. ◆ ◆ ◆ We fear she is far in advance of her times, judging from the commotion created in the British House of Commons by the member who came on a hot day minus collar, tie or collar button, with his shirt turned down. ◆ ◆ ◆ But then that is hardly the line along which you would expect Englishmen to pioneer. ◆ ◆ ◆ Now that school is about to open we'll tell you this one about James A. Garfield, when he was president of Hiram College, Ohio: A father took his son to enter, and asked if a short course couldn't be arranged, because the boy "couldn't take all those studies." "Oh, yes," said Mr. Garfield, "he can take a short course; it all depends on what you want to make of him. When God wants to make an oak he takes a hundred years, but he only takes two months to make a squash."

THE honor of the presidency of the International Federation of Working Women now goes to Belgium. At the third biennial Congress of the Federation, held in August, at Schoenbrun Castle, Vienna, Mrs. Raymond Robins, of Chicago, firmly declined re-election as president, and Mlle. Hélène Burniaux, at the right, was chosen second president of the Federation. She is a Belgian school teacher, a member of the Belgian Federation of Trade Unions, and was in the United States in 1919 as technical adviser to the Belgian delegation at the International Labor Conference. Mrs. Robins was president of the first International Congress of Working Women, held in Washington in the autumn of 1919, became president of the permanent organization, and was re-elected at Geneva in 1921.

The action of the third Congress in regard to labor legislation is reported on page 23 of this issue. The Congress also went on record in favor of the World Court.

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ANOTHER feather in the cap of California is the tennis genius of Helen Wills. Only seventeen years old, and without professional training, Miss Wills defeated Mrs. Mallory and so won the national championship. (Left)

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE has reappointed Mrs. John Jacob Rogers, of Massachusetts, as his representative to visit veterans' hospitals throughout the country. Mrs. Rogers received her first appointment from President Harding.

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IF "a policeman's life is not a happy one," how about a policewoman's? The occupation is by no means unusual, in big and little cities throughout the country, and women are making good at it. New York City has had policewomen for a long time, and the sturdy, pleasant group here are the newest appointees. Thirty-three are in the act of being sworn in. Ten are to be regular patrolwomen, assigned to patrol dance halls and look after wayward girls; twenty-three will be in charge of women prisoners brought to the stations.

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GOWNS OF CHIFFON VELVET AND BEADED SILK CRÊPE ROMA
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Model 85—BODICES OF CRÊPE ROMA in matching or contrasting color, beaded and fur trimmed. Panel of velvet in back; skirts of velvet.

BLACK VELVET with Lanvin green, French blue or black bodices; brown with beige or brown bodices.

GOWN SHOP FOR MADAME—*Fourth Floor*

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Vol. LII Old Style.
Vol. VIII New Style. No. 9

Your Homes Away-From-Home

Whenever you wish to come—

As long as you like to stay!

This is your cordial and standing invitation from three world famous hotels where every woman traveler is a "special" guest.

The woman traveler appreciates dignity of address, the protection of substantial management, and the prestige of desirable associations.

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PHILADELPHIA
James P. A. O'Conor, Managing Director

The NEW WILLARD
WASHINGTON, D. C.
Frank S. Hight, Managing Director

L. M. Boomer, President

Ask for Booklet
"Milady's Home-Away-From-Home"

Underwood & Underwood, N. Y. C.

Halide Edib Hanoum

ONE of the leading women of Turkey, Halide Edib Hanoum, wields great influence in the Nationalist Government. She is a graduate of the American College in Constantinople.

Belle Kearney

MISSISSIPPI has honored itself by electing Miss Belle Kearney, of Madison County, to its Senate. Miss Kearney is a suffragist, a well-known lecturer, a leader.

White Studio, N. Y.

Mrs. Fiske

AN early event of the theatrical season is Mrs. Fiske's success in St. John G. Ervine's comedy, "Mary, Mary Quite Contrary," "full of gay nonsense" and much light satire on women's (and others') foibles.

MRS. MARY ELLEN SMITH, of British Columbia, the first and only woman in Canada to be appointed Cabinet Minister, has recently been warmly welcomed in England on a human-political mission.

Francis Dickie, Heriot Bay, Canada

Mary Ellen Smith

Miriam Finn Scott

MIRIAM FINN SCOTT, lecturer, writer and child diagnostician, has something to say on page 8.

Franklin Simon & Co.
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37th and 38th Sts., New York

The New Bramley Blouse

Registered in the United States Patent Office

OF A NEW IMPORTED CRÊPE—A SILK AND WOOL FABRIC

13.75

Originated by and exclusive with Franklin Simon & Co.

Model 95—Bramley boyish collar and link cuffs of white linen. Colors: black or navy blue.

Prompt delivery free anywhere in the United States

BLOUSE SHOP—*Second Floor*

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Vol. LII Old Style.
Vol. VIII New Style. No. 10

OUR OWN DINGBATS

WE have a confession to make. ◆ ◆ ◆ Doubtless the New York newspaper strike was a grievous thing, with all sorts of distressing effects. But we do like the nice little thin papers they got out during the trouble, and we dread to see them becoming corpulent and non-portable again. ◆ ◆ ◆ We prefer a paper that isn't so hard on the arms. ◆ ◆ ◆ A really pleasant bit of news from France is that a company of watchdogs are to have their salaries raised. They are the watchdogs of the French arsenals, and no dog, official or otherwise, should be asked to live on ten cents a month. ◆ ◆ ◆ Have we told you about the serious menace to beauty and grace that is hanging over the entire human race? ◆ ◆ ◆ *Talipes auto-varus*, it is called; in other words, pigeon-toedness affecting the right foot, due to the constant use of that foot on the accelerator of motor cars. ◆ ◆ ◆ Think of poor Mr. Ford's awful fame when once this trait has been confirmed and become characteristic. ◆ ◆ ◆ That convention of hairdressers who outlawed bobbed hair reckoned without their Mary Garden. ◆ ◆ ◆ She has come back with a shingle bob and is advertising it. ◆ ◆ ◆ What's more, she has come back with a philosophy toward fat that sounds wonderful but will never change the contour of humanity, namely, that the only thing that causes fat is eating. Therefore, she says, she will never weigh more than 120 pounds. ◆ ◆ ◆ No popular reduction system there. ◆ ◆ ◆ We bring in these little references to health because of the absence from our pages this time of Dr. Alsop, who is busy getting Barnard College started on its 1923-24 health. ◆ ◆ ◆ Can *you* take a large photograph and say, Go to, I will cause this photograph to appear in three by two inches (see page 4), and then with ruler, pencil, string, algebra and a trick-card and time (lots of that), do it. ◆ ◆ ◆ *We* can. ◆ ◆ ◆ We had to. ◆ ◆ ◆ If there is anything queer about this issue, that's why, and we are pleased to note that this is the last episode of a summer entirely filled with vacations. ◆ ◆ ◆ We are distinctly proud of that member of our sex who is a curator of snakes, though perhaps that is not the exact scientific label for her. ◆ ◆ ◆ We think it shows that woman can overcome ancient tradition —very ancient, considering Eve and the enmity. ◆ ◆ ◆ But with us it is a case of rather see than be one. ◆ ◆ ◆ Unless it were a mere matter of keeping a card index of the valuable reptiles, we should positively decline. ◆ ◆ ◆ Speaking of zoology, another superstition has gone glimmering. ◆ ◆ ◆ Some scientist has been experimenting with the color susceptibilities of bulls, and it appears that a bull doesn't care a bellow more for red than green or even white. Now what will fiction writers do? ◆ ◆ ◆ These first snappy days always start us to resolving. ◆ ◆ ◆ We plan activities. ◆ ◆ ◆ Some years we collect catalogues of swimming classes, lecture courses, foreign-language lessons. ◆ ◆ ◆ This year the literature from the Women's Activities Exhibits was enough. ◆ ◆ ◆ It went to our head, and we are debating whether to start a tea-room on the side or take up woodcraft. ◆ ◆ ◆ No prophecies invited.

Women in the Public Eye

Dame Edith Lyttleton

Dr. Florence Meredith

TWO Englishwomen on this page, two American, one Dutch . . . The best woman news of the fortnight is that at last a woman is the British trades-union head. Miss Margaret G. Bondfield, a leader among British women Labor leaders, has been elected chairman of the general council of the Trades-Union Congress.

The other Englishwoman is the new delegate to the League of Nations, and has taken marked part in discussions of social questions in the Fourth Assembly. Mrs. Lyttleton, who came here with Lady Astor last year, is an active worker in the English-Speaking Union.

"P. & A. Photos," N. Y.

Margaret Bondfield

Champlain Studios, N. Y.

Elizabeth Sears

THE doctor is the new Head Physician and Professor of Hygiene at Smith College. Conserving the health of two thousand girls is her task. It means much to the health of womankind that every great woman's college has such a "preventive" professor as Dr. Meredith of Smith or our own Dr. Alsop of Barnard.

MRS. SEARS is the efficient president of the New York League of Business and Professional Women, which has just concluded its second large and successful exhibit of Women's Activities—(See page 22).

Queen Wilhelmina

Wide World Photos, N. Y.

SPEAKING of women's activities, should a queen be barred, merely because royalty has become unpopular? Surely a queen who has reigned for twenty-five years deserves honorable mention for achievement. Queen Wilhelmina of Holland, that rarity, a queen in her own right, recently received the congratulations of her subjects as part of her jubilee. Notice her charming mother, at the left.

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98.50

Fashona is a new soft pile winter fabric

Model 83—In black, zanzibar brown or kit fox gray.

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Vol. VIII New Style. No. 11

Your Homes Away-From-Home

Whenever you wish to come—

As long as you like to stay!

This is your cordial and standing invitation from three world famous hotels where every woman traveler is a "special" guest.

The woman traveler appreciates dignity of address, the protection of substantial management, and the prestige of desirable associations.

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Fifth Ave. at 34th St. New York
Roy Carruthers *Managing Director*

THE BELLEVUE-STRATFORD
PHILADELPHIA
James P. A. O'Conor, Managing Director

The NEW WILLARD
WASHINGTON, D. C.
Frank S. Hight, Managing Director
L. M. Boomer, President

Ask for Booklet
"Milady's Home-Away-From-Home"

Underwood & Underwood, N. Y. C.

FORMER Premier Lloyd George, with his wife and his daughter, Miss Megan, have met the most cordial welcome in the United States and Canada. Whether admired or otherwise, the Welshman who stood the strains of war office so long is a personality of vivid interest. Coming unofficially, he has seized the occasion to sow a little seed for a British - American peace alliance.

Campbell Studios, N. Y. C.

LAST month there was a convention of bank women (see page 22), which makes one sure that the woman who knows nothing about money is on her way to the discard with the fainting heroine. Here (above) is the president of the Association of Bank Women—Miss Virginia D. H. Furman, assistant secretary of the Irving Bank-Columbia Trust Company.

Vandyk, London

ASTAR speaker of the Tenth Triennial Convention of the Council of Jewish Women, which will be held in St. Louis, November 11-16, is the Hon. Mrs. Ernest L. Franklin (left), one of the leaders in the Liberal Jewish Movement of England. Mrs. Franklin is a sister of the Hon. Edwin Montagu, late Secretary of State for India. She will lecture here on educational subjects.

MME. WILCZAKIEWICZ, a member of the Polish National Congress, where she is famous as an orator.

Franklin Simon & Co.
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75.00

Model 95 — Of extra quality silk crêpe, richly beaded in a new Paris design; handsome jeweled ornament.

Colors: White, black, orchid, royal blue, saxe blue, jade or apricot with vari-colored beads.

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Your Investments 29
By Eleanor Kerr

Managing Director MRS. RAYMOND BROWN — *Editor* VIRGINIA RODERICK

Contributing Editors
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

Associate Editor WINIFRED L. RICH — *Art Editor* ELEANOR HORST

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Vol. LII Old Style.
Vol. VIII New Style. No. 12

OUR OWN DINGBATS

WE have just been reading a large fat folder full of articles all about how to get out the vote, and we think it is a good thing no slacker can see them. ◆ ◆ ◆ They would suggest the great value of waiting for the autos that all competent committees provide for late voters. ◆ ◆ ◆ If the polls weren't always so near our house we certainly should be tempted. ◆ ◆ ◆ See those references in the Woman Voter to a cleaner? Isn't it tantalizing that Kansas doesn't tell us what the cleaner will clean—whether shoes or sinks or silks. ◆ ◆ ◆ Some one sent us the other day a package of fairies. ◆ ◆ ◆ A leaf yellow as harvest, and a leaf as red as sunset, and a handful of pine needles that made a magic carpet for our city-bound spirit. ◆ ◆ ◆ Speaking of color, the newspapers say a girl in this town can take a course in etiquette and applied psychology which includes the effect of color on the potentially proposing male. ◆ ◆ ◆ It appears that blue is the most stimulating to the masculine sense of romance and protective instinct, while brown makes a man feel that a girl can take care of herself, and red alarms him. ◆ ◆ ◆ Well, anyhow, lots of women wear blue and lots of women are married. ◆ ◆ ◆ And even aside from that this theory would explain much. ◆ ◆ ◆ But with courses like this making girls wise, and the Women's City Club in our midst devoting a whole evening to the question "Should women propose?" —what chance has a man in this town? ◆ ◆ ◆ Publicity, it seems, may work the wrong way. ◆ ◆ ◆ That lady who wouldn't register, do you remember, has decided to be proud and lifted up over being noticed in print, so we withdraw our suggestion of letters of reproach from our readers. ◆ ◆ ◆ She would probably *never* vote, then. ◆ ◆ ◆ No, we must ignore her. ◆ ◆ ◆ Probably our views on horse races are unorthodox, but it did seem an awful pity for that English horse to come all the way across the ocean and get licked —almost inhospitable of us. ◆ ◆ ◆ Still, we aren't much of an authority on the turf, though we did attend the horse-race at Nantucket's county fair once. ◆ ◆ ◆ Did you all see that funny one in the last Washington letter, where we read copy and proof by ear instead of eye, and left you to translate "Bering seaplanes" into "Bering sea claims"? ◆ ◆ ◆ Queer thing—One might write quite an intelligent essay about the psychology of proof reading, which would prove it is really astonishing that any mistakes are caught, but the fact is you can never understand why YOU let THAT one get by. ◆ ◆ ◆ We see a New York artist has got up a fine rage over foreign artists coming over here and attempting to paint the American girl, when ten to one their own countrywomen aren't treated as equal as they are here. ◆ ◆ ◆ Well, at last the map-makers have given up about ever having a world that will stay put. They have invented a set of loose leaf maps to take care of the situation. ◆ ◆ ◆ The Citizen is in receipt of an announcement of a Great National Beauty Meet. ◆ ◆ ◆ We do not know for what purpose, nor does the following sentence elucidate— "What man is there or has there been from prehistoric times or who is not or has not been impelled to fall to his knees in worship at the sight of a beautiful woman." ◆ ◆ ◆ We suspect that the answer is, Yes.

Underwood & Underwood, N. Y. C.

YOU know Warwick Castle in the lovely mid-England country? One of its owners, the Countess of Warwick (above), is to stand as a Labor candidate for Parliament in a coming by-election. They say her neighbor, H. G. Wells, will support her.

EMILIE M. BULLOWA, of New York, is president of the newly-formed National Women Lawyers' Association. Miss Bullowa has been in continuous practice of law since 1900; she is a member of the American Bar Association and of other important legal organizations.

Zintsmaster, Minneapolis

THE Iowa state president of the W. C. T. U., Mrs. Ida B. Wise Smith (above), has succeeded the late Deborah Knox Livingston as director of Christian citizenship in the national W. C. T. U. She has been a temperance worker since her girlhood.

NO, this doesn't mean woman suffrage in Japan. There isn't even full man suffrage. But these women of Tokio are nevertheless voting—at least in a school election, and that means progress. Universal suffrage is again being agitated in Japan.

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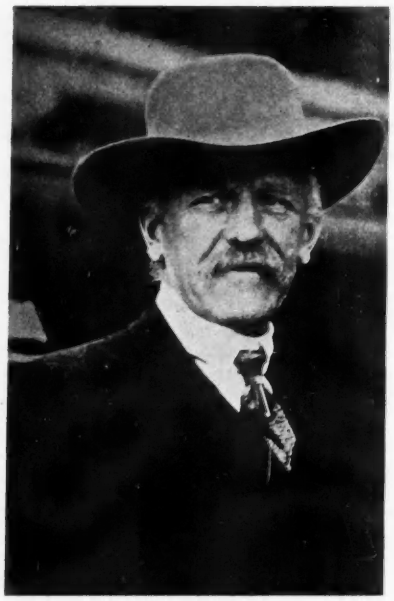
THIRTY years ago—then twenty—the great Italian tragedienne, Eleanora Duse, came to America. This year she has come again, white-haired, frail, still incomparable, to a tremendous welcome. For just ten performances, all in Italian, she came with her company from Rome, where only last spring she had reappeared on the stage after ten years of seclusion.

To see her as Helen Alving in Ibsen's *Ghosts* is a memorable experience—for the exquisite detail of the quiet passages, the almost unbearable poignancy of the most tragic moments, the marvelous play of her slender hands, the passion of her deep, shadowed eyes, the subtle music of her voice. She all but makes one forget one has understood scarcely a word she has spoken.

DR. FRIDTJOF NANSEN, explorer, writer, lecturer, High Commissioner of Relief with the League of Nations, is in this country as the guest of several societies. He brings authoritative news from Europe, and a plea for international cooperation.



AT the British General Election last year Miss Helen Fraser was the candidate for Parliament of the first constituency in Scotland to nominate a woman. Though she didn't win, she polled a splendid vote against heavy odds. Miss Fraser is one of the leading English feminists, influential in the inner circles, and a forceful, vivid speaker. She is now lecturing in America.

ON another page in this number you will find a review of Mrs. Wharton's new book, "A Son at the Front"—a novel of the Great War, and one of the most important books of the season. Our leading woman novelist knows nothing of Main Street. Paris, Italy, New York are the background of her stories, with an occasional dip into New England.

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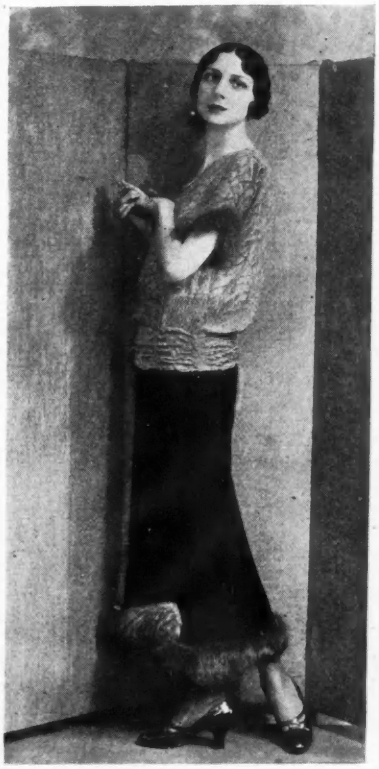

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G. P. P.

THE notion that women officeholders must be unattractive would have exploded on meeting the two representatives - elect on this page—if it hadn't been blown to bits long ago. In the center is Miss Margaret Fort, of New Jersey, with important Republican antecedents and connections.

Mrs. Fain *Bachrach, N. Y.*

To the left is Mrs. Sarah Lee Fain, one of the two pioneers just chosen for the General Assembly of Virginia—the other being Mrs. Helen Timmons Henderson. Mrs. Fain comes from Norfolk, where she has worked in church, Sunday-school, club and League—and the Democratic party.

Judge Grossman

Standiford Studio, Cleveland

CLEVELAND is proud of itself for choosing Mary B. Grossman as its first woman municipal judge. She is an attorney of experience and important connections.

Miss Fort

Miss Picton-Turberville

VICE-PRESIDENT of the world's Y. W. C. A., writer, lecturer, Edith Picton-Turberville is an English woman leader. Her trip to this country is delayed while she stands for Parliament.

WOMEN here and there in banking are becoming so usual they no longer thrill. But how about a whole bank-full of women? Here are the officers of the Women's Savings and Loan Company of Cleveland, Ohio, which lives in the Women's City Club Building on East 13th Street. If there is another institution like this anywhere let it speak up. Counting from left to right you pass (but not inattentively) four directors and arrive at Lillian M. Westropp, President. Passing three more directors, you arrive at Clara E. Westropp, Secretary, and have one director to go.

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Ask for Booklet
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The Ukraine

© Gregory Hanulak, Ukraine

Goedelig Jul—Wesolych Swiat—Stastne Vanoce — Buon Natale — or in other words (many other words, including some that neither English typewriter nor English print can record) — Merry Christmas! We have found a new impression of international friendship in the Christmas cards of the nations, with their common message of good will and worship; and here are a few samples. We recommend the quest—we enjoyed it so hugely ourselves. The cards are as interesting in the different character-

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Italy

istics and customs they show as in their likeness of spirit. There's the deepest depth of winter in all the Scandinavian pictures and heights of color in the Italian ones, in which, like the Polish, religious themes predominate. The Ukrainian card in this group shows the pleasant old custom of carol-singing from house to house on Christmas Eve. We apparently didn't find the home of any foreign Santa Claus; but a quaintly humorous Yuletide figure is shown on page 24.

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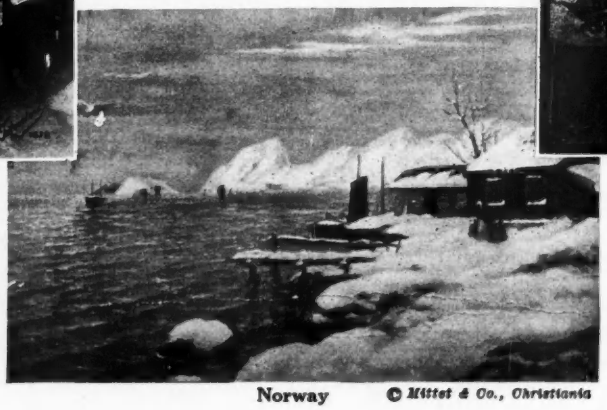
Switzerland



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OUR OWN DINGBATS

HAVE you made your New Year resolutions early? ❖ ❖ ❖ One of ours is, just as soon as this magazine and Christmas are off our mind, to send out a questionnaire asking everybody's sizes — gloves, stockings, undies—and make a card catalogue. ❖ ❖ ❖ Of course we may never give these people anything, but by asking so far ahead we can avoid raising false hopes—and be forever guaranteed against the ignominy of snooping (usually in vain). ❖ ❖ ❖ In all other particulars our New Year resolutions are exactly like those we have always made. ❖ ❖ ❖ When it comes to resolutions, we are a hopeless conservative. ❖ ❖ ❖ Still, we have a taste for new things—for instance, in words. ❖ ❖ ❖ We have just met Diduncculus, and made it ours. These pleasing syllables, according to "Science Service," refer to a bird considered the first cousin to the extinct dodo. ❖ ❖ ❖ We expect to sound very learned with that word. ❖ ❖ ❖We admire the spirit of the women members of a murder jury who refused to budge toward the muddy scene of a crime until the judge had bought them some rubbers. ❖ ❖ ❖ There may be those who have found us a bit jumpy of late, but we are not yet in the condition of the man who came home with edgy nerves, sought refuge in his study, and was just getting a little calmed down when the cat arose and slowly walked across the room. The man turned on her indignantly, and demanded, "Now, what are you stamping around here for?" ❖ ❖ ❖ We told you last time about Dr. S. Josephine Baker's appointment in the Children's Bureau, but we didn't realize then that it would be legitimate to say she had been appointed C. D. M. I. C. H. C. B. U. S. D. L. You can work it out by looking at the paragraph in the last "Citizen." ❖ ❖ ❖ We were much perturbed when we discovered the omission of the word "top" in our complaint of the crust on the English version of pumpkin pie. ❖ ❖ ❖ Only our family has been entertained over it thus far, but so that some other lady who may have laughed at our ignorance may be remorseful, we mention the Dingbat's omission. ❖ ❖ ❖ Someone has recently written a piece about how we New Yorkers learn to look glassy-eyed at one another, because of forever being face to face, at close range, with strangers. ❖ ❖ ❖ We've been noticing ever since, and speculating about the hardening effect on our characters. ❖ ❖ ❖ Some day we're going to smile at everyone whose looks we like, and see whether it lands us in jail. ❖ ❖ ❖ We are convinced the real test of superior quality lies in the power to do one's Christmas shopping all at one swoop. Several in our vicinity managed it, and proved the point. ❖ ❖ ❖ By that test, we are a moron. ❖ ❖ ❖ We wore out our shoes almost as badly as those of the colored rookie who said "The bottoms of mah shoes are so thin Ah can step on a dime and tell whether it's heads or tails!" ❖ ❖ ❖ Well, here's Christmas just ahead, all unexplored, but we'll look right past it to say Happy New Year to you!

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Lady Terrington

Baratt's, London

The Duchess of Atholl
Margaret Bondfield

Susan Lawrence
Dorothea Jewson

The Five New Women M. P's In Great Britain's Eight

A TORY DUCHESS, a Liberal woman of title, and three women of the Labor Party have now arrived to join the famous trio —Lady Astor, Mrs. Wintringham and Mrs. Hilton Philipson—in the British House of Commons. We are sorry we haven't space to show you new pictures of the three you know and have already met in these pages —Lady Astor many times!—but here are the five new ones.

MISS SUSAN LAWRENCE, the first Labor woman M.P., and the first to represent London, is an expert on housing problems in the East End, and has a passion for the improvement of the lot of sweated workers. She was also one of the first women to be elected to the London County Council. She is an Alderman of Poplar Council, and, with four other women councillors, was arrested in 1921 for failing to levy certain rates which she considered ill adjusted — an unflinching protest which brought results.

THE victory of Miss Margaret Bondfield, Labor member for Northampton, after two previous failures, has routed an ex-Cabinet Minister from his own stronghold, and is immensely popular, not only in Labor circles, but in those larger spheres where she has endeared herself for many years past by her forcefulness and fine speaking. This is essentially Miss Bondfield's year, for it was only a few months ago that she was elected first woman Chairman of the General Council of the Trades Unions Congress, while the settlement of the recent disastrous boiler-makers' strike in Great Britain was largely due to her.

MISS DOROTHEA JEWSON, who polled 19,304 votes at Norwich—a remarkable triumph both for Labor and for women—is a graduate in Classics at Newnham, but did not disdain, once, to disguise herself as a housemaid, in order to test complaints of conditions in hotels. Miss Jewson is an organizing secretary of the National Society of Women Workers. All three of the Labor members are unmarried.

THE Duchess of Atholl is a remarkably clever woman and a good linguist, and comes of a very clever family. Her father, Sir James Ramsay, of Banff, Perthshire, who will be ninety-two next May, is the leading authority on Plantagenet, Lancaster, and Yorkish England. The Duchess herself, besides taking a big share in public life, inherits her father's historical tastes, for she has produced an encyclopaedic "Military History of Perthshire," running into nearly a thousand pages. She represents Kinross and Perth in the Conservative interest in the House.

LADY TERRINGTON, the second Liberal woman M.P., was educated abroad. She is a notable horsewoman, farmer and agriculturist, a member of the Grand Council of Our Dumb Friends' League, a Vice-president of the Bucks Lace Association, and President of the Marlow Football Club. Her election to the House was achieved in a stiff fight to win Wycombe, South Bucks, for Liberalism.

From Dora M. Ford.

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Vol. LII Old Style
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OUR OWN DINGBATS

WELL, now they are over again, and we all have—or haven't—acknowledged our Christmas cards, and taken down our Christmas wreaths and decorations (how they clutter up the house after three or four days), and broken some of our New Year resolutions (including the one about beginning at once to consider our income tax blank)—and the month's half gone. ❖ ❖ ❖ A dreadful menace hangs over us, a menace to the Congressional Record. Mrs. Stokes tells about it at the close of her letter in this issue. It may be all right in theory, but we simply could not bear it without the poetry and flowers. ❖ ❖ ❖ Though, on second thought, it is true that if the speeches were reported at all there would be some flowers. ❖ ❖ ❖ Speaking of Nature, this is to say, if any one has escaped reading the item from eight to ten times, that a fish which shouts and carries lights has been discovered. ❖ ❖ ❖ But though the headline writers all had a fine time with it, no one explained just why a fish should want to do these unfishly things. ❖ ❖ ❖ We haven't told you about the class in animal study that was asked, "Now children, what is it that an elephant has that no other animal has?" ❖ ❖ ❖ "Little elephants," was the prompt and scholarly response. ❖ ❖ ❖ An infallible test has been invented to find out whether one is or isn't a highbrow. ❖ ❖ ❖ It is Mr. Curtis's plan of cutting out the comics from the old Evening Post. ❖ ❖ ❖ We miss them, and we don't care who knows it. ❖ ❖ ❖ Out at the College of Emporia (state not given; maybe Kansas, maybe not) there is a young woman who operates a "dating emporium" for bashful couples who wish to attend dances. Men pay double, and come half price—probably because they are less entitled to be bashful in these matters. ❖ ❖ ❖ We see that the United States Public Health Service is making a study of the common cold, and we wish them luck. ❖ ❖ ❖ We can furnish them assorted data from our office. ❖ ❖ ❖ Women, it seems, have kept one of their oldest jobs in spite of modern tendencies. ❖ ❖ ❖ In Tibet an English explorer took tea with a lady who ranks as a goddess, with absolute power—so the Tibetans think—to turn her subjects into pigs when she wishes. ❖ ❖ ❖ A very good job, paying well. ❖ ❖ ❖ In a Manchester Guardian article, which, it seems to us, night have had the syllable "Adv." at the end, we find this rhapsody on "The Perfect Biscuit": "Biscuits are the very poetry of food. And to follow each little sonnet and lyric from the choosing of its ingredients to its elaboration and ornamentation is an esthetic experience. Everything in association with biscuits has this suggestion of poetry—sugar from vivid Jamaica, butter from luscious pasture lands, currants from classic Greece—written delicately upon with the sweet-tinted hieroglyphics of sugar-cream or bathed in chocolate, the food of the gods." ❖ ❖ ❖ Mary, please pass me a chocolate-bathed sonnet.

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Ruth Muskrat at Washington

PLEADING for her people, Miss Ruth Muskrat (left), a Cherokee Indian girl from Oklahoma, presented to President Coolidge a copy of "The Red Man in the United States", a survey of the present-day American Indian. The book was bound in an elaborately beaded cover. Miss Muskrat is now a junior at Mount Holyoke; she knows the history of her people, their wrongs, the broken treaties which lie between the Indians and the whites, and her presentation speech was most effective. It won for her a luncheon invitation at the White House, which makes her a distinguished member of her tribe.

BELOW are some of the delegates to the Fifth Session of the International Labor Conference, held in Geneva last fall. A recommendation concerning equal rights of women factory inspectors was unanimously adopted, and will now be submitted to all governments. From left to right in the first row are: Miss Kerstin Hesselgren, whom CITIZEN readers have met before, factory inspector, member of the Senate, and technical adviser of the Swedish Government; Mrs. James Carruthers, technical adviser of the Canadian Government; Miss Constance Smith, O.B.E., H.M. deputy inspector of factories, and technical adviser of the British Government. In the second row are: Miss B. Stafford (left), inspector of factories and workshops, and technical adviser of the Irish Government, and Miss Ume Koshiba, of Japan.

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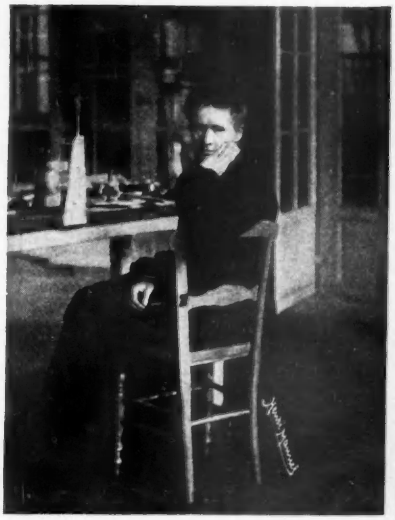
Keystone View Co., N. Y.

Anita Phipps

AT the left is Miss Anita Phipps, Director of Women's Relations in the War Department. Her job is the organization of social welfare work among Army men and care of the women employed by the Army.

SURELY the photograph at the right needs no introduction. It is of Mme. Curie, in whose honor a celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the discovery of radium was held at the Sorbonne, December 26. This day also marked the inauguration of the Curie Foundation, an institution for the treatment of cancer by radium.



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Mme. Curie

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Vol. LII Old Style
Vol. VIII New Style — No. 18

OUR OWN DINGBATS

A FEW weeks ago we were promised a keen little French essay on pockets. ❖ ❖ ❖ So far we haven't any more essay than we have pockets, but as we recall it, the point was that women's inferiority complex will never depart until pockets come. ❖ ❖ ❖ Not just in a sport suit but in everything, and adjusted so that your family won't tell you not to weight them with more than a handkerchief. ❖ ❖ ❖ We believe it. ❖ ❖ ❖ The inability to pluck forth a nickel quickly, the necessity of taking both hands to the job, will humble us in the presence of any pocketed man, regardless. ❖ ❖ ❖ Henceforth, this is our mission: Pockets for Women! ❖ ❖ ❖ We must have something to take our minds off the thought that no fewer than eight of our friends are heading for Havana and other warm points within a fortnight. ❖ ❖ ❖ We had decided on an icy week-end in a snowy, bracing below-zero atmosphere, as a tonic. ❖ ❖ ❖ But our courage is oozing. Palms are wigwagging us. ❖ ❖ ❖ We hear that business women in New Orleans are demanding equal rights in barber shops; they want to take their turns on an even footing with the men. It's cheaper and quicker than beauty parlors, they say. Why not? Why discriminate against bobs? ❖ ❖ ❖ We have never ventured an audible conviction about the merits or otherwise of spanking children, but the story of the effect of punishment on a certain small boy leans toward the negative. ❖ ❖ ❖ All afternoon, after the sad event, small Jack had been looking for revenge. It didn't come till bed time, when he said his evening prayer, asking a blessing on all the family save one. Rising, he turned to his mother with a triumphant look and said, "I s'pose you noticed you wasn't in it!" ❖ ❖ ❖ We hope the ancient jape about women and secrets is forever still. ❖ ❖ ❖ With Miss Esther Everett Lape custodian of a $50,000 secret for weeks, the old joke hasn't a leg to stand on. ❖ ❖ ❖ Harper's tells a story applicable to getting out the vote—and maybe to other subjects too. It is of a Kentucky mountain town where one of the old inhabitants was asked by an election canvasser about his intentions. "I hain't exactly made up my mind which side I'm gonna be for," said the old man, "but ye can be sure of this—whichever it is, I'm goin' to be very bitter." ❖ ❖ ❖ We read that the president of the Spokane Women's Club says Leap Year should be permanent. ❖ ❖ ❖ She thinks a lot of us die spinsters because we aren't free to tell some bashful man our feelings. ❖ ❖ ❖ We doubt that, a little, but we don't see a reason in the world why a woman shouldn't speak out if she wants to. ❖ ❖ ❖ Though it will be easier if she can prove she isn't looking merely for support. ❖ ❖ ❖ For instance, the candidate referred to in the tale of Tobe might just as well as not have helped in the co'tin'. Tobe's dusky wife had got a divorce and the woman she had washed for lamented it to Tobe—"Who'll do my washing now?"—"Well, mum," said Tobe, "I'se co'tin' again, and I co'ts rapid."

A CATHEDRAL has been built within a New York theatre this winter, for the presentation of Max Reinhardt's remarkable spectacle, "The Miracle," produced by Morris Gest. Among the most notable of the players is Rosamond Pinchot, niece of Governor Pinchot, who made her début as the "Nun"—a part that calls for great physical vitality and graceful force. Reinhardt himself was struck with Miss Pinchot's suitability for the part, and her success has justified his perception.

SMITH COLLEGE has on its faculty the first woman to be a minister of a large church in England. She is Margaret Brackenbury Crook, associate professor in the Bible Department, who comes of a long line of nonconformist ministers, and decided to be a minister herself before she realized she would be pioneering. She studied at Oxford, collecting honors; was received into the ministry of the Unitarian and Liberal Christian Churches in 1917; worked with the Friends in the war; became the minister of the famous old Octagon Chapel at Norwich—and then strayed to America. This winter and spring she is lecturing in the chinks of time between classes—week-ends and vacations.

By courtesy of Morris Gest

Rosamond Pinchot

HERE is the other one of the first two women representatives in the General Assembly of Virginia—Mrs. Helen Timmons Henderson, of Buchanan County.

Ann E. Rae

Keystone View Co., N. Y. C.

Margaret B. Crook

Mrs. Henderson

AMONG important women who have done their bit for Thrift Week is Miss Ann E. Rae, of Niagara Falls. As president of the United States League of Building Loan Associations, Miss Rae is at the top in women's financial work. Her hobby is "Own your own home."

Mme. Raparlier

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THIS is said to be the first photograph received in this country of the famous French aviatrix, Mme. Raparlier, whose daring exploits have attracted attention all over the Continent. We don't know her altitude record, but we do know it is scary.

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OUR OWN DINGBATS

WE very much resent the insult offered to us in most of the shops these days. ❖❖❖ As a matter of cold fact, it is a small proportion of us New Yorkers who are going South; most of us know very well there's a lot more winter coming, and we'll be right here to receive it. ❖❖❖ But what we gaze on in the windows is straw hats, that make our heads feel chilly, and light-weight airy looking gowns. ❖❖❖ Of course it's flattering, if you want to look at it that way, but we can't seem to. ❖❖❖ We need a new silk hat, too—badly, but can we get one? Not at all—it's straw or nothing. ❖❖❖ Of course, if you look carefully at this number you will see a faint admission that we suspect spring maybe isn't far behind. ❖❖❖ There are all those snowy pictures first—assertion of winter; but there's a bit of verse with heart leaves in it, too. ❖❖❖ Well, you know what kind of a curse consistency is (See Bartlett's Familiar Quotations). ❖❖❖ We have heard lots of things blamed on the peace treaties, and have done our share of picking on them. ❖❖❖ But the complaint from Bulgaria takes the cake. Reasonable, too, after you look into it. ❖❖❖ The headlines say that the Neuilly Treaty is responsible for the ravages of wolves. ❖❖❖ The point is that the population has been disarmed under the treaty and the wolves haven't. ❖❖❖ We've been very fussily busy and someone told us a story (old one, maybe) that made us uncomfortable. ❖❖❖ A clerk on a mail car had a hare in his charge. ❖❖❖ The container got broken and the hare made his escape when the train had stopped at a station and went galloping off across the prairie. "Run, you fool, run," called the clerk. "You can go fast enough, but you won't get anywhere, because I've got the address!" ❖❖❖ The name of the smallest post office in the world, we hear on good authority once removed, is Raspberry. But the removed doesn't know what state. ❖❖❖ Speaking of women's doings, one of our sex has recently been accused of being a bookmaker. ❖❖❖ Let's not be too ambitious. Let's remember woman's place is—elsewhere. ❖❖❖ It should be a matter for serious pondering to our generation (and others) that exhumed ladies in Egypt are dressed exactly as Egyptian women are dressed today. ❖❖❖ Is this desirable?—we ask you. ❖❖❖ Does it reflect on them or on us? ❖❖❖ Honest, we aren't publicity agent for anyone's dog kennels, even if dogs do riot in the pages of this number. It happened so—too late for us to swap one dog for one cat. ❖❖❖ As for us, we are (in a phrase frankly stolen) both pro-cat and pro-dog. ❖❖❖ We see Scotch plaids are coming in this spring, which reminds us (in the same way it does other people who say that) of the Scot named MacIntosh, who was very proud of his Highland clan. A taxi driver—says Judge—made him angry, and he said haughtily, "Do you know who I am? I'm a MacIntosh!" The driver snorted. "I don't care if you're an umbrella! I'll have my rights."

Kadel & Herbert, N. Y.

NOTHING tells better than winter sports the story of women's physical freedom. And it isn't merely what they do, but the clothes they wear while doing it. No wonder girls are bigger than their grandmothers. The girl in the center is Lydia Hutchinson, the famous dog-team driver—the only one! Above at the left is a glimpse of girls in the popular Palisades Interstate Park, where Ruby Jolliffe directs the camping. At the right is the newest quirk in skiing, as shown at Lake Placid, and the picture below is the "Bob Sled Girl," also in our own Switzerland.

Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

IT'S the Abraham Lincoln of 1924 movies (p. 26), not of real life, but the illusion is strong. The scene below shows Lincoln as country-store postmaster telling Anne Rutledge there is no letter for her.

Kadel & Herbert, N. Y.

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Of Veloria—a new wool Duvetyne fabric—banded with silver and gold braid and edged with fine squirrel fur.

Colors:—Carnelian Red, Natural Tan, Tortoise, Amande Green, Black, Cloud Gray or Navy Blue.

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OUR OWN DINGBATS

COLD as charity ❖ ❖ ❖ and most of our mail apparently coming in from the South. ❖ ❖ ❖ But no one is going to get us envious and excited over Florida unless it can be described in some other terms than flat. ❖ ❖ ❖ We like our vacation resorts on end. ❖ ❖ ❖ All this was true anyhow until the day last week when we got a mysterious package of huge, delicious pecans from Florida; they give us pause. ❖ ❖ ❖ Meantime we don't know who sent them, and can only hope we haven't eaten them under false pretenses. ❖ ❖ ❖ But though we may sniff a little at Florida, unenvious of its unnatural warmth, a note from Tennessee with a single outdoor daffodil persuades us that the real spring is on the way ❖ ❖ ❖ desirable as ever. ❖ ❖ ❖ And with it the duty of filling out income-tax blanks, which, of course, may become, relatively, a pleasure, if Congress passes that legislation for a reduction on 1923 in time. ❖ ❖ ❖ We certainly wish Heart-to-Heart wouldn't talk about us Dingbats out loud like that. ❖ ❖ ❖ The first thing H.-to-H. knows we'll get self-conscious and quit—and *then* how will she fill up her page (that is, after the jubilations have ceased)? ❖ ❖ ❖ This will not be the only case of advertising overreaching itself. For instance, there was the recent ad in a New York paper about "overcoats ready to wear out." ❖ ❖ ❖ The new Women's National Republican Club has loyalty on the part of its staff. ❖ ❖ ❖ We went to an informal advance press glimpse of it, and, arriving early, surprised the man at the door, who didn't consider us sufficiently accounted for. ❖ ❖ ❖ Getting a bit flustered, we said, thinking of our letter of invitation, "This *is* the ninth of February, isn't it?" ❖ ❖ ❖ It didn't touch him. He looked at us sternly. "It's the Woman's National Republican Club," he said crushingly. ❖ ❖ ❖ The New England Association of Retail Clothiers and Furnishers adopted a resolution at its annual meeting, with a whereas and everything, approving attention to dress as an aid to success. There is a lot in the idea, we are sure, other things being not too unequal, but somehow we doubt the effectiveness of the Association as sponsor. ❖ ❖ ❖ Still, adopting the principle, we hereby resolve that, whereas the reading of small magazines specializing in women's doings makes a woman successful, we commend—such magazines. ❖❖❖ F.P.A. says in the New York World: "What the Pace Institute advertises is a Shorter Course in Accounting for Women. It should be largely attended, for to most of us any course shorter than a lifetime is just so much velvet." ❖ ❖ ❖ And we say that is man's favorite and most insincere fiction, everyone of the sex really believing he knows all about us. ❖ ❖ ❖ What bright pupil can tell us why a man in the Bible named Zelophedad may be referred to as an early suffragist? ❖ ❖ ❖ We are very enthusiastic about George Washington this year. He is the first person with a holiday involved whose birthday hasn't fallen on a "closing day" or thereabouts. ❖ ❖ ❖ Hurrah for George Washington on the Friday after press day.

MRS. IZETTA JEWELL BROWN

WEST VIRGINIA may have a Congresswoman in 1924. Mrs. Izetta Jewell Brown has entered the race for Senator, on the Democratic ticket. Mrs. Brown is well known throughout the state, due to her 1922 campaign, and her work with women's organizations and the American Farm Bureau Federation.

MRS. CHARLES H. SABIN has two reasons for being on this page. First, she is president of the Women's National Republican Club just opened in New York (see page 22), and second, she is an Associate Member of the Republican National Committee for the State of New York.

MRS. CHARLES H. SABIN

Keystone View Co., N. Y.

MISS HILDEGARDE KNEELAND

THE new Bureau of Home Economics has its first addition in Hildegarde Kneeland, who has taught household economics in two Western colleges.

BELOW is Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, president of the Women's National Democratic Club, which was recently opened in Washington.

MRS. HARRY JOHN MILLER

WOMEN'S Coolidge Clubs in every county of Washington is the slogan Mrs. Harry John Miller, state legislator, has adopted. And as assistant state manager of the Coolidge campaign in charge of women's organizations, she expects to make her statement come true.

Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

MRS. J. BORDEN HARRIMAN

Franklin Simon & Co.
FIFTH AVENUE
37th and 38th Sts. New York

Just Received from Paris

WOMEN'S IMPORTED SILK CRÊPE GOWNS

At left—In white or light colors this gown is suitable for dinner and evening wear—in the darker shades it makes a smart daytime gown. Made of silk crêpe in black, rouge, amande green, cocoa, navy blue or French blue, beaded all over in tiny steel beads or white beaded in gold. 58.00

At right—Wrap-around Gown of silk crêpe in black, white, Madonna blue, navy blue, rouge, amande green, cocoa or gray beaded all over in tiny steel beads. 58.00

Charge Accounts Solicited

The Woman Citizen

Founded June 2, 1917, continuing *The Woman's Journal*, founded in 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and published weekly from 1870 to 1917.

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Vol. VIII New Style No. 21

OUR OWN DINGBATS

THE first bright pupil to talk up about Zelophehad wrote eight minutes after receiving her last Citizen—and she goes to the head of the class. ❖ ❖ ❖ Indeed yes—since she had just been making a speech about Zelophehad herself and has convicted us of calling the gentleman out of his name. We said Zelophedad, but Numbers 27:1-8 says Pearl Shaw is right. ❖ ❖ ❖ Also Miss Shaw says that "as a suffragist this Zelophehad scored only by having no sons." But she does go on to admit that maybe he was an involuntary suffragist—which is something. ❖ ❖ ❖ You see, he had five daughters and no sons, and when he died, according to the rules of that time the daughters would have had no inheritance and their father's name would have perished. So these five went to Moses and explained nicely all about their father, and said, "Why should the name of our father be taken away from among his family because he had no son?" ❖ ❖ ❖ And the outcome was a law of inheritance that gave daughters second place where they had no place before. ❖ ❖ ❖ Our point is that those women never would have had all that courage and independence if their father hadn't brought them up that way. ❖ ❖ ❖ It's interesting reading. ❖ ❖ ❖ The "Boston Transcript" says the Japanese version of "Oil and water will not mix," is "You can't rivet a nail in a custard." We thought maybe it would be as well to use the Japanese phrase for a while. ❖ ❖ ❖ A humanly appealing cause for divorce was the one claimed, according to "Life," by Rastus: "Dat woman jest talk, talk, talk night and day. Ah cain't get no rest and that talk am drivin' me crazy." ❖ ❖ ❖ "Well, what does she talk about?" asked the lawyer. ❖ ❖ ❖ "She doan' say," answered Rastus. ❖ ❖ ❖ There's only one thing about this business of going away on trips to Bermuda, Havana, Florida and such—you have to come back, and the weather is likely to be ironic about it. ❖ ❖ ❖ A friend of ours recently gone to Florida complains that there also Mah Jong ceaseth not. ❖ ❖ ❖ Which reminds us that the Chinese are saying that American women are now doing things which Chinese women did thousands of years ago—wearing tortoise shell glasses and high-heeled slippers, painting their lips and faces and playing Mah Jong. ❖ ❖ ❖ The old question, "Who dragged whom around the walls of what?" says F.P.A. (we hope he appreciates being quoted twice in succession), has been superseded by "Who got how much for what alleged services to whom?" ❖ ❖ ❖ It is difficult to be unprejudiced, isn't it? Just offhand we can't think of anyone who is, but most of us don't carry things as far as Sam, quoted in the "American Legion Weekly," who was impaneled for jury service. He was asked if he knew the accused, and stuttered out a negative. "Have you made up your mind as to his guilt or innocence?" ❖ ❖ ❖ "Oh, no, suh." ❖ ❖ ❖ "You think, then, that you could give his case a fair hearing?" ❖ ❖ ❖ "Yessuh," replied Sam. "Leastways as fair as de old scamp deserves."

W. G. Thuss

Mrs. Leroy Springs
Mrs. Benton McMillin

A. W. Cropsey

Elisabeth Marbury
Caroline Ruutz-Rees

Emily Newell Blair

Representing the Democratic "Better Half"

IF we had a little more than ten times this space, we could picture them all (provided we had all the pictures)—the whole group of Democratic National Committeewomen. There are fifty-two of them on our latest roll-call, and there would be fifty-three if it weren't for a temporary vacancy in one state. Besides the regular states and the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, the Canal Zone, and Porto Rico each have a representative on the list. But, anyhow, here are five, and they must stand for the other forty-seven.

Right in the center is Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, who is not only vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, but committeewoman from Missouri as well, with both Washington and Joplin for her address.

On one side of her, in the upper inside corner, is New York's widely known committeewoman, Elisabeth Marbury, known first as theatrical producer and author. She is chairman of the committee on arrangements that will handle the huge task of entertaining, welcoming, and generally caring for the women delegates and visitors to the Democratic National Convention next June.

Mrs. Leroy Springs, in the other corner, is from Lancaster, South Carolina. She is a past president of the South Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs and a member of the board of South Carolina's League of Women Voters.

Below her is Mrs. Benton McMillin, of Nashville, another State Federation past president, and a gifted speaker, who has three times canvassed the state for her husband, former M. C., governor and Minister to Peru.

Across the way is Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees, a distinguished educator, head mistress of Rosemary Hall School, Greenwich, Connecticut, a scholar and author of note.

We wish there were room to tell even the bits we know about all the rest. Among those who have something more than an address opposite their names are some well known in these pages—for example, Mrs. Bernice Pyke, of Lakewood, Ohio, who has been a vivid figure in Ohio politics for some years. And there is Mrs. Olesen, of Minnesota, who made a spirited run for the U. S. Senate in 1922.

The list includes an important California woman, Mrs. Charles F. Donohoe, of Oakland, former president of the Women's State Democratic Club of California, who was one of four delegates-at-large for California to the 1920 Democratic convention. Mrs. Gertrude M. Pattangall, of Maine, director of the First Region of Democratic Women's Organizations, is very active politically. Mrs. D. A. McDougal, of Oklahoma, one of the best known of Southern clubwomen, is a member of the Committee on Arrangements for the Convention.

But the list is too long. Anyhow, the most important thing is that these women are full partners with the men of their party, having had equal representation and equal vote since 1920.

Franklin Simon & Co.
FIFTH AVENUE
37th and 38th Sts. New York

For Madame
SLIM SILHOUETTE COAT
OF BLACK KASHMIR CLOTH
A Soft Wool Fabric
79.50

Model 7—Tubular facings on each side of front of white American ermine fur. Close fitting tailored shoulders. Lined with magpie effect silk. When worn closed it is a tailored coat —worn open a smart wrap.

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Vol. LII Old Style
Vol. VIII New Style No. 22

OUR OWN DINGBATS

WE are brooding darkly over a compliment recently offered the Dingbats. ❖ ❖ ❖ "I get all my jokes-for-dull-people from the column," writes a Lady. Now we wonder. ❖ ❖ ❖ Are we unduly suspicious? ❖ ❖ ❖ Well, one just naturally looks on the under side of things these days. ❖ ❖ ❖ We've made a great discovery—a new anesthetic. ❖ ❖ ❖ We interviewed the dentist about "woman and her vote" the other day, and he had such interesting views that we forgot the buzz saw and the steam shovel for a while. ❖ ❖ ❖ We recommend it. Probably there is some subject to the accompaniment of which one could even have a tooth extracted without noticing it. ❖ ❖ ❖ There's a moral or something buried in the story of Bobby, who came into the house tearfully rubbing places where he had been butted by a pet sheep. "But what did you do when the sheep knocked you down?" asked Mother. "I didn't do nothin'," Bobby protested. "I was gettin' up all the time." ❖ ❖ ❖ We ourselves had a blow this week. ❖ ❖ ❖ We went to look for a dress, and the saleswoman, without a moment's hesitation, after a glance questioned, "Black?" ❖ ❖ ❖ We are proud to record that we defiantly answered, "Red." ❖ ❖ ❖ Yes, we call our outer garments "dress," which probably shows how Main Streetish we are. ❖ ❖ ❖ The Pittsburgh "Dispatch" explains clothes evolution thus: "Dress, $3.75; frock, $19.08; gown, $65; creation, $225." But we challenge its figures. "$3.75"? Where? ❖ ❖ ❖ A bungalow apron, maybe. ❖ ❖ ❖ Awfully difficult business reporting news these days, with events popping so fast. ❖ ❖ ❖ The minute we get a number closed, somebody proves false something we said was true, and vice versa. ❖ ❖ ❖ It makes us feel as if an investigation might open up at our own feet any minute. ❖ ❖ ❖ "Yo' ain't got no brains," one colored man charged another. "Ain't got no brains? Why, man, Ah got brains what ain't nevah been used!" ❖ ❖ ❖ We wrote recently to an out-of-town friend about our interest in radio, and were told we are "funny," resorting to radio in New York. "The next time you go to Cape Cod," he wrote, "be sure to take some canned codfish." ❖ ❖ ❖ We have an advance bit of spring—a little black earth and three wee stems of lilies-of-the-valley, so eager to bloom that they didn't wait for their sheltering leaves to grow up around them. ❖ ❖ ❖ Protected by their fragrant magic, we defy this time of year, which the ads tell us is so dangerous. ❖ ❖ ❖ But, even so, we grieve over those potted shamrocks that a priest was bringing in the other day, only the officials told him it was against the rules on account of the danger to agriculture from imported plant diseases—Ochone! Which we hope expresses grief. ❖ ❖ ❖ Why can't they look at the plants, then, and see are they healthy or not? ❖ ❖ ❖ There's a phase of state action that bothers us, too—banishing an offender from one state, just as if he could go any place except to another one. ❖ ❖ ❖ Bad sporting spirit, we think.

Mrs. Barclay H. Warburton

Front-line Republican Women

© Lillian George Bret Harte
© Harris and Ewing, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. O. P. Clark
Mrs. Louise M. Dodson

© Moffett
© Harris and Ewing, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Alvin T. Hert
Mrs. George Orvis

"WOMEN Associate Members on the National Republican Committee" is the official title given to the Republican women of the National Committee. Republican women won the privilege of representation last year, a woman is chosen from each state, and maybe the coming convention will remove the word "associate". And besides these there is that chief of Republican women, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, vice-chairman of the National Committee's Executive Committee.

As with the Democratic committeewomen in the last **Citizen,** we have room to show you only five. In the top row there is, first, Mrs. O. P. Clark of California. Mrs. Clark is an active and ardent club woman, having led the Woman's City Club of Los Angeles through the suffrage campaign.

Next to her is Mrs. Barclay H. Warburton, Pennsylvania's representative. Mrs. Warburton, daughter of John Wanamaker, is one of the most widely known women in Pennsylvania, being state chairman of the Republican Women's organization. Her part in Pennsylvania war work also made her notable.

Then comes Mrs. Alvin T. Hert of Kentucky, whose husband was national committeeman for Kentucky at the time of his death. Mrs. Hert has taken up not only his political work but his business as well. She too is state chairman of the Republican Women's organization.

Beneath Mrs. Clark is Mrs. Louise M. Dodson from Iowa. Ten years as a county recorder and service as chairman of the Iowa suffrage campaign are in her history. She is now chairman of the Women's Division, Iowa State Central Committee.

Across from her is Mrs. George Orvis from Vermont. Mrs. Orvis's interests are varied. Aside from being associate member of the National Committee, she is mayor of Manchester, manager of the Equinox House in Manchester, interested in charitable organizations in New York. In 1920 she was vice-chairman of the Vermont Republican Ways and Means Committee.

We wish we had room to tell you of the others, each of whom has done something interesting. Glancing down through the names, we see Mrs. Charles Sabin of New York, president of the Women's National Republican Club, whose picture was printed in this department two issues ago; Mrs. Charles J. Steedman of Rhode Island, who was a member of the first Republican Women's State Committee, and a charter member of the Women's Republican Club of Providence; Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, so prominent in Chicago's social work and political life, and by all tests one of its most distinguished citizens; Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird of Massachusetts, one of the women "advisers" at the Armament Conference; Mrs. Anna Wolcott Vaile of Colorado, founder of the Wolcott School for Girls. And so we could go on, if the page were only larger.

Franklin Simon & Co.
FIFTH AVENUE
37th and 38th Sts. New York

For Madame and Mademoiselle

THE SCARF SPORTS FROCK OF SILK CRÉPE WITH SEPARATE MATCHING SCARF

40.00

Model 807—In yellow, lacquer red, Madonna blue, amande green, lavender, navy, tan or black combined with white; also all white.

Charge Accounts Solicited

SPORTS SHOP—*Fifth Floor*

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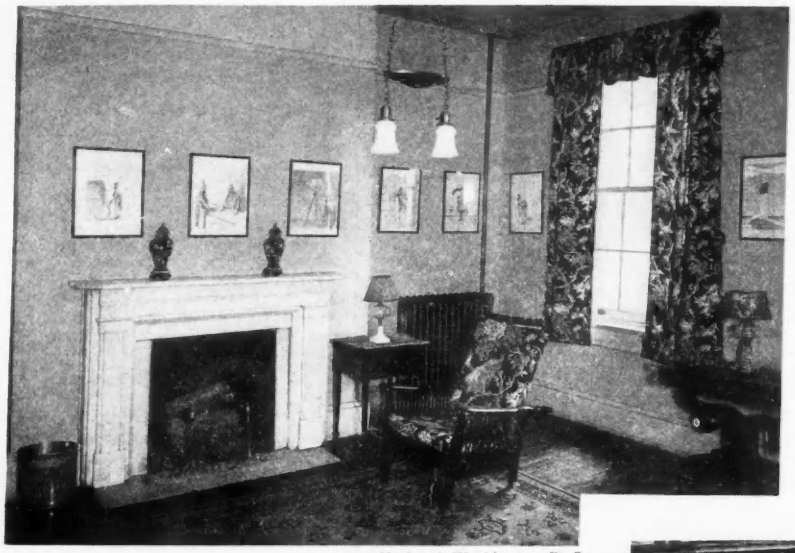
WE'RE just a wee bit low in our minds—having looked no less than four times today, in four different publications, at the picture of the Prince of Wales, dazed and somewhat gory, after his latest fall. ❖ ❖ ❖ We're getting nervous for fear somehow we'll find that picture in this very magazine. ❖ ❖ ❖ If anything can break the Prince of recklessness, it will be the realization that the entire civilized world has seen him looking that way. ❖ ❖ ❖ But as far as we are concerned, we don't see why he shouldn't ride and fall off if he wants to. ❖ ❖ ❖ All this talk about the welfare of the British Empire ignores the other royal lads who probably wouldn't dislike the job as much as the Prince does. ❖ ❖ ❖ Speaking of dangers, one, at least, is on its way out of the world. ❖ ❖ ❖ A scientist out in Washington has invented a stingless bee. ❖ ❖ ❖ Very popular. ❖ ❖ ❖ We wonder if a bee without a sting will be just as busy. ❖ ❖ ❖ As we write, there is nothing in the world to prove it is spring, but we entertain the suspicion just the same. ❖ ❖ ❖ But there's a sad thought lurking behind visions of forsythia bushes that may soon pop out yellow. ❖ ❖ ❖ Pretty soon the heat will be turned off in the radiators, regardless of anything but the calendar, and the chill will stay on, equally regardless. ❖ ❖ ❖ It's another of the outrageous things a city does to spring. ❖ ❖ ❖ "Seed catalogues," says the Detroit "News," "have begun to peck at the shell." ❖ ❖ ❖ And we see the magazines are breaking out with flower and bulb ads again. There's that word gladiolus—whose proper pronunciation is as controversial as the immigration question. ❖ ❖ ❖ We almost lost a friend once by insisting that gladíolus is preferred. ❖ ❖ ❖ Whose cat was that, Mr. Coolidge's or Mrs. Coolidge's? ❖ ❖ ❖ Votes may hang on the answer. ❖ ❖ ❖ And what were the cat's emotions—pride or shame—in having his personal affairs broadcast? ❖ ❖ ❖ Anyhow, he furnished a pleasing interlude in the Washington troubles. ❖ ❖ ❖ Has anybody noticed how convention-y this spring and summer are? ❖ ❖ ❖ We calculate that if any one woman were to attend all the conventions, laid end to end, scheduled for April and May, she would be a fine case for an alienist. ❖ ❖ ❖ And then just look at June, with the political conventions coming. ❖ ❖ ❖ If they all came at the same time they would be like Pat's twins. Someone asked him if they made much noise at night. "Praise be to hivin!" he answered. "Shure each wan cries so loud yez can't hear the ither wan." ❖ ❖ ❖ One of the brightest spots in our life is the latest congressional directory, only recently arrived. Because—guess what!—it has thumb indexes. ❖ ❖ ❖ No mere A-B-C stuff, either, but whole bunches of words, like Exec. Depts. and Cong. Addrs. ❖ ❖ ❖ We are all going to learn passages to recite when inquiring spirits telephone to ask us about cabbages and kings. ❖ ❖ ❖ If only, now, they would do the Congressional Record that way!



National, Washington, D. C.

Harris & Ewing, Washington

Mrs. J. Borden Harriman of Washington, D. C.

Democratic Women's Club Home

Harris & Ewing

Mrs. Ollie James, of Kentucky

National, Washington, D. C.

AT 820 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, Democratic women every day serve tea with politics (with sometimes Sunday suppers to make stronger the combined appeal). A member of the Board of Governors acts as hostess, and members and their guests are welcomed. As a matter of fact, the clubhouse of the Woman's National Democratic Club is the scene of almost a continuous salon in the interests of the party.

About a year ago a little group of Democratic women in Washington decided that there must be a national headquarters for women from all parts of the country, and on January 15 the clubhouse opened with a reception to visiting National Committeewomen. The house is about seventy years old, high-ceilinged, with open fireplaces, marble mantels and massive gilt-framed mirrors in the drawing rooms. The furnishings are Colonial mahogany, and there is plenty of bright chintz to set off the French gray of the woodwork and frame the long windows. Steel engravings of notable Democratic Presidents are hung in the drawing rooms, including an autographed one of Woodrow Wilson, presented by his wife. On the second floor (in the library) a series of Rollin Kirby's original cartoons from the New York "World" maintains the Democratic faith.

Above is a glimpse of this room, and a picture of the exterior, with three important Democratic women associated with the club. Mrs. Harriman is the president, and Mrs. Ollie James, of Kentucky, and Mrs. Antoinette Funk are members of the Board of Governors, which is headed by Mrs. Wilson.

Harris & Ewing

Mrs. Antoinette Funk, of Washington, D. C.

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The Woman Citizen

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Convention Visitors

HAVING a man among all the women on this page is quite apropos when you know that Senator Thomas J. Walsh a few days after this number reaches you will be speaking to thousands of women at the National League of Women Voters Convention at Buffalo, April 25-29—one of the stars on the program.

© *Harris & Ewing*

Senator Walsh

BIG conventions of women's organizations tread on each other's heels this month. The little picture in the center—little because it is a passport picture—shows one of the speakers at the convention of the American Association of University Women, April 21-25, at Washington. She is Johanne Stochholm, secretary of the Danish Federation of University Women, who is now a fellow at Bryn Mawr.

Johanne Stochholm

© Y. W. C. A. Photo Service

Christine Galitzi

SHE of the picturesque Rumanian costume suggests the world-wideness of the Y.W.C.A., which is holding its biennial convention in New York, April 30-May 6, to be followed by a World's Committee Y. W. C. A. meeting in Washington, May 9-16.

THE attractive and efficient woman below is Commandant M. S. Allen—Commandant of the Women's Auxiliary Service which is doing a splendid piece of social service in Great Britain, everywhere fostering the establishment of regular women police. In 1922 Commandant Allen and her Women's Auxiliary Police Service were entrusted with patrolling the streets and cafés of Cologne—with the result that those streets and cafés became orderly, to the advantage of both English boys and German girls. Commandant Allen is on her way to America.

Commandant Allen, a guest at the League of Women Voters Convention

THE small picture at the right shows another foreign delegate—Gertrud Baer, of Germany — one of the earliest arrivals to attend the Washington Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, May 1-7. She is here lecturing on the work of the French and German sections in fostering good-will between their countries. Other well-known women are arriving from abroad—such as Selma Lagerlof, the famous Swedish writer; Dr. Aletta Jacobs, from Holland, etc.

Gertrud Baer

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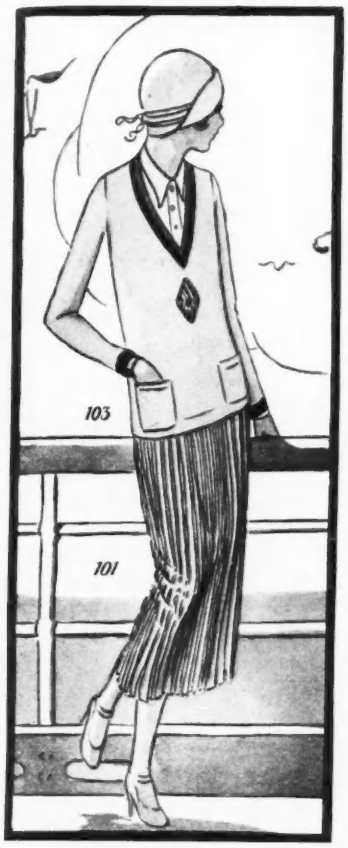

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Vol. LII Old Style
Vol. VIII New Style No. 25

OUR OWN DINGBATS

"EVERYBODY'S talkin' 'bout heaven ain't gwine thar," says the Negro spiritual, and at the moment it's a question whether we aren't in that case with regard to the League of Women Voters Convention. ✣✣✣ Not that we absolutely identify it with heaven, of course, however interesting. ✣✣✣ For one thing, we can't rank as heavenly any scene in which the people one wants to see are never visible but once. ✣✣✣ Just try to interview four or five women at a big convention and learn the meaning of the word Despair. ✣✣✣ An entry "for the 1924 Pure Nerve Prize" in the Conning Tower, New York World is: "Mrs. Blank at a recent dinner told of a little Indian girl who was taken to her home and sent to school, 'to learn to be an American.'" ✣✣✣ We're getting all keyed up in this town over the coming of a national political convention—all kinds of us—rich man, poor man, beggar man, thief, merchant, policeman, etc., as well as the politically minded population in general. ✣✣✣ Personally, we look forward, as a child to the circus, to one of those silly flag-waving, marching, yelling celebrations. ✣✣✣ We sha'n't be happy without one. ✣✣✣ "Every year," says the Hackensack Republican, "is leap year for the pedestrian." ✣✣✣ Some time or other every paper apparently has to quote the line that "Some so-called open minds should be closed for repairs," so we may as well get it over. ✣✣✣ There is a warning against bad temper in the story (in the **New Guide**, whatever that may be) of the old lady who had to wait a long time for service in a confectionery store. Impatient, she finally rapped sharply on the counter and called: "Here, young lady, who waits on the nuts?" ✣✣✣ "Wot you doin', chile?" asked a colored mother. "Nothin', mammy." ✣✣✣ "My, but yo' is gettin' like yo' father!" ✣✣✣ Didn't Lady Balfour make a mistake in complaining so about "this henna-dipped generation?" ✣✣✣ However much we may be for wearing hair the color it grows, we think the achievement of getting over the national prejudice against red hair ought to count for something. ✣✣✣ Speaking of styles, it now seems certain that the silk hat is reestablished in its old place atop men's heads, regardless of their looks or inches. ✣✣✣ We disesteem this headgear so whole-heartedly that we don't care if it is called a plug hat, even. ✣✣✣ We hope you all appreciate that you had regular hand art in the last editorial page. ✣✣✣ The credit goes to a generous husband. ✣✣✣ (No, not ours) ✣✣✣ whose modesty forbids more explicit mention. ✣✣✣ Well, we came. ✣✣✣ We're on our way, anyhow. ✣✣✣ The conductor has enjoyed a hearty laugh at the thought that a bunch of women on this train are on their way to "fix things all up." ✣✣✣ We just passed grim, gray West Point ✣✣✣ then an island arsenal, which looks like a military Coney Island ✣✣✣ then the Catskills full of lovely lights and shadows. ✣✣✣ And now here's Albany—and our postbox.

© *Bachrach*

Mrs. Nettie M. Clapp

MRS. NETTIE M. CLAPP (at the left) is chairman of the Women's Advisory Committee of the city of Cleveland for the coming National Republican Convention and will be responsible for the welfare of women delegates. Mrs. Clapp is also a member of the House of Representatives and one of Ohio's first women law makers.

To the right is Mrs. Oren Root, originator of a National Child Health Day, which will be celebrated all over the country on May first. The American CHILD HEALTH Association, with which Mrs. Root is associated, hopes that through this celebration parents, local health departments, and social organizations will co-operate more closely for child welfare.

© *Keystone View, N. Y.*

Mrs. Oren Root

Mrs. Frances Fenton Bernard

IN the center of the page is Mrs. Frances Fenton Bernard, the new Dean of Smith College, who will take the place vacated by Ada Comstock. Mrs. Bernard is at present Educational Secretary of the American Association of University Women.

Directly below is New York's director of policewomen — Mrs. Mary E. Hamilton. Mrs. Hamilton is putting on a double campaign; one to combat the subway masher, and another to protect the children on the streets so that they are not unnecessarily stamped with a police record.

© *Ella Jane Hardcastle*

Agatha Harrison

HERE is a picture of Agatha Harrison, who for the past two years has made a survey of factory conditions in Shanghai, China, and was instrumental in arousing public opinion there, with the result that a Child Labor Commissioner was appointed. She came to New York to speak before the Y. W. C. A. convention on behalf of international child labor regulation.

Mrs. Mary E. Hamilton

Franklin Simon & Co.

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Vol. LII Old Style
Vol. VIII New Style No. 26

OUR OWN DINGBATS

WELL, we all returned from Buffalo—in assorted stages of Convention Collapse—with notebooks full of unused material which is rapidly becoming untranslatable because we can't remember our personal emergency shorthand. ❖ ❖ ❖ One rescued scrap is Mrs. Upton's theory that this League of Women Voters Convention proved woman's progress because we all owned our own clothes, and because we went without asking any man's permission. ❖ ❖ ❖ No, we didn't see Niagara Falls. ❖ ❖ ❖ They kept them too far away. ❖ ❖ ❖ And having acquired a convention habit, we piled right off to the Y. W. C. A. big meeting almost as soon as we got back. ❖ ❖ ❖ There's a regular outbreak of conventions right now, have you noticed? ❖ ❖ ❖ Amazing what detachment a five days' absence produces. ❖ ❖ ❖ We have a distinct impression that spring has sneaked in during just those days, so little prepared were we for Central Park's lovely cherry blooms and the bunches of violets clutched in small boys' hands along the roadside. ❖ ❖ ❖ It has come to the point where one wouldn't feel decent picking violets oneself if a boy were anywhere in sight. ❖ ❖ ❖ Speaking of boys, we are reminded of dogs. ❖ ❖ ❖ A man sued for damages because a dog that was bent on other business—romping with his master, as it happened—accidentally bumped into him and tipped him over. ❖ ❖ ❖ The jury said a well-conducted dog has sidewalk rights just like other folks, even if he does own more feet. ❖ ❖ ❖ Hurrah for dog's rights! ❖ ❖ ❖ We object to stories that hang a characteristic on an entire race, but that is a good one from **Judge** about the MacTavishes who were attending radio church service. "Why are ye removin' the earphones, Sandy?" asked Mrs. MacTavish. "They're takin' up the collection now," was the answer. ❖ ❖ ❖ Won't it be exciting to listen to the Senate by radio? ❖ ❖ ❖ The other day they voted on the spelling of "mah jong." ❖ ❖ ❖ Just think, now, of getting that. ❖ ❖ ❖ The congressmen who got excited and tried to throw chairs and other props at each other should meditate on a notice sent out from a prize ring: The fight is off because the principals have quarreled. ❖ ❖ ❖ A complaint from an exponent of the modern system of child feeding is that you spend half your time imparting vitamines to your child and the other half disciplining him because of the excessive pep you have imparted. ❖ ❖ ❖ Maybe it was vitamines that made the little boy described in the Boston **Transcript** so smart. ❖ ❖ ❖ "Alfred," his mother said in a low tense voice, "if you disobey me I will spank you right here on the street." Alfred looked up. "Mother," he asked with interest, "where would you sit?" ❖ ❖ ❖ We are still brooding over the memory of the three women who, arms linked, came up to us at Buffalo, chanted "Do you write the Dingbats?" heard our affirmative syllable and swung away, non-committal. ❖ ❖ ❖ Did they think we looked it, somehow? ❖ ❖ ❖ We confess we fear the worst.

Women in the Public Eye

Wide World Photos

Alice N Leonard

WOMEN City Treasurers are scarce anywhere, and especially in New England, we hear. Miss Alice N. Leonard was recently elected to the office in Newport, Rhode Island. Any others in New England?

GABRIELLE DUCHENE is an organizer among the working women of France, and a member of the board of the Women's International League, here for the convention and summer school.

Gabrielle Duchene

HERE is the young woman from Mason City, Iowa, who runs a bus line with sixteen such cars. She started with one, which she drove herself. Railroads tried to stop her, but she won the battle. Helen Schultz is her name, and she is only twenty-three, even now.

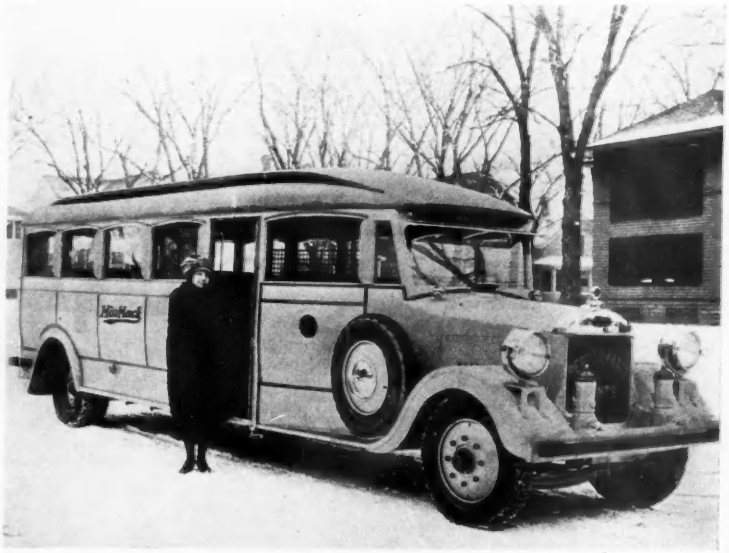
THE General Secretary of the World's Y. W. C. A. is an American woman who went abroad years ago — and stuck. She is Charlotte Niven, once of Dobbs Ferry, New York; who was drawn abroad by interest in immigration problems, and became traveling secretary for the Y. W. C. A. in Latin countries. Four years ago she took this high position, which makes the whole world her parish.

© Y. W. C. A. Photo Service

Charlotte Niven

Mrs. Herbert Hoover

THE Girl Scouts have been holding a convention too, and among other things they have reëlected as their national president Mrs. Herbert Hoover, of Washington, who has given them such devoted service. One of those other things is that they plan a $500,000 National Girl Scout Home in New York—a "building for American Girlhood." Two hundred and seventy-eight camps or camping trips were reported to headquarters last year, and plans run ahead of that for next summer.



Helen Schultz

The Woman Citizen

Volume VIII **JUNE 2, 1923** **Number 1**

News Notes of the Fortnight

State Doings

INTERESTING action taken by the states during the fortnight includes the following:

Florida, by the Senate's surrender, has abolished whipping as a form of punishment for both county and state prisoners, and the abolition of the leasing system for county convicts awaits the Governor's signature.

Governor Smith of New York has signed a bill which will have the effect of bringing the Ku Klux Klan out in the open by providing that it must file with the Secretary of State sworn copies of its constitution, bylaws, regulations, oaths of membership, together with the names of officers and members. The Klan is making defiant noises.

In Pennsylvania Governor Pinchot has just signed a bill that other states might well copy. It quite simply and directly makes participating in lynching, murder. It provides for fining anyone convicted of taking a prisoner from an officer of justice $10,000 and imprisonment for not more than ten years. An officer in charge of a prisoner who is taken by a mob of not more than three persons and lynched, shall be subject to a $5,000 fine or five years' imprisonment, and the county where a lynching occurs shall be subject to the payment of $10,000 for a dependent family or the same sum to the state if there are no dependents.

The Thirty-one Revived

LAST week President A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard started much discussion by challenging, in a speech at Washington, President Harding's recent declaration to the Associated Press that this country couldn't enter the League of Nations because "the Senate has so declared, the Executive has so declared and the people themselves have so declared." President Lowell claimed that President Harding had forgotten the events of his campaign, and harked back to the letter signed by the famous "thirty-one Republicans" who asked the country to support Mr. Harding for the presidency on the assumption that this was the best way to get us into a League of Nations. Both President Lowell and former Justice Clarke, speaking to the same purpose, asserted that the letter had been signed in the conviction on the part of the thirty-one that Mr. Harding was not opposed to the League with substantial reservations. They also denied that the League was the issue of the Harding campaign.

During the next day or two many of the signers were interviewed, and the somewhat mysterious origin of the well-known letter was again investigated. The mystery of its actual beginning still remains, but though the signers differed in details of the President's relation to the document, they all affirmed it was based on their understanding of his campaign utterances at the time.

Neither Mr. Hughes nor Mr. Hoover, both of whom were among the thirty-one, has had any statement to make; but an unnamed spokesman of the White House, granting that the statements of the thirty-one were made in good faith, and neither contradicting nor confirming their accuracy, said that the Administration has "done all it knew how to do" to carry out the pledges of 1920, but that it "isn't always possible to carry out all you intend to do."

Very Briefly

CHINESE troops are now driving against the bandits, who still hold fourteen foreigners, as well as many Chinese, prisoners. Negotiations between the bandits and the Chinese Government have so far been unsuccessful, foreign governments have not considered it wise to intervene, directly, and considerable doubt has been cast on the sincerity of the Peking Government in its efforts.

Five nations have protested to the State Department against the Supreme Court dry ship decision because of its conflict with their own laws providing for liquor rations on board ship. They are Great Britain, France, Italy, Spain and Holland. The Treasury Department is having a hard time preparing regulations to conform with the Supreme Court decision and at the same time avoid trouble with these other governments.

The conciliatory response of Russia to Lord Curzon's stiff note threatening to break off trade relations proved effective. Though the negotiations are not finished, the danger of a break has been averted.

Formal appeal has been taken to the United States Supreme Court from the New York Federal court's decision denying to the Department of Justice an injunction against the New York Sugar Exchange.

Governor Preus of Minnesota is not after all to come to the Senate through resignation and appointment by his successor, as the lieutenant governor declined to accept the plan. He will enter the primaries with other contestants. The primary election will be held June 18 and the special election July 16. It will be an important election because of the narrowness of the Republican majority in the Senate.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at its recent meeting voted endorsement of membership in the World Court, urged entrance into the League of Nations or some other effective form of association, and an international conference to settle outstanding problems such as armament.

America's bill of war claims, as presented to the Mixed Claims Commission, amounts to $1,479,064,313.92. The claims growing out of the "Lusitania" sinking alone are $22,606,000.

Two hundred thousand accidents to the eyes of workmen in industry occur every year, according to the report of the National Committee for the Prevention of Blindness. They report many plants with serious eye hazards where no protective equipment is furnished.

The New Prime Minister

MR. BONAR LAW'S resignation as Prime Minister of Great Britain had been for some time expected. He had gone abroad in pursuit of health, particularly the restoration of his voice. That quest having failed, he resigned at once on his return. Though he leaves a party by no means unified or in a strong situation, he has steadied the British ship and inspired confidence. His successor as Conservative Prime Minister is Stanley Baldwin, formerly Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose record during the past year has been distinguished by his conduct of the debt negotiations with the United States and by the presentation of a British budget which provides for a reduction in taxation. He is a manufacturer and has only in the past few years been prominent in political life.

Mr. Baldwin was deliberately chosen in preference to Lord Curzon, in large part because of the strength of the Labor group which constitutes the "opposition" in the government. With a Prime Minister from the House of Lords, where Labor has no representation, the government could hardly function. So far as personalities go, Lord Curzon has the disadvantage of the lofty and lordly tradition, while Mr. Baldwin is a plain, practical business man, who has roused no particular antagonisms in his career so far. Lord Curzon retains his place as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Lord Robert Cecil takes the post of Lord Privy Seal, and Mr. Stephen McKenna, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Liberal Cabinet of Mr. Asquith, will probably take that post in the present Cabinet a little later—a shock both to the Liberals and the Conservatives.

France came very close to losing her Premier last week too. In fact M. Poincaré did resign for something less than an hour, on the ground that the Senate had refused to try certain Communists whom he had asked it to try; but President Millerand declined to accept his resignation and induced him to withdraw it.

A Forward Step at Lausanne

ONE crisis has been passed in the long-drawn-out Near East Conference at Lausanne. Greece and Turkey, for ten days in a deadlock over the question of reparations for damages done by the Greeks in Anatolia, have arranged a peace. The negotiations were between Venizelos and Ismet Pasha, both of whom were eager to avoid the resumption of war which would have followed a failure to agree. Our representative, Ambassador Grew, is said to have been helpful in bringing about a settlement. By the terms of the agreement, Greece acknowledges her responsibility for the damages, and Turkey, because of the desperate financial condition of Greece, waives payment but accepts instead the city of Karagatch and the railroad line into it along the Bulgarian border. Both sides restore the ships captured since the Mudros armistice in 1918. Plenty of troubles remain to be worked out at Lausanne, but the belief is reported there that the settlement may come within three weeks.

Our Rhine Arrangement

THIS country has come off very comfortably indeed in the settlement of its Rhine Army costs. An agreement was signed last week, after many months negotiations, by which the United States can collect under both the Versailles Treaty and the Berlin Treaty. The Allies, in the final argument, wished us to be barred from direct collection—or anyhow from two methods; but all surrendered—presumably for the sake of expediency.

The American costs, $250,000,000, are to be paid out of allied cash receipts from Germany in twelve annual instalments. During the first four years we will be paid our instalments up to twenty-five per cent. of the cash receipts from Germany if anything is left over after the current cost of the Allied armies of occupation is paid. For the other eight years our payments will be a first charge on all German payments. Deficits in the first four years will be carried over, with four and a half per cent. interest, and in the case of serious arrears the United States can cancel, on three months' notice. Dyestuffs received are to be deducted from the amount due.

Strikes in the Ruhr

A NEW but not remarkable form of trouble has broken out in the Ruhr. There is a strike, inspired by Communists, among the mines and metal works of the Gelsenkirchen, Bochum and Dortmund regions, and the movement seems to be spreading through the Ruhr and even into unoccupied Germany. The motive of the strike is to secure higher wages, the Communists protesting that great sums are being spent to further passive resistance to France, while the needs of the workers, increasing with the constant increase in the cost of living, are not met. In various places Soviet organizations have been formed, and there is talk of a "workers' republic" in the Ruhr. So far the French troops have maintained a strict neutrality in the Red centers.

According to despatches from Paris, the French, while they say the uprising is directed by Communists' propaganda, do not believe that there is any danger of a popular adoption of Communism if by any means the dreadful gap between wages and prices can be lessened. Hunger is the driving force. It is also reported that the outbreak is having an effect on big business which may lead it to give the German Government guarantees for reparation payments which will satisfactorily back any new offer.

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Bashka Paeff is Russian, of course, but America is the country of her adoption, for she has lived in Boston since a baby. Her progress as a sculptor has been steady, and for some years she has had her own studio. The "Chaplains Memorial," a bas-relief now on the walls of the State House in Boston, depicts Miss Paeff's conception of the Christ-like sacrifice of Massachusetts service men, and is a splendid example of her art. It was unanimously chosen by the selecting committee from the five designs submitted.

While bas-reliefs have held a prominent place in Miss Paeff's work, they are not the only results of her molding fiingers. Figures, fountains, and lately animals —as our cover indicates—are numbered among her works.

Liberalism in the Church

IT has been a stormy fortnight in church gatherings. There was an outbreak in a Northern Baptist convention when the emotional John Roach Straton wanted the convention to refuse to allow Dr. W. H. P. Faunce, president of Brown University, to speak. Dr. Straton is a "Fundamentalist"—an extreme conservative, Dr. Faunce a liberal. Dr. Straton was silenced and his act is to be taken as that of an individual only.

But the same conflict was evident, even more dramatically, in the Presbyterian General Assembly, with William Jennings Bryan leading the Fundamentalists. Bryan was beaten in a motion to forbid the teaching of evolution in all church schools. He was successful in securing a motion that expressed sorrow over the liberal doctrines of Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Baptist preacher in the First Presbyterian Church in New York (where he constantly fills the church to the doors), and directed the New York Presbytery to make the teachings in the First Church conform to the system of doctrines taught in the Confession of Faith.

A very interesting sequel is a joint statement holding that there is no antagonism between science and religion, just issued by a group of forty eminent American men, including Cabinet members, college professors and business men.

Good News from Mexico

THE discussions in Mexico City between an American and a Mexican commission are going on to good purpose, it appears, with President Obregon taking active part. It is understood that the main issues that Mr. Hughes requires shall be settled before we recognize Mexico have been satisfactorily handled. Besides, the commissions are working out a scheme of permanent arbitration for any future disputes between the two countries. *May 29, 1923.*

Summing Up South America

By Carrie Chapman Catt

WHEN at the Baltimore Pan American Congress of Women, it was voted by the Latin American delegates to form a permanent Pan American Association, there was difficulty in finding officers who were able to give time enough to the task to secure constructive results. The delegates who came often represented no organizations of women and reported that little or no organization among women existed in their countries. As a Pan American Association must, if practical and effective, be a federation of national organizations, the proposed plan was contingent upon such organizations being formed where there were none, and upon the willingness of those already in existence to come into auxiliaryship. It was not at all certain that such an Association could be affected, or if so that it would operate in useful service to those concerned. It was clear that another Congress, this time a delegated one, must be held, and all the problems involved be thoroughly discussed by the women interested. I agreed to serve as tentative president for one year and to go to South America to make a survey of the prospects.

Women Pioneers

This brief explanation will account for my trip to South America. I was accompanied by Mrs. Van Lennep and Miss Babcock, of New York, and Miss Manus, of Holland. The letters I have sent from each country visited, have given some idea of what we found. This one is intended to be an abridged summary of the survey.

First, there is an unmistakable woman movement in South America, but it is in that state of individual effort which preceded the organized demand for various rights before 1848 in the United States, yet with a difference. The women of the United States established their own precedents and proved them good. These precedents all over the world are now established. Second, naturally these precedents reflect a tremendous influence upon the Latin countries. In consequence of these two facts women are admitted to universities in most of the South American countries, and women's colleges exist, although not of high standards of curricula. Girls go to the United States, France, or England to take degrees and governments assist girls to education along special lines in foreign countries in order to improve the quality of home teaching. Young women study law and a few profess to practice it. There are several women physicians in each country and we found women journalists everywhere, although limited in the character of work done. Curious invasions of old-time customs are seen, such as street-car conductors and women hotel staffs in Chile and women bank clerks in Panama. The Y. W. C. A. has a branch in all the countries we visited and has led out in several directions quite new in South America and is finding approval among considerable numbers of young women. There are also small organizations espousing various reforms such as woman suffrage, social hygiene, abolition of regulation of prostitution, etc., etc. I note that nearly all recent North American men writers on South America comment hopefully upon the "rising feminist movement" there and doubtless base their conclusions upon such evidences as these. The facts call for a more fundamental analysis.

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Buenos Airés—here or in Rio the 1924 Conference will meet

Just as Anglo-Saxon ideals and ideas dominated the constitutions and codes of law in the United States, Spanish ideals and traditions have dominated them in the Latin countries. The religion is Catholic, and Church and state are united in all of these countries but three. Most of them keep embassies or legations at the Vatican and the relation is very close and sympathetic. The Catholic Church permits no divorce. The Napoleonic Code with slight changes is in operation throughout South America and that means that the property of married women passes to the control of their husbands: wives must live where and how their husbands dictate; the children belong to the husband, and should a wife, tortured beyond endurance, escape and try to earn her living, the wages she earns may be claimed by a drunken and disloyal husband. One cannot imagine a more helpless human than a married woman whose husband has changed from protector and lover to a dissolute master. There is neither escape nor redress. Curiously, the woman who seeks relief through legal separation, which is sometimes permissible, is often cruelly punished by the increasing ostracism of public opinion while the guilty man suffers not at all.

The women of North America who in the early days strove to break through the wall of law and prejudice which "ringed them round" were Anglo-Saxon and of the same religion and class as those who had made the law and must amend it, if it were done. In South America it happens that the leaders of the so-called radical organizations, physicians, lawyers and many university girls—in other words, those who are leaders of the new movement—are rarely of strict Spanish origin, and their Catholicism is, in public opinion, often blemished by a leaning toward some reform such as disunion, or trained nurses in hospitals, or more satisfactory adjustments of unhappy marriages, etc., which runs counter to the Church opinion. Often the father or grandfather was German, English, French or Italian. The women, therefore, who are agitating for change of conditions are usually not of the class which comprises the authorities of government. In more than one country I was told that the "aristocracy," drawing its inheritance from Spain, had not produced a single woman to take a college course, enter a profession or lead an organization.

Superficial observers hastily lay the responsibility upon the Church. I do not agree with this conclusion in the least.

More Social Immorality?

Social immorality is either more general or more open than in North America. Foreigners who live in the country and the women of the country talk of it freely. The general opinion is that most men of means keep mistresses and that all wives are familiar with this fact. Indeed, the man who doesn't do so is often regarded as queer. My impression is that the average South American woman would choose relief

from the humiliation her husband's disloyalty causes her to all the opportunities, rights and liberty in the world. Under such conditions it follows that young women of the "protected classes" are not expected to go on the streets alone at any time and especially after dark. While a strict law exists in Buenos Aires permitting a woman insulted on the street to report the man offender to the nearest police—a law made possible by the protests of English and American women—the habit of "young men of good families" of speaking insultingly to women of all ages upon the street has not been corrected.

The young woman, therefore, who goes to college, takes a profession, enters business or joins a progressive movement, takes her reputation in her hands and risks her chances of matrimony, very precious in South America. The slightest transgression of the established habit of remaining silently in the back rooms of the house often arouses a suspicion of immorality which a woman may carry through a life-time. This form of intimidation has ever been the most effective weapon employed by convention to prevent the normal expansion of woman's sphere. The women of all lands have had to pass through it and it required stanch souls to bear the world's scorn. There are such in South America.

The Bearing of Religion

In South America this bondage is riveted more tightly upon women because of the difference of religion. Yet to my mind the Church does not oppose, it merely waits for the women to make their demand. In North America it was the Quakers who, supported by their men, were the first social rebels and dared to speak and to advocate causes. In South America the only groups I found of such comradeship were the Socialists. These women dare and do and their men applaud, but because Socialists are reputed to be anti-religious as well as anti-state, this very act builds the walls of convention temporarily higher. Other women braving outworn custom are as isolated as the solitary snow-capped peak in a range of uncovered mountains. The blessing is that most of them are as serene.

Not all of these women have learned the lesson "In matters of principle go against the current, but in matters of custom, go with it," and have challenged the rightness of law and custom alike without distinction of what is fundamental. This fact has in the estimate of the conservative discredited all efforts of women to free themselves from the genuine bondage imposed by the established order.

In my opinion the association in international conference with women of other lands will give inestimable assistance to the movements now weak and struggling. There is far more sympathy and understanding than I expected to find in the circles of the most conservative, but these women are timid and unwilling to announce their views, lest they be classed with the women who are now under fire. A Pan American Association can only be useful if the conservative and radical will tolerantly unite to work for their common causes. This phase of the problem is far more difficult and delicate than the women of the United States, where all classes have long been accustomed to work together, are likely to understand.

If the Association is finally formed, it will be a conservative one, dealing chiefly with education, home culture and child welfare. All these are extremely important and are unquestionably the most fundamental of the reforms needed. I believe, however, that

Mrs. Catt is on the Atlantic, westward bound, as this magazine goes to press. Where the promised Rome address is, no postman can say. CITIZEN *readers therefore get their South American summary now, with a "tourist" letter from Venezuela, which was thrown in on the South American trip, coming along later.*

the new organization will endorse and work for the abolition of the Napoleonic Code. We interviewed four presidents of republics and congressional committees in the other two countries, their presidents being absent. I found a hearty approval of this movement, and on this reform, imperative before the woman movement can go far, I anticipate that conservative and radical will unite, and with the approval of the best in state and Church that this outworn and degrading code of past centuries will be replaced by more liberal laws. Already Uruguay has led the way. Woman suffrage may or may not be a long way off. Self-government is far less perfectly operative in South America and many of the republics have government by dictators at least part of the time. Revolutions occur frequently and elections are almost meaningless. Under these conditions, the vote is far less important to these women than individual liberation from code and custom.

A serious and perhaps unsurmountable obstacle to the successful operation of a Pan American permanent Association will be the cost of the journey for delegates who attend the Congresses. These meetings could in consequence not be held frequently; yet unfortunately it is only through frequency of meetings that such an association could be closely enough welded together to arouse that inspiration and loyalty which produces work and progress.

Unless the unforeseen prevents, a Congress will be held in May, 1924 at Rio Janeiro or Buenos Aires. For North American delegates the cost will be between $750 and $1,000. Whether this Congress will be followed by permanent organization or not, is still an open question, but the next Congress will in any event be so planned that it will prove helpful to the women of the Latin countries.

Two other questions remain—do the women of the Latin countries want the help of the women of North America, and can the women of North America give help if it is wanted? The answer to both questions is involved in many delicate considerations. It so happens that a turn in the political road of Pan Americanism in general has taken place at this moment and a very decided turn it is. Until 1920 the Monroe Doctrine was interpreted to mean that the United States intended to prevent any European militaristic nation from carrying out imperialistic policies on the two American continents. There was a promise in the usual interpretation and the nations of South America felt a sense of protection since their own populations were small, while their immense territories and the richness of their undeveloped resources might easily arouse the greed of Europe. Events, however, chiefly connected with the acquisition of rights to build the Panama Canal and its fortification, the cases of Colombia, Panama, San Domingo, Haiti, Nicaragua and the perennial case of Mexico have aroused a very definite suspicion of the motives of the United States and the very definite accusation that imperialism has passed from Europe to the United States.

The Monroe Doctrine—Seamy Side

The most important newspaper in Argentina, *La Prensa*, declared editorially that the United States had much to gain from the Santiago Pan American Congress and that it had much to explain to South America. The newspapers throughout South America with noticeable unanimity reproduced this article. An Argentine writer quoted by *Current History* for February said:

"We do not desire to be nor could we continue being Pan Americanist. The famous Monroe Doctrine which appeared for a century to be our guarantee of political independence against European conquest has revealed itself gradually as a right of North America to intervene in our affairs."

This attitude of mind we heard over and over in every country. South American countries have their own differences, but on this point they seem in sympathetic agreement. The women as a whole are ill informed on political matters, but even they shared this view. Indeed, I heard more about the Monroe Doctrine in South America in four months than in a whole life time at home. Everyone knows about it and

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The High Cost of Sugar--Why?

By Basil M. Manly

THE fair price for refined sugar this year should be about seven cents a pound, if we consider the relation of world production and consumption and the other factors which under conditions of free competition should determine its market price.

Sugar is now actually selling at from three to five cents a pound above this fair price. The importance of this to the American people will be seen when it is understood that this means an increase of at least $300,000,000 in the American sugar bill for the year, and an equal amount of illegitimate profits for those who are benefiting by this unreasonable and unnatural increase in sugar prices.

No Sugar Shortage

There is no sugar shortage. On the contrary, the latest and most reliable estimate places the production of sugar for this year for the entire world at 18,212,839 tons, an increase of more than 500,000 tons over the production of last year. This is the estimate of Willett & Gray, who for nearly half a century have been the recognized statistical authorities of the sugar industry. I have checked their estimates over a period of ten years, and find them to be accurate within a fraction of one per cent. Their estimate is also confirmed by the most recent statements of the United States Department of Agriculture.

Against these authoritative estimates the newspapers and market journals are filled with various estimates of alleged authorities predicting shortages for the obvious purpose of sustaining the present artificial sugar prices.

My reason for saying that the retail price of refined sugar this year should be approximately seven cents is that this was the price during the early part of this year, several months after the new tariff had gone into effect, but before the price had been artificially inflated by speculative and monopolistic forces. Last year refined sugar was selling retail at from five to six cents a pound. This relatively low price was justified by the fact that there was an enormous carry-over of surplus sugar from the 1920 and 1921 crops. This huge surplus was largely due to the outrageous inflation of sugar prices in 1920, which sent the price of refined sugar to more than twenty-five cents per pound, and produced a "buyers' " strike similar to the boycott which is now so rapidly developing.

The present increase in sugar prices has taken place since February 10, 1923, following the issuance of a statement by the Department of Commerce which in the form given to the press bore the heading: "TREND OF WORLD SUGAR PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION. Production for 1923 only 125,000 tons higher than last year. Consumption needs estimated at 725,000 tons above production." The statement made no reference to the record size of the crop, and the only allusion to the fact that at the end of the year there will be a carry-over of 476,000 tons was contained in a small table inconspicuously printed in the middle of a long text statement.

BETSY AND I ARE GOING TO KILL ANOTHER BEAR
—Thomas in the Detroit News.

Mr. Manly is the Director of the People's Legislative Service, with headquarters at Washington. He has been prominent in the recent agitation to pull down the price of sugar, and is an authority on the subject. He presents here for CITIZEN *readers a clear view of the whole situation as he sees it. Women need not be reminded of the importance of the subject. Many organizations have been endorsing the method pictured in the cartoon above.*

On the morning of February 9, a prominent New York refiner sent a telegram to Secretary of Commerce Hoover, urging that this statement should not be issued, as rumors of its "bullish" character were already afloat in the market. No attention, apparently, was paid to this urgent request. This press statement, which was originally released for the morning papers of Monday, February 12, was prematurely made public on the afternoon of Friday, February 9, by the representative of a New York market news agency. Only one press association received notification of the premature release, and it sent the story out as a sensational sugar shortage prediction, printed in the morning papers of February 10.

When the New York Sugar Exchange opened on Saturday, February 10, it was flooded with buying orders, many of which, from distant cities apparently, could not have been sent after the statement was published in the morning newspapers, but must have been based on some kind of "inside information." As a result of the shortage statement from the Department of Commerce in the morning papers and the flood of buying orders, the sugar market went so wild on the morning of February 10 that the exchange had to be closed, because the market fluctuations had exceeded the prescribed limit for any single day.

On Tuesday, February 13, Secretary Hoover issued a statement that there was no sugar shortage. The market did not collapse, however, as might have been expected by those who attributed its rise solely to the shortage statement of the Department of Commerce, but continued to rise steadily during the next six weeks.

It would appear from this chain of circumstances that while the statement issued by the Department of Commerce was made the occasion for the extraordinary increase in sugar prices, there were other powerful forces which sustained the market and forced it to even higher levels after the misleading character of this report had been thoroughly exposed. While it is not possible at this time to fix the responsibility for the continued inflation of sugar prices, it is possible to present certain concrete evidence which indicates very clearly who controls the sources of America's sugar supplies.

Banks vs. Sugar

We find, in the first place, that 70 per cent. of the sugar produced in Cuba is controlled by a relatively small group of American corporations. These corporations are closely affiliated, and a representative of the Department of Commerce has been quoted recently as saying that the group is controlled by nine men, and that these nine know each other thoroughly. We find, also, that the sugar production of Cuba is controlled not only through this direct ownership of Cuban sugar plantations and sugar mills, but also through a control of Cuban credit and banking resources by American and Canadian banks,

which are closely affiliated with the American sugar corporations. The financing of the Cuban sugar crop is almost entirely in the hands of these American banks. They decide for the Cuban planter not only what acreage he should produce, but also at what price he shall sell his crop. These banks also directly own or control immense Cuban sugar properties, which came into their possession after the financial collapse of 1920.

These banks are closely interlocked with the American sugar corporations, which constitute what is popularly known as the sugar trust. The National City Bank of New York, for example, has on its board of directors Earl D. Babst, President of the American Sugar Refining Company, which controls 41 per cent. of the refined sugar of the United States, and James H. Post, President of the National Sugar Refining Company, Vice-President of the Cuban-American Sugar Company, and officer, director or trustee of nine other sugar corporations.

The extent to which control of Cuban sugar is concentrated in the hands of a few closely affiliated interests is summed up in a Havana dispatch printed in *Facts about Sugar* of February 10, 1923:

"The Rionda interests control about 8,000,000 bags, the National City interests about 6,000,000, the Atkins interests 3,500,000, the Royal Bank of Canada and the Cuban American Sugar Company about 1,500,000 each, the United Fruit Company and the Warner Sugar Refining Company about 1,000,000 each, the American Foreign Bank 500,000 bags and one strong Havana firm about 2,000,000 bags, making a total of about 25,000,000 bags controlled by interests whose financial strength and grasp of world conditions in the sugar trade are unquestioned, leaving only slightly over 3,000,000 bags whose owners may or may not be in a position to wait market prices corresponding to their ideas."

That this concentration of the control of Cuban sugar in a few corporations has a direct bearing on the present exorbitant prices of sugar is clearly indicated by the following statement in the same publication, under date of February 3, which, it will be noted, was just before the great rise in sugar prices started:

". . . The three principal handlers of raw sugar coming on the market at present, and in fact the only sellers able to offer sugar in quantity, are the interests grouped in the sales organization recently set up by the National City Bank and West India Finance Company, the Czarnikow-Rionda Company, and the Atkins interests. All of these are strong enough financially to be able to hold sugars when buyers' ideas fail to meet their views. . . . Under these conditions the few sellers who control the bulk of available raw supplies are able to impress their views upon the market. . . . The coming month, it is felt by many traders, will determine the trend of 1923 sugar prices. If the large interests that believe a higher level of values is warranted by existing conditions are able to hold the market up when the smaller producers begin to offer their sugars in quantity, it is said, the outlook for the rest of the year will be for higher prices."

Here, therefore, we have a combination strong enough to control American sugar supplies and prices. Whether these interests actually did operate in the manner indicated by the dispatch already quoted to inflate sugar prices artificially, cannot be determined except by examining the books of these companies and the records of the New York Sugar Exchange. Up to the present time, the Department of Justice appears to have taken no steps to examine the original records of these corporations. Instead, it brought an injunction suit against the New York Sugar Exchange to prohibit dealings in sugar futures.

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A New Job For New Women

By Albert Sidney Gregg

UP, up, up from a village grocery store to an important post with the Government, as a promoter of retail selling instruction in high schools—has been the history of Isabel Craig Bacon; and the rise was not as easy as those three little "ups" would signify.

First, she was general helper to her father—in the wholesale and retail grocery business in a small Ohio town. Then came, in succession, school teaching—one term—of the little red schoolhouse kind; working in an electric lamp factory; combining choir singing in Cleveland with a college course at Oberlin; beginning at the very bottom of the ladder in a Cleveland department store, as price marker. At the end of three days she was moved to the store superintendent's office, and then began a steady rise until she was secretary to the superintendent, and finally educational director of the store. For this position it was necessary to take a course in Mrs. Prince's Boston School of Education for Store Service and when she went back to Cleveland Miss Bacon had charge of the training of the entire selling force of the store—floor managers, salespeople, stock people and all. After two years, she became Director of Salesmanship in the Boston Public High

Isabel Craig Bacon

and Continuation Schools, and started in with a force of ten teachers and over four hundred pupils. The "laboratory" method was used—each pupil being required to work about half time in some Boston store. To my inquiry about the value of such a vocational course Miss Bacon said:

"One of the largest employed groups in America is that found in the field of retail distribution, and until recently very little has been done to fit these workers for their employment. Of course I consider salesmanship a profession for which education and special training are necessary. This high-school training bridges over the gap between school and business. The student gets adjusted to the store position while under the supervision of the teacher in charge."

This year there are about thirteen hundred pupils pursuing retail training courses in the Boston high schools (a far cry from the little red schoolhouse where Miss Bacon began her teaching.) Similar courses have been established in fifty representative cities in the United States.

"Another group that needs special instruction," Miss Bacon explained, "is made up of those already employed in stores. There are groups between fourteen and sixteen years of age—affected in some states by the continuation school laws—on which for some reason the school has lost its grasp. They can be aroused to greater intellectual activity and so to better store service by teachers especially trained to teach classroom work through occupation. English, arithmetic, spelling, geography and other subjects must be taught these young people, and the way we do it is

(*Continued on page 27*)

In Pursuit of Plebiscites

An Interview With Sarah Wambaugh

THIS is the story of a pursuit of plebiscites. It was a two-months' journey through parts of the world far off the beaten tourist track, that we do not often have occasion to locate on the map—and we'd need a nice new map, informingly colored, to locate some of them at all. Thirty-two times it crossed and recrossed borders, with endless waits for the inspection of passports and all the rest of the elaboration that the war has multiplied a hundred fold. And the traveler was Sarah Wambaugh, whom the *Citizen* proudly claims as one of its contributing editors, and who wrote to the *Citizen* from the very midst of the last League of Nations Assembly in Geneva. And besides that she has been a member of the League of Nations Secretariat and in between times a professor of history—a fact that proved of service when, as often, she heard the refrain, "Oh, you American don't know history."

Just what her mission was in the plebiscite pursuit is told in the formula with which she approached officials at boundary after boundary. "Good morning, sir," it went, in literal translation, "I am an American. I have a book written on plebiscites before the war. It was in 1920 published by the Carnegie Endowment. Now I would another book write on the plebiscites since the war."

Pleasantly Received

She made that speech to most of the officials in the plebiscite areas of Europe. She asked questions of almost everybody else—peasants, clerks, railway people as well as diplomats and government heads—every one. And not once did this woman, traveling alone in regions where very few foreigners travel at all, have an unpleasant rebuff. Many of the officials were eager to explain their plebiscites, of course, for various propaganda purposes—though in Upper Silesia Miss Wambaugh was often assured that "a plebiscite it is a nonsense." Then—Miss Wambaugh thinks—there is a habit of good manners in Europe. And there was the magic of the word America—which was a bit of a surprise. For we were told in the first years after the war, when America had failed the hopes of the world, the Americans were anathema abroad; but at least there was nothing of this in Miss Wambaugh's experiences. Last of all—though Miss Wambaugh doesn't seem to know it—there was the undeniable human fact that good manners, in any country, are especially quick in response to a young woman of pleasing appearance and charming manner.

© Harris Ewing.

Miss Wambaugh—who makes a special study of plebiscites

Miss Wambaugh was on her own in this mission—in every sense of the word. Not only did she travel alone, but she financed the expedition herself. Her conclusions we can not anticipate—they are for that forthcoming book. This aspires only to give a sketchy impression of a trip which, though its purpose was to gather information, had too the quality of a personally conducted peace mission, for Miss Wambaugh talked to many a border citizen about the futility and waste of hate and preached international co-operation whenever and wherever she could.

Her journey did not begin until she had spent a month at Geneva getting material on some of the plebiscites, in the library of the League of Nations. From there she set out to discover on the actual scene how the people felt about them, and what had determined their choices.

The beginning was at Vorarlberg, a bit of land that fits into the eastern side of Switzerland, and belonged to the old Austria. It has a population of mixed stock, of a marked gayety and cheer of temperament. They actually held a spontaneous plebiscite after the war and voted to join Switzerland. But Switzerland said no thanks for the compliment—she prefers intensive rather than extensive national development—and declined to adopt the stranger.

So Vorarlberg still belongs to Austria.

Moving from Austria's farthest west to her farthest south, Miss Wambaugh's next point in this quest was Klagenfurt in Carinthia, on the north side of the boundary between Austria and Jugo-Slavia. Here a plebiscite, under the treaty of St. Germain, between Austria and Jugo-Slavia, went in favor of Austria. Wonderful towering mountains lie along the Jugo-Slavic border and the people, mostly peasants, voted for their nearest, most convenient and accessible market.

Here as everywhere else Miss Wambaugh was acutely conscious of the distress of the cultured classes. The peasants in this region were not badly off—many of them had more than they had been accustomed to, and didn't know how to spend it—incidentally, the priests were urging them to buy those ornamental glass balls for their gardens. But there was a fund for the middle classes, and its secretary, who made her slender living by that work, was a touching illustration of the changed circumstances of the cultured people and of their keen distress too over the intellectual and artistic future of Europe. All the food that she had for her mother and herself came from the fund; they had almost no fuel; yet her object in trying to get domestic work in England or Holland was not to better her condition so much as to provide money for the destitute music school in Klagenfurt.

The Young Man Problem

Northeast now—to the Burgenland, on the Austrian-Hungarian border, where a plebiscite had been held in a tiny bit of territory about Sopron, and had gone in favor of Hungary. Miss Wambaugh found there a group of Hungarian officials, exceedingly skillful at propaganda. Notified in advance of her coming, they were ready with an amazingly perfect array of papers to demonstrate the excellence of their plebiscite, since they wanted to see such plebiscites taken all around the border. Here as in other places she was made acquainted with one of the most grievous problems of Europe—the young men. Everywhere they are adrift—literally as well as figuratively. From the cut-off region that has gone by plebiscite or award to another sovereignty, for instance, they wander back to the original homeland; or they invade the area under its new rule. And very often trouble follows. Mental unrest is more acute among the young

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Of Social Workers, Shriners,

Ambassadors, and Trips

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Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

May 24, 1923.

THERE are times in the year when Washington settles down to comparative quiet and seems to be only the home town of a President and a few politicians. And then again, as it is now, it echoes with the whang of conventions of every kind mingled with spurts of reviving politics. In the letter this week your correspondent will endeavor to give you a picture of what the Capital has been like during the fortnight in its diversified interests. George Harvey again has been rolling up Sixteenth Street filling a limousine with his shell glasses. He and the President have played golf and held conferences in an extremely friendly atmosphere. If Colonel Harvey is thinking of resigning his portfolio, he is going at it in a wholesome manner. At least he has had what he wanted from the early days of his appearance on the political scene. It is current around the Capital that he had been offered many things and declined them all, frankly saying that the only position that interested him was Ambassador to the Court of St. James's. And in such a position, the irrepressible *Harvey's Weekly* was quiescent. Its violent pen could not be directed against either Republican or Democrat. "Out of business" by virtue of the London post was a safe disposition of so powerful and vitriolic a weekly.

Ambassadors Confer

Henry Fletcher, Ambassador to Belgium, one of the President's intimate advisers, is considered high in his favor in case Colonel Harvey should decide to resign. This, however, would not be a popular appointment here. Mr. Fletcher is considered a man of great personality without marked intellectual ability. Washington thinks of the London post in terms of such men as Whitelaw Reid, Walter H. Page, John H. Davis and illustrious predecessors. But only the President knows what the conference of himself, Colonel Harvey and the Ambassadors from Japan and Germany will bring forth. It is hardly conceivable that they all "happened" to be at the White House just before the President left for a long trip.

But Colonel Harvey has been a quiet and incidental part of the picture for the last week. The town has been in the hands of social workers and Shriners. There have been two focal spots, one the Baker Bank Building downtown where the National Conference of Social Work had its headquarters, and the other a certain large plate-glass window which holds President Harding's picture posed with a large red Shriner's cap and tassel, symbolic of the extent to which the Capital is about to be taken over by the Mystic Order of Shriners. Grand-stands are built all over the sidewalks and up into the trees. Old residents of the Capital may not park automobiles anywhere downtown. Streets are turned into one-way thoroughfares and homekeepers advised to buy all supplies for a fortnight ahead of time. Those who have the money are clearing out with all their *kinder* before these "hundreds of thousands" of Shriners take possession.

Directly in contrast to the Shrine carnival spirit have been the earnest crowds of social workers who have just held the most successful, constructive and forward-looking national conference in the history of social work. It has been attended by delegates from Europe and other countries and has been addressed by men and women who have had experiences in many parts of the world. It has filled auditoriums in Washington to capacity with groups and divisions of the main conference. Poli's Theatre with 2,500 seats has been full, and Continental Memorial Hall with its 1,850 has been used over and again for a meeting-place. There were 5,000 social workers in Washington, many of them attending sessions from 9 a. m. until 10 p. m. Mrs. Harding graciously entertained them on the lawns of the White House with the Marine Band out in force.

The newly-elected President of the National Conference, Miss Grace Abbott, chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, was a popular nominee whose election was a gratification to the Capital. Her work in the Children's Bureau has been highly commended by officials and laymen alike. Personally she has endeared herself to many with whom she has come in contact. It was a signal honor to have been elected. The office of President has been held by men noted for their achievements in humanitarian work; Allen T. Burns, Homer Folks and others. Miss Abbott's chief opponent for the place was William J. Norton, Secretary of the Detroit Community Fund.

In Recognition of Women

When he withdrew in Miss Abbott's favor, he put himself on record in a statement gratifying to women:

"There has been a growing feeling for several years," he said, "that the importance of women's contribution to social work should be recognized by a more frequent election of women to the presidency of the conference. We are closing a great anniversary meeting and any act of ours stands out more prominently than usual. The men who are engaged in social work may well express their friendly feeling for the aspiration of women and the progress they are making by beginning the second half century of our great quest for a better society with a woman in the President's chair of the conference. And of more importance is the fact that the woman who has been nominated for the presidency is the head of the United States Children's Bureau. Every social worker in America believes profoundly in that governmental organization. We presented a united front to the Congress of the United States in the effort to have it created. We are still unanimous in our belief in the idea back of the Bureau. We have a splendid opportunity to show that devotion to this governmental institution of ours by bestowing here, in the nation's Capital, the honor of our presidency upon

the Bureau's chief. I, therefore, withdraw myself as a nominee for the presidency, and urge unanimous support for Miss Abbott."

Miss Abbott was a worker at Hull House, Chicago, from 1908 to 1915. For two years she directed the Child Labor Division in the Children's Bureau, and in 1921 she succeeded Miss Julia Lathrop as head of the Bureau. For five years she was director of the Immigrants' Protective League, having had executive experience in this work as Secretary of the Illinois Immigrants' Commission. Miss Abbott wrote "The Immigrant and the Community." Delegates from the United States were much heartened by the complimentary attitude of foreign visitors. One outstanding comment was:

"American social workers have gone farther and achieved more than those of any other nation."

The next Conference on Social Work will be held at Toronto. The selection was made, among other reasons, with the idea that such liaison would further the great work in both countries and promote good relations, and, moreover, that it would be a compliment in recognition of the great work which has been done in Canada both by the government and by its social workers for veterans of the World War. We learned a great deal from Canada when rehabilitation problems confronted the United States.

Plans for Alaska

With all the pressure of conventions about him, with medals to confer and golf matches to play, to open a new municipal course in Rock Creek Park, the President has gone steadily on in making his plans for his Alaskan trip. It was thought last week that Mrs. Harding might not be strong enough to carry it through, but she again has improved by the force of her indomitable will. Mrs. Harding still is obliged to be extremely careful and in no way is allowed to over-exert herself. The President's program for his Alaska trip is so comprehensive and entails so much first-hand investigation that it would hardly seem possible for him to make a short stay and cover the ground. It is obvious by the task he has set himself in Alaska that he intends to make that the compelling and major interest of his whole trip.

Comment here has recently been that it was not necessary for President Harding to campaign for his proposition for membership in the Permanent Court of International Justice, as a poll of the Senate already shows that seventy-three Senators would vote to have the United States adhere to the protocol of the Versailles Treaty which provides for membership in the Court. This is only an informal count, but it seems to be satisfactory to many as evidence that although the President will have opposition, a safe two-thirds of the Senate can be depended upon to vote in favor of his proposal with the reservations which he himself provided, if and after the proposition gets through the Foreign Relations Committee. The committee is packed with the Irreconcilables and those Senators whose votes, unfortunately, are classed as doubtful. In this instance, the trouble in the Foreign Relations Committee is all out of proportion with the rest of the Senate. Senators Brandegee, Hiram Johnson, Borah and others would be noisy opponents, but not dangerous outside the Foreign Relations Committee; inside it they are in a position to cause President Harding a great deal of concern.

Borah vs. Harding

However, the controlling element in all this situation is the coming presidential election when it will be unhealthy, politically speaking, to have trouble within the party, and sharp dissension between the Executive and his Senator leaders. Senator Borah is already on the road in opposition to the President, and his speeches in the West have brought forth the wrath and censure of some Republican and Democratic editors. His main argument, however, which he dresses in forceful and sometimes alluring language, is that he could respect a man who believed in the League of Nations and fought for it, or a man who disbelieved and fought against it, but not the one who took over its benefits and tried to rid himself of its obligations, which he construes joining the World Court and dissociating the League to be.

But the President apparently is not crossing this bridge until he is faced with the crux of the situation, which will not come until the convening of the new Congress next December. He has on his desk a list of the problems he desires personally to investigate in Alaska and he believes that he can solve half the difficulty by actually seeing with his own eyes what is going on. Briefly, the Alaskan questions are the following: As will be seen, they are vital and fundamental matters involving not only the present but the future condition of this great territory.

Shall a single department of the Government administer Alaska?

Shall Alaskan population be forced to increase and begin development of resources by a colonization or immigration plan?

Shall the Government have trained men in Alaska to search out and report on the mineral resources?

Shall the Alaska Railroad be reinforced and developed?

Shall the road systems and trails be enlarged by increasing the regular appropriations?

Shall the fishing industry in all its ramifications be controlled by the Department of Commerce as the supreme authority with a view to checking its extinction and reckless exploitation?

Shall the Government endeavor to improve aids to navigation along the Alaskan coast?

Shall the Government undertake further protection of seals?

Shall the Department of Justice take over all the law-enforcing agencies?

Shall the mining laws be improved to encourage industry?

Shall vessels of the United States Shipping Board be devoted to improving Alaskan commerce?

Shall the Government erect an administrative building in Alaska?

Shall tourist roads be constructed?

Shall new game laws aid conservation of animals?

Shall revenue derived from nearby Pribilof Islands be diverted to Alaskan funds?

These problems have had the President's closest attention. He has been in conference with Cabinet officers and Government officials in order to start out with the best information available. He has given far more study to the Alaskan end than to the speeches he will make on the way. The best that can be said of them is that they will be perfunctory. The President may rise to the situation when he finds himself in the center of a huge cheering throng, but his preparation is to avoid controversial topics and to speak on that great standby, always of interest in the wide West, the railroads.

Premier Baldwin Liked

There has been a decidedly favorable reaction at the Capital over the selection of Stanley Baldwin as the new Premier of Great Britain. Little is said, in accordance with tradition and precedents which hold it out of order to comment openly upon the appointment of high officials of foreign governments; but Mr. Baldwin is pleasantly remembered here and is associated in the minds of those who had to do with the settlement of the British war debt to the United States, as a man exceedingly keen and more than usually frank and simple. He has little of the superficial diplomacy of some of the old school of European politicians. He speaks his mind in a direct and kindly way, and his appointment to the high position in the British Government is taken as a favorable sign, particularly in the matter of the winding up of the agreement between the United States and Great Britain as to the manner and terms of the settlement of the war debt. Much is expected from him by Senators here in the way of the formulation of a foreign policy for Great Britain which will be compatible with the best ideals for international peace.

The Capital is becoming more and more a national art center, as it should

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Editorially Speaking

Congratulations to Italy

THIS is the *Citizen's* first chance to rejoice publicly over the promise of enfranchisement for Italian women. Surely, to use the old quotation, the Lord moves in a mysterious way his wonders to perform. Given an anti-feminist and a dictator, one hasn't much reason to expect conversion within a few months to the point of promising his countrywomen the vote. Only, maybe it would not be considered irreverent to say that where Mrs. Catt comes into the equation there is no mystery about results. Just how Premier Mussolini was most influenced to change his mind remains to be found out; but from reports received here it is generally believed among suffrage leaders that not only the preparations for a suffrage conference in general but Mrs. Catt's personal presentation to him of the status and the needs of women all over the world, counted heavily. Premier Mussolini at any rate deserves cordial appreciation from the rest of the world's women, and we hereby offer him our share. May we add the pious hope that the French senators are embarrassed and ashamed of themselves.

Why Not a United States of Europe?

IMAGINE every one of our forty-eight states a separate government, each with its own tariff walls, its own transportation system, each with its own armed forces, its own military organization. That is what Miss Maude Royden (we're still quoting her, you see) asked us to do in order to get a vivid sense of what Europe is like today. There they are—big and little nations, the big ones with the centuries of conflict that we know, the new little ones intoxicated with the heady wine of freedom and some of them, Miss Royden said, "behaving almost as badly as the big nations"—all bristling behind their trade and military barriers, and many of them starving there. For of course production in such conditions is pitifully skimped, and distribution crippled. It is only where modern science can work freely over great areas, that great prosperity is possible. The only hope Miss Royden sees—"the dream that must come true if Europe is to survive in any human and civilized way"—is some sort of economic getting-together—some form of an United States of Europe.

Miss Royden looks to us to help Europe find the way. We have done the thing here—under different conditions, to be sure, but still we have done it. She reminded us that our struggle to get the states together had not been an easy one, that we hadn't succeeded in doing it without a tragic war; but the union had nevertheless been so welded that it could not now be conceived of as being broken. Europe can not use the same formula, but Europe must *learn to live together*, must find a way to develop economically as a unit, or there will be no Europe.

Of course, the idea isn't new—Queen Elizabeth had it, so had others down the centuries. Such an ideal comes, and goes, and comes again before it finds wide acceptance. But now there is crisis—it is, after all, the whole world's problem, and it must be solved, but most imperatively in Europe. It is an idea that heightens the importance of every gathering together of the nations around the conference table—whether in a special meeting, in the League of Nations, or in the World Court. Getting acquainted is a necessary step toward the complete getting together.

The Ruhr by itself shows this need in concentrated form. Whatever the rights or wrongs of the two sides, the one basic fact is that the German Republic and the French Republic must learn to live as neighbors, or else the conflict will be repeated again and again until there is destruction. All solutions that are not in the long run means to bring about neighborly living, are not fundamental.

Spoils and Diplomacy

IN the early days of the United States, when its people were utterly absorbed in developing a new continent, foreign affairs were not of great importance to them. The World War brought home to us how completely the situation has changed, how intimately we touch edges with all the rest of the world and how interwoven are the welfare and prosperity of all of us.

The easy-going policy of the United States which regards its most important diplomatic posts as political spoils may not have mattered so much in the past, but it has become a positive danger.

Ray Stannard Baker in his book reviewed in another column, describes it:

"America has never had a thoroughly well trained, well paid diplomatic service in any way equal to that of European nations. Its great ambassadorial offices in Europe during the mightiest war in history were mostly held by political appointees, a few of them able men but wholly without training or special knowledge of foreign affairs. A Democratic administration turns out Republicans who have begun to get a little knowledge and puts in Democrats. A Republican administration follows and does exactly the same thing. The result is that American amateurs are always meeting European or Asiatic professionals." In her speech before the General Federation of Women's Clubs at Atlanta, the President, Mrs. Thomas G. Winter, urged the necessity of a change in this policy.

It is all a part of the ugly "spoils system." What can we do about it?

The Prize Editorial

LAST summer when William Allen White was arrested for expressing a certain percentage of sympathy for the striking shopmen he wrote an editorial about free speech. That editorial has been pronounced by the committee awarding the Pulitzer prizes the best newspaper editorial for 1922. The *Citizen* published a paragraph of it with a line of appreciation, long ago, and held the intention of publishing the whole some time. There never seemed to be any hurry about it, because the editorial will be good as long as type is read or until its doctrines have become commonplaces of practice—and certain events make one fear that may be a long time yet. But a magazine with a free speech plank in its platform must not allow another year's issues to be bound within covers without including for permanent record this fine expression of a fundamental American ideal. So here it is:

To An Anxious Friend

"You tell me that law is above freedom of utterance. And I reply that you can have no wise laws nor free enforcement of wise laws unless there is free expression of the wisdom of the people—and, alas, their folly with it. But if there is freedom, folly will die of its own poison, and the wisdom will survive. That is the history of the race. It is the proof of man's kinship with God. You say that freedom of utterance is not for time of stress, and I reply with the sad truth that only in time of stress is freedom of utterance in danger. No one questions it in calm days, because it is not needed. And

the reverse is true also; only when free utterance is suppressed is it needed, and when it is needed, it is most vital to justice. Peace is good. But if you are interested in peace through force and without free discussion, that is to say, free utterance decently and in order—your interest in justice is slight. And peace without justice is tyranny, no matter how you may sugar-coat it with expediency. This state to-day is in more danger from suppression than from violence, because in the end, suppression leads to violence. Violence indeed, is the child of suppression. Whoever pleads for justice helps to keep the peace; and whoever tramples upon the plea for justice, temperately made in the name of peace, only outrages peace and kills something fine in the heart of man which God put there when we got our manhood. When that is killed, brute meets brute on each side of the line.

"So, dear friends, put fear out of your heart. This nation will survive, this state will prosper, the orderly business of life will go foward if only men can speak in whatever way given them to utter what their hearts hold—by voice, by posted card, by letter or by press. Reason never has failed men. Only force and repression have made the wrecks in the world."

We Should be in the Readers' Guide

"WHY isn't the *Woman Citizen* among the magazines which are indexed in the Readers' Guide?" is a question which has been asked us many times during the past year, and several letters have come in begging us please to see to it that the *Citizen* is included.

Since other friends may not know the situation, the *Citizen* would like to explain that the periodicals included in this list of the Readers' Guide are selected by a vote of subscribers to that index. There are only one hundred periodicals chosen, and naturally the older and better known magazines have the advantage over the new ones. The subscribers to the Readers' Guide are largely libraries. The *Citizen* ought to be included, as it is the only place where one can obtain constant and authentic information about women in public, club and political life, the world over. If you would like to see the *Citizen* extend its influence, show it to your librarian, if she does not already know it, and urge that she cast her vote this summer for the inclusion of the *Citizen* in the Readers' Guide list.

That Lovely Twelve-Hour Day

WILL women begin at the wrong end of things as men do when they have as much power in public affairs? It seems so obvious, when one looks at it simply, that the human approach to economic and industrial questions is the right one, and that whatever means denial of simple human rights to human beings is somewhere all awry. Will women cut through to essentials?

What starts the question just now is the decision of the steel industry that the twelve-hour day can't at present be abolished. They say, for one thing, that there isn't enough labor to make a shorter shift possible, and pass the blame to Congress for restricting immigration. Naturally, the suspicion at once arises that this is propaganda for the admission by immigration of sufficient cheap labor to pull wages down. But the question is one of fact, and one response to be made is that with an eight-hour-day American labor, which now will not enter the steel industry, would probably be available.

Another reason offered by the steel people for preserving the twelve-hour-day is that the rights of the consumer of steel would be affected unfavorably. When will we see that the consumer *has* no rights founded on the exploitation of a whole class of human beings? Will women see that, and be willing to face the consequences?

But the choicest part of the report is the plaintive effort to prove that the twelve-hour day is in fact rather nice, and preferred by many workers. One really wonders why they hope to abolish it, ever. All this is old matter and often refuted. If one holds the ideal of normal living for human beings, it is sufficiently obvious that it can't be fulfilled for them on a basis of twelve hours a day devoted to work. Anyone who is tempted to accept the rosy picture painted by the report has only to refresh his memory with the Interchurch World Movement chapters on what the twelve-hour day in fact does to workers.

It is a comfort that President Harding is at least disappointed with the Steel Trust's decision.

Fair Trial for a Play

WHATEVER may be the difference of opinion as to the rightness of the judgment that condemned the play called "The God of Vengeance," there should be satisfaction with the method by which the judgment was reached. For the play had a fair trial by jury, like any other defendant.

It is true that this is a drama which many clean-minded and discriminating people considered not only remarkable artistically but powerful morally. It is the work of a playwright of reputation and has been performed abroad for a number of years, as well as in Yiddish here before its English run began. The play depicts life in a brothel—in such a way, its admirers say, as to make vice appalling rather than attractive. Though we haven't seen it, and so have no opinion, we can't help wondering about the comparative effects of such a play and of the musical comedies that cheapen virtue and make vice alluring. Still, the main point is that the play has had the kind of chance at justice that we seek for all activities. In the view of many of us, this is the better way—censorship being the worse.

Motoring vs. Citizenship

AN entertaining incident was told to us the other day—or at any rate it was told with the idea on the narrator's part of entertaining. It was about a man who was driving his car along a great highway near New York, when he was arrested by a motor policeman for speeding. Whether or not he really was speeding could not be proved. He said he wasn't. The policeman said he was. There was some discussion, and then the policeman said "I can't talk to you here—I'll go ahead there at the turn and you can follow." The motorist, alert to the hint, followed. As he came up with the policeman, quite unostentatiously he handed him a ten-dollar bill—and went on.

The narrator's argument was that policemen around here do this constantly—just make a business of holding up travelers, who will buy them off rather than submit to the inconvenience of having to appear in court the next day and fight out a case in which they can probably produce no evidence.

We submit that this is a question of citizenship. If a man is breaking the law (and the law that forbids speeding is surely a good one) he owes his fine to the community and not to the policeman. In any case he owes it to the community to show up a law-breaking bribe-taker. This sort of thing is a chip off the same block as the graft and corruption that ruin governments.

Is the Kitchen Sacred?

A QUIET thought for this small corner: Who started the idea that a kitchen is necessarily sacred and that if a woman honestly doesn't like it, she is something less than woman, and probably has a cold, untender nature? Well, not knowing, we can't say; but the needle of suspicion points unswervingly to Man. Certainly it would have served his purposes to glorify the kitchen, and we've noticed that he often serves them. All this has a bearing on the housework problem which *Citizen* readers are discussing. For it must be solved from the point of view of a woman's right to choose in this kitchen business, according to her own taste, capacity and situation. Which is no reflection on the kitchen. On the contrary, housekeeping must be so raised, so standardized, that it too will be a recognized profession, and a woman's choice between it and some profession outside her home will not have emotional factors.

Which, we submit, will be a better way to glorify a kitchen.

What the American Woman Thinks

The Civil Service

By HELEN H. GARDENER

We are happy to introduce our newest Contributing Editor, Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, the only woman Civil Service Commissioner, who, with her two colleagues, is directly responsible to the President. Mrs. Gardener says she hasn't time to write about anything except Civil Service, and we are glad to have her authentic explanation of what it is and what it needs. Later, she will write a second article-editorial, including a discussion of women in the Civil Service.

A VERY simple and easy way, it seems to me, to make clear to the minds of busy men and women just what is meant by the term "Civil Service" is to speak first of the military and naval services.

Almost any one has at least a general idea of what a soldier or a sailor means when he says that he is "in the service." You know that he belongs to a group of men set aside to perform certain governmental tasks, that he is subject to rules, regulations and requirements deemed necessary to make him efficient as a unit in that part of the Government. He means that to become a soldier he has had to "take an examination" such as is necessary to insure that he is capable physically and mentally of being efficient as a soldier. He is not chosen because he is a Democrat nor because he is a Republican. When the administration changes the Army and Navy is not all flung out and men of the other political party enlisted. The enlisted personnel and the trained officers remain the same and no one asks their politics. They ask, "Is he an efficient officer? Is he a loyal and capable soldier?"

Now, there is a third branch of the Government service which is strictly civil, or, in other words, not military. It handles pretty much all of the remaining needs of government. This army of men and women is larger than *both* the Army and Navy, even as the every-day civil needs of our lives are more continuous and numerous than are the military ones. In March, 1923, the personnel of the Army—officers and enlisted men—totaled 134,000; the Navy 92,700; and the civil services 556,600.

These men and women in the civil branches of the Government are also "in the service," as are the Army and Navy men in the military service. Upon this vast group depend the working of our courts, our post-offices, our tax and revenue offices—a hundred and one things that "make the wheels go round" in our everyday life and for which *you* pay more than a half billion dollars a year, and for which you want efficient service. You don't know and you don't care whether your mail carrier is a Democrat or a Republican. What you want is an able-bodied, efficient, faithful, honest man to handle your mail, to get it to you on time and not to deliver with it the germs of some loathsome disease. This applies to the thousands of clerks and investigators in the civil service—in *your* service.

Before there was a "merit system" in our Government these positions were not looked upon as being governmental needs, for which the very best qualified persons should be sought. But they were looked upon as political or personal "spoils" by which the worthless brother or the half-witted niece or the drunken friend of some political worker—some professional politician—was

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rewarded for his work for the successful candidate.

That was a theory of government that is still far from extinct. It is still almost a daily occurrence that some Representative or Senator or other political leader will urge the appointment of some man or woman who cannot or does not take the appropriate examination in open competition with others, because "he is a good political worker or she has to support her old father or her two children."

Now, no one on earth is more sympathetic than I when it comes to the man or the woman who is needy, who has a heavy load to carry and no visible way to meet the expense. But when I am urged to "just this time" have a constituent given this place "because she belongs to a good family, is in need, and I am at my wit's end to know what to do with her," I am obliged to decline. A prominent official recently made such an appeal to me. I asked if he thought she could do the work. "Yes, I think so—*well enough*, anyhow."

I asked, "How well do you know her?" His reply was, "I inherited her from my predecessor. I've known her for years. I've been trying to place her all this time."

"You know, do you not," I said, "that she has been placed temporarily by you and others a number of times and that it is always the same as it has been in private employment—they simply can't keep her?" "Yes, I know that only too well," said he, "but I thought if you'd place her in the civil service she *might do there*."

"You will pardon me, but don't you know that she is mentally unbalanced? That she ought to be in an institution instead of an office?"

"Yes, indeed, I know that, but what can *I* do? I have no power to put her in an asylum and I thought maybe with your well-known sympathy for and desire to help women you'd help me to get her once more a chance in a Government position."

"No, I am sorry I can't help her in that way. My oath of office requires me to try to secure for the work of the Government the very best and most reliable persons to be found for the work to be done. It requires open competitive examinations to test the ability, knowledge, reliability and dependability of these applicants. Under that oath do you think we are justified in recommending a person, however unfortunate, who we know is mentally unsound and who has proven this fact over and over when placed?"

It is only just to say here that the Senators and Representatives who have been in Washington the longest do not usually take this attitude, as they have learned that such a procedure ultimately works to their own disadvantage. They also learn after their first term, as a rule, the very real need for efficiency in Government work.

Another case that illustrates the point of view and the ethical outlook toward their own Government was this: A mother urged me to "just raise her daughter's marks those few points because she has tried so hard and she simply can't pass."

"But," said I, "she would *have* to know these things in which she is now deficient to do the work you ask that she be trusted with."

"I know," she replied, "but she'd get along *some* way and I know there are others who knew less than she does who do get in."

With the valor of ignorance she was willing to have her daughter take a chance at a job she knew she did not and probably never could grasp.

Now, that is both funny and pathetic. But it is no longer funny, nor is it pathetic, when the "spoils" system men want to disorganize, destroy and make both inefficient and wastefully expensive the government positions upon whose proper functioning depend the health, the lives, and the prosperity and happiness of all of us.

Inefficiency in the public service there is, and there will be under the best possible regulation even of the merit system, because at best it cannot be perfectly managed any more than your private home can always be perfectly run. A servant may be dishonest after you have tried in every way you know to test him for honesty. A cook may burn the steak, even though she is a good cook, a maid may set fire to the house after having proven a fine maid. Your doctor may make a mistake in treating you, although he has taken all the medical training available, but these facts would not justify you in sending for a blacksmith when your child had the croup or getting a plumber to make your husband's evening suit because his trained tailor made a blunder the last time or because he votes your way.

Which is all by way of saying that because the merit system—the method that gives an open, competitive examination on the topics designed to show fitness for a job—may not always succeed in getting the very best person to fill that job, it *is* far and away superior to the spoils or political plan.

People who do not know seem to have the idea that we use the same methods and the same types of questions for any and all kinds of positions—which is wholly incorrect. An $8,000 postmaster does not take the same examination as a person tested for clerk, biologist, chemist, or policeman, and he does not report at an examination room to write his answers. He states, under oath, from his own home or office his education, his former and present business experience, and his general qualifications. These are all sent on to be rated by men who never saw him and who stack up against the claims of one man those of all who apply for the same office. Each applicant sends the names of the five references to whom we may go for confirmation of his claims.

Suppose you have ten men in your city who apply for the position of postmaster. Each gives five references. Then the leading bankers, merchants, lawyers, doctors and other representative citizens who have a deep interest in the proper working of their postoffice are seen by skilled and practical inspectors—one from the Civil Service and one from the Post Office Department, working together. These inspectors send in their report and the applicants are "rated" on education and training, business experiences and fitness. Then the three persons who appear to have the highest and best qualifications for postmaster are certified as the three highest to the Post Office Department, and according to the order of President Harding the Post Office Department recommends to him the appointment of one of the three for postmaster and he makes nomination accordingly to the Senate, where confirmation is necessary before the appointment becomes an accomplished fact. If a man has been a crook, if he lacks any of the sterling qualities of a first-class business man, if he is a loafer, a drunkard, has a loose character, *some* of those people interviewed are likely to bring out these facts. If there is a doubt as to the facts the man is given a chance to correct or explain.

Character investigation becomes a part of some examinations, as in the Post Office, and I believe should be a part of all of them. A man's or a woman's reputation for integrity of character, honesty, ability and willingness to pay his debts, reputation for general honor among his neighbors or his employers forms a part of every examination for postmaster, and some other outstanding positions.

In this connection I would like to say that the lengths to which political factions and opponents will go to stain the character of a man—and alas, of a woman also—is an added revelation of the "dirty pool of politics" which I hope women will help to clean up, and which finds a greater check in the workings of the merit system than has, so far, been found in any other feature of government.

WHEN our Contributing Editors are also poets, why shouldn't they be quoted in their own department? The two poems here are from "The Great Dream," by Marguerite Wilkinson (Copyright, 1923, by The Macmillan Company.)

"A WOMAN PASSED ME"

A woman passed me on the street
With broken shoes on heavy feet
And poor lean shanks showing
Where her torn skirt was blowing.

Her eyes burned somberly
When she turned and looked at me—
"If I had your chance—" they said.
Silently I bowed my head.

What if dour circumstance
Had given me her chance?
Miserere! I confess
I am shamed by happiness.

THE FIRST GRAY HAIR

Now indeed for me is the first snow fallen,
The unkind, frosty glitter of autumn come.
Under the hard glare of the morning standing,
I tremble, I am dumb
With querulous unbelief that must believe,
With chilly wonder that it can be true—
Oh, world that freezes all the veins of spring,
I must grow cold with you.

Domestic Labor—Privileged

By Alice Cone Perry

This is a part of one of those "honorable mention" articles submitted in our Housework contest. Please keep on writing us your opinions.

I HAVE read in some discussions of the housework problem that we may expect expert cooks, cleaners, dishwashers, who will perform only their respective tasks, and go from house to house, like plumbers and electricians, commanding, presumably, wages comparable to theirs.

Only a little reflection shows the absurdity of trying to solve the domestic labor problem by applying plans approved in industry. Household labor is an industry, if you please, but unlike any other. In the first place, its function is not to make money but to spend it, and to receive in return for the money spent the highest dividends possible in health, happiness and individual progress in the development of spiritual qualities. Up to a certain point the standardization of household tasks is possible and desirable, and this has been accomplished in the past generation in considerable measure. Beyond this point each household is a separate entity, and concentric upon the individual character of the people who own it. To my mind household labor is not impersonal, to be governed by a set of rules laid down by an outside agency. It must be ruled and determined by the family itself, and more particularly by the wife.

To anyone who has ever tried it, this function is a considerable task. It involves a good many different qualities of character, and requires a good many different sets of mental and physical equipment. There is enough to learn about it to spend a period of years in acquiring, with a college degree on top, if you like. Moreover this theoretical study has a tremendous practical significance. It makes one so certain of the right way of doing things, in cooking, for instance, and planning the meals, and taking care of the baby. Indeed, it means so much to those of us who have had it, that we fairly ache to observe the number of blithe young things who cheerfully enter matrimony quite unequipped, and presently think regretfully of the excellent jobs they left behind for love.

In the business of home-making, I believe that we can reap greater profits if we extend its privileges, or some of them, to our employees. A good deal has been said of the evils of the "living in" system, and so far the remedy has seemed to lie in a "living out" system, just as impersonal as the first, even if generally more satisfactory. It is, however, my belief that even better results could be obtained by a system of sharing the family life with the workers em-

(*Continued on page* 23)

The Woman Voter

(This four-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.)

Edited by RUTH KIMBALL GARDINER *for*
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The New Regional Directors

THE League points with pride to two names in the list of regional directors which are unfamiliar in their present positions but anything but strange in League annals. Mrs. Walter Alden Shockley was so great a success as head of the Nevada League that when ill-health necessitated the retirement of Mrs. William Palmer Lucas as director of the seventh region, Mrs. Shockley was the name that came to everybody's mind as her logical successor. Mrs. Shockley is a native of Ohio, born in Norwalk, the daughter of a physician who was a member of the faculty of the Ann Arbor Medical School. It was his failing health which took the family to the West, and after his death the family lived abroad for some years. Mrs. Shockley's education was given her in Austria, Germany, and France and a sound one it was, amplified by residence in several different American states. Her earlier married life was spent in Greenwich, Connecticut, but she was in Tonopah in boom times and has lived in California and Nevada for the past seventeen years.

Mrs. Shockley's entry into civic work dates from the time when for five years she was treasurer of a baby hospital in Oakland, California, and with other members of the board of directors alternated as janitor, nurse, and general roustabout, for, as she says in explanation of her varied activities, like other institutions the hospital was short of money, if not of willing and capable women to boost it along. In 1917 the Shockleys went to Nevada to live. In war-time Mrs. Shockley undertook, through Mrs. Vernon Kellogg, the organization of the state for the Belgian relief and later carried on the work of the American Relief Administration there. That campaign was scarcely ended when the League of Women Voters claimed her and has kept her ever since, expecting now even more work from her as regional director than she has done as state president.

Readers who recall "The Journal of a Mud House," the delightful story of the adventures of two women in the Southwest, published serially in *Harper's* a year ago, will be interested in knowing that the new director of the second region, Miss Gertrude Ely, is the "Gertrude" who flashed so engagingly through the journal from the moment when she entered it with "a whirl of blue serge, zestful laughter, sparkling eye-glasses, bewildered porter, shower of smart black bags" to the time when she left it, delaying her departure and missing her train just to paint another door blue. On the authority of the writer of the "Journal," Miss Ely is a "Wilsonian Democrat," hates to get up early, and on occasion puts on one of those Babani frocks which only the elect can wear.

For the rest, Miss Ely is the daughter of Theodore N. Ely, of the Pennsylvania Railway, and was born at Altoona, the center of the motive power department of the road at that time. She went to school in Detroit and is an ex-member of the class of 1889 at Bryn Mawr. She has been a member of the board of the Bryn Mawr hospital for several years and helped organize a Junior League in Philadelphia of which she was president for some time. She is a member of the

Mrs. Walter Alden Shockley

Hampton Association, and was very much interested in the education of Negroes. She has been an active church worker in the diocese (Episcopal) in which Bryn Mawr, her home, is situated.

In 1917 Miss Ely made an intensive survey of Burlington, Vermont, in consideration of the new situation the increased number of soldiers at Fort Ethan Allen brought about. In September of the same year she went to France for the Y. M. C. A. and was made head of the women's bureau, assigning women to their various positions in the army. Six months this was her work and eighteen months as Y. M. C. A. secretary with the First Division followed. In 1921 she was made chairman of the Lower Merion Township League and a year later, chairman of the Montgomery County League. She is a sister of Mrs. Charles Tiffany, of the New York League, and puts into her League work all the originality and spirit that makes "Gertrude" of the famous adobe house so interesting a personality.

New Chairmen of National Committees

WITH the retirement of Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch from the chairmanship of the Committee on Uniform Laws of the National League, the work of the committee falls to a new but already tried chairman in the person of Miss Esther Dunshee, of Chicago. Miss Dunshee belongs to the Middle West by birth, education and inclination. She is a native of Charles City, Iowa, and was educated at the high school of Evanston, Illinois, the University of Chicago, which she left before her course was completed, and Kent College of Law, in Chicago. Her degree of LL. B. was conferred by Northwestern University. Miss Dunshee has done some exceedingly practical social work in Northwestern University Settlement, but her chief interest has always been the law. It was the legislative program of the League which first interested her in the organization, and the betterment of the legal status of women was the particular

item which most attracted her. Her chairmanship is by no means her first service for the League, for she has served as vice-chairman and her chart-digest of law fixing the status of women is one of the most valuable documents the League possesses.

It is characteristic of Miss Dunshee's judicial mind that when she was asked what, in her opinion, is the chief weakness of speakers, she made answer promptly, "A tendency to wander and a failure to understand their subjects thoroughly and to present them logically." It is further characteristic of her bent that outside League work she insists she has no fads nor chief interests except settlement work and the practice of law. The standing Mrs. McCulloch has given the committee will assuredly be maintained under Miss Dunshee's direction.

The chairmanship of the Committee on Women in Industry passes into the exceedingly able hands of Miss Edith Abbott, also of Chicago, who succeeds Miss Amy Maher.

Alabama Women and Convict Leasing

ON the eve of the convention of the Alabama League, Mrs. Solon Jacobs, second vice-president of the National League, took time to write an explanation of the Alabama situation in regard to the state convict-leasing system, disclaiming, however, all intention of writing a story on the campaign for betterment.

"The recent exposures of the Florida situation," Mrs. Jacobs wrote, "have startled and horrified people everywhere and the result is that the women of Alabama are demanding with renewed energy a change in our own situation. Alabama is the only state left still leasing its convicts to private concerns. (In Florida the convicts so leased are county convicts.)

"The question of the state leasing convicts to coal operators and lumber camps has been a political one for a number of years. Four years ago we thought the question was settled when the legislature voted to abolish the system January 1, 1923, and many reforms regarding prisoners were instituted during Governor Kilby's administration: the whipping-post was abolished and Kilby Prison was built and put in operation. It is a modern prison in every respect, and all the other penal institutions were greatly improved, but it was not possible to make provision for all of the convicts by January 1, 1923, so Governor Kilby asked the legislature for an extension of the convict lease to January 1, 1924, which was granted. Thus a new administration had to face the solution of the problem, and the legislature which came into existence January 1, 1923, with Governor Brandon as state executive, voted, as one of its first official acts, to continue the system *not longer* than 1927, leaving it to Governor Brandon to determine when and how the end should come.

"What the people of the state are now doing is to voice a protest against this action of the legislature, which is in recess at the time I write and will reconvene in July. The agitation and activities have been largely on the part of women. The Federation of Women's Clubs at its recent convention adopted resolutions condemning the situation, and local Leagues of Women Voters have done the same thing. The state League, which meets in convention May 22, will undoubtedly put itself on record as opposing the continuance of the convict-leasing system. In this effort of the women, a great many men have joined and action is naturally centered in the Jefferson County League, as Jefferson is the county in which Birmingham is situated and there are many coal mines in the vicinity.

"I am chairman of the League committee charged with the responsibility of seeing that suitable action is outlined and urged upon the legislature. Our plan of procedure is to call a conference of men and women interested in the subject for Monday night, May 21, at which time we expect to form a campaign committee, state-wide in its scope, which will be prepared with facts as to the methods employed by other states in providing for their convicts. Without doubt, this committee will go to Montgomery in July and present the results of its investigations, and at the same time, several feasible plans which could be applied in Alabama.

"When women protested, in January, against the action of the legislature, they were confronted with the statement that if the revenue from convict-leasing should be curtailed, the schools, eleemosynary institutions, child welfare, etc., would be the first to suffer. This is, of course, the age-old way of escape. The League of Women Voters believes that the legislature can profitably be shown that other states maintain their schools, charities, etc., without the help of blood money.

"The Junior Chamber of Commerce, of Birmingham, a group of progressive young men, has joined with the League and will procure facts and statistics from other states as well as from our own, in regard to revenue and to the financial aspect of the matter. The women expect to continue pressing the humanitarian viewpoint.

"Summarizing, as matters now stand, the present legislature in January made it possible for Alabama to continue the convict-leasing system for four years more. This is the law at present. Therefore, what we shall try to do is to secure a reconsideration by the legislature, rescinding its January action, in addition to finding some place to put the convicts to work and to raise sufficient revenue for the state's needs. This is neither a simple nor an easy matter, but the whole state seems to be aroused now, every newspaper is backing our campaign and our protest may force the kind of action we hope to secure.

"Governor Brandon is committed to the abolition of the convict-leasing system and we expect his full co-operation as soon as he is convinced of the demand as well as of the possibility of other methods of raising revenue. Our slogan is, 'A matter of mercy instead of a mercenary matter.'"

With the League in Massachusetts

THE Massachusetts League, which held its annual meeting May 15 and 16 at 3 Joy Street, Boston, has a record of achievements of which any organization might well be proud. The state has sixty-five local Leagues, all actually at work and co-operating with the state organization. In its three years of existence the Massachusetts League has introduced and brought about the enactment of five measures to equalize the position of men and women: a law making women eligible for all appointive offices; a law making women eligible for all elective offices; a law permitting women to register in the place in which they actually reside and have their homes; a law requiring the consent of both parents to the marriage of a minor child; a law for equal guardianship of children.

The Andover League has had the most successful membership campaign in the state, so far. It has increased its membership more than two hundred per cent., and declares that its "drive is still on and will not be concluded until every registered woman of Andover becomes a member of the League." The managers of the membership drive began by securing a list of registered women and sent to each one of them a letter, a copy of Mrs. Maud Wood Park's famous "Pledge for Conscientious Citizenship," a copy of "The Vote that Counts" and a membership card which has on it these words: "As a conscientious woman voter I am joining the Andover League of Women Voters because I believe that through this organization I can become informed on political issues and can join with women everywhere for the best service to our town, our state, and our country."

The Ashby League undertook to make a waste space in the center of the village—a littered, neglected, unsightly triangle —into an attractive town common. Selectmen placed a sum of money at the League's disposal after they saw what work had been done and now the League has a steady job, with an appropriation, and authority to spend it.

In Braintree, the League showed the value of discussing town questions before the town meeting.

"The much-discussed question of whether a town nurse was needed in addition to those furnished by the district nursing association, came to the fore," says Mrs. Harold Gage, local president, "and much interest was aroused. Though the League was nonpartisan in the matter, the annual town meeting was attended by a much greater number of women than ever before, many of whom brought husbands who otherwise would have hugged their firesides. The town was saved $1,900 which evidently the majority felt was an unnecessary expense."

Though the Lincoln League is only six months old, it has already made a record. In its investigation of local conditions, it discovered that Lincoln did not contribute to the support of the county Farm Bureau and at once set about arranging a "movie" in the town hall to show the public the bureau's work. Later, an article was inserted in the town warrant asking for an appropriation and the appointment of a director, both of which were voted at the town meeting.

In Northampton, with another six-months-old League, the public library authorities have asked that the League work to have a woman appointed as one of the library commissioners. Smith College, in Northampton, has a college League with 157 members, and Miss Madeleine Jacobs, of Birmingham, Alabama, daughter of the National League's second vice-president, is at the head of it.

Springfield holds the state record for large audiences. The pre-primary meeting, the first the League had attempted, brought out a thousand, and the peace meeting still more. The League's president insists that when mention is made of the amount of money the League raised at a card-party to swell the funds of the Friends for relief work in Austria, the sum be stated in kronen because "it is so much more impressive." Nine hundred and sixty-five million is the sum in round numbers—and in kronen.

Visitors at Headquarters

WHO were the first husband and wife to go into business together with their two names on the firm sign-board? "Wall & Wall" of Hutchinson, Kansas, hung out their sign more than a generation ago, and Mrs. Henrietta Briggs-Wall, surviving partner, who was a headquarters visitor during the past fortnight, has interesting things to say of the early business venture. She spent her early life in Akron, Ohio, but went to Kansas more than forty years ago. Wall & Wall sold carpets and Mrs. Wall was perhaps the first woman traveling salesman, for she toured Kansas with carpet samples, and she introduced the idea of ordering carpets which were sent to the buyer sewed and ready to put down. She worked for suffrage and for prohibition, too, and now her hope is to persuade governors of states and other prominent persons to follow the lead of the governor of Connecticut and endorse the plan of making the Fourth of July a day when special attention is paid to new voters, those who have been naturalized within the year and those who have reached their majority. Mrs. Wall has written a booklet on the plan and does not care a whit who gets the credit for bringing the custom about so long as it does become a custom.

News of the West Palm Beach (Florida) League came through Mrs. John Trix, of the Detroit (Michigan) League who spent the winter in the South. She is especially enthusiastic over a mass meeting the West Palm Beach League held in one of the city's lovely parks, one, moreover, which has benches and a seating capacity, Mrs. Trix says, of 3,500. Mrs. Trix herself did not know of the meeting but she heard the band playing and strolled into the park. The music was so exceptionally good that she found a seat and stayed. So did other women and men till all the park seats were filled. Then the League president without any comment or bias or anything else that might have marred the occasion, Mrs. Trix says, introduced candidates for office and the great audience listened to them with attention. Mrs. Trix is most enthusiastic about the meeting and wishes all the cities in the country had parks with seats and excellent bands and up-and-coming League women like that to get out the crowd.

Mrs. Mae Arpin Friday, first vice-president of the Lorain County (Ohio) League, interested everybody at headquarters, for it is not often that a woman member of a city council drops in. Mrs. Friday is one of the two women who make up the seven councilmen of the city of Elyria. She is chairman of the Fire and Police Committee and serves as active member on many another committee. Recently she has helped rearrange bus routes so that women in the outlying districts can count on keeping their engagements on time. Buses used to wander through Elyria at their will and without regard to time schedules, but now they are kept to specified routes so that they neither duplicate street-car lines nor interfere with their business. Mrs. Friday feels that the two councilwomen of Elyria could have accomplished nothing if it had not been for the friendly attitude and the hearty co-operation of the five men on the council.

Among the delightful people whom the Conference of Social Work brought to the capital and so to League headquarters, was Mrs. Elizabeth M. Speer, of the Austin (Texas) League, and executive secretary of the Texas division of the National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor. The Texas division, co-operating with women's organizations in the state, intends to begin, about the middle of this month, a survey of the prisons of Texas. The members of the division, men and women, will pay for the survey out of funds they are raising. The Women's Joint Legislative Committee of Texas co-operated in securing the legislature's authority to make the survey. The National Committee and the Mental Hygiene Association will help in the undertaking, which will be as thorough as it will be scientific. Texas prisons own 30,000 acres of land of which 45,000 are under cultivation in fourteen farms, yet the upkeep of prisons costs the taxpayers from a million to a million and a half dollars a year. The Committee hopes to effect a re-organization of the whole state prison system which will make the prisons self-supporting without bringing prison labor into competition with free labor, and which will make a real revolution in the methods of treating prisoners. Mrs. Speer hopes great things of the survey and not the least is the classification of prisoners by psychiatric examinations, which will determine to just what trade or occupation each man and woman is best adapted.

What Leagues Are Doing

THE Grand Rapids (Michigan) League is one of the many Leagues already at work on a "get-out-the-vote" campaign. On the part of the League a letter was lately sent to the president of every woman's organization in the city, calling her attention to the fact that since only 12,500 of the 65,000 registered voters of Grand Rapids voted last April, there is need of a "civic revival," and asking whether her club will not be willing to devote one program either in February or in March to the discussion of civic affairs, including registration, voting, the offices to be filled, and the issues to be voted upon. The suggestion that at such a meeting, discussion of the judicial system, the legal status of women, the public school system, or taxes and how they are raised be given time, is made.

"Perhaps," the letter adds, "your club would be willing to have a program in October or November on state legislation (if the governor should call a special session for the fall), or on important national legislation or international relations. The Grand Rapids League of Women Voters holds itself in readiness to help your program committee in the preparation of such programs, if you wish, or in furnishing speakers."

The letter was sent out just about the time clubs generally are getting their year books ready and if a civic program does not find place in the advance program notices of every women's organization in Grand Rapids—the League figured on the programs of many local organizations last year—it will not be because the League has neglected to put the need for its work before organizations clearly, concisely, and in time.

THE United League of Rhode Island carried on a membership drive from April 27 to May 7, with 600 new members as the goal. The record number reached was 720 and all the returns are not yet in. Of the forty-seven campaign squads, no fewer than thirty-three exceeded their quota. There were four rallies during the drive and a big "birthday party" and five hundred guests ended it, with a real play-time conducted by Miss Edith Bennett, of Worcester. One of the great factors in the success of the drive was unquestionably the strikingly worded and just as strikingly printed broadside issued. It was addressed "to the women of Rhode Island" and asked, "Do you know that Rhode Island has a nonpartisan organization, the United League of Women Voters, which will help you to know why you should vote, what you must do to vote, what issues you should study? There is a place for you in this work of education for good government." And then somebody's brilliantly clever mind added, " Make Rhode Island by its 300th anniversary, 1936, the best state in the Union. Do your part somewhere. Every citizen must help. The United League offers a way. This is a good time to join." It is impossible to reproduce the type and spacing used but Leagues looking for a really effective broadside will do well to ask Rhode Island for a copy.

THE Ramsay County (Minnesota) League has set out to obtain "a mile of signatures" from men and women in all parts of the state to an endorsement of the National League's attitude toward the World Court. After the signatures are all in, the document, with the Minnesota legislature's vote to the same end, will be forwarded to Congress, it is said. Mrs. Boyd Dixon, state chairman of the Committee on International Co-operation to Prevent War, in making the plan public, challenges Leagues in other states to carry on a similar campaign. The story comes from St. Paul that women who go out after the signatures will carry indelible pencils because a lady who opposes everything the League does insists that the plan was instigated by the "ink interests." She has not been heard from yet on the machinations of the indelible pencil "interests."

NEBRASKA League women, according to one member of the legislature, "have had everything they want given to them except the elimination of the party circle" from the ballot, and it is believed that another session, understanding a little better the aims of the League, will grant that also. Mrs. Charles W. Bryan, wife of the governor of the state, turned the governor's mansion into an open forum on May 5 when Miss Adeline Reynoldson, of the University of Nebraska, was asked to explain to assembled League women the difference between the world court plan as Senator Borah sees it and as President Harding regards it. After the explanation, everybody was asked to join in the discussion and the governor's house has never heard a more interesting exchange of opinion, nor one, possibly, of greater importance.

COLLECTORS of *Americana* will list the souvenir program of the Indiana League's annual convention (May 1-3) for the sketch of James Whitcomb Riley's house in famous Lockerbie Street which it contains, and League women generally will prize the booklet—it is a distinctly plump booklet, unpaged, with a cover in imitation crushed levant handsomely lettered in gold—as a "Who's Who" of state and National League women. In the three pages of greetings, the message from the President of the United States is given place of honor. Mr. Harding said:

"I should like to have my greetings and best wishes conveyed to the Indiana League of Women Voters with the assurance that their interest and activity in the public behalf is not only appreciated but regarded as a most valued contribution to the promotion of public interests."

MRS. HERBERT OTTENHEIMER, chairman of the committee on efficiency in government of the Kentucky League, has contributed to the library of National League headquarters a copy of the wholly satisfactory pamphlet, "Kentucky Election Laws in Brief" which was prepared by John Catron Jones, assistant professor of political science at the University of Kentucky, and published by the university "through the generosity of the League of Women Voters who invited this co-operation and furnished the money to cover the cost of printing," as the title-page announces. The language Professor Jones has used makes it sure that the laws will be "understanded of the people" and the occasional footnotes, comparing Kentucky laws with laws of other states, suggesting possible improvements, or merely expanding the information given in the paged matter, add greatly to the value of the forty-page booklet.

AT the request of the state League, the Saginaw (Michigan) League has converted its *Bulletin* into a state League organ. The first number sent to all members in the state bore the date of April 30 and gave an astonishing amount of information in a small space. The editor reprinted the resolution supporting the World Court and followed it with a brief and satisfying explanation of what the court really is and does.

THE Erie County (New York) League gave an April shower of telegrams to Assemblyman Charles Freiburg, suggesting that he vote for the discharge of the committee on the living-wage and eight-hour bills. Nearly a thousand messages are said to have reached him all on the same day and it is believed that hereafter "showers" for legislators will become as popular as showers of some kind or another for prospective brides.

"IT is interesting to note," Miss Helen Bates said in speaking before the Portland (Maine) League, "that although America has not joined the League of Nations, four Americans will help to elect a judge to fill the vacancy in the Permanent Court of International Justice made by the death of the Brazilian judge. Nominations are to be made by jurists of the permanent court established at the Hague in 1899. The four Americans are George Gray, Oscar Straus, Elihu Root, and John Bassett Moore, the last a judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice."

THE New Hampshire League held its annual meeting at the Friendly Club in Concord, May 4, with Mrs. Lula F. Lesure, president, in the chair; Mrs. R. L. DeNormandie, director of the first region, to give greetings from the National League; the secretary of state to welcome the delegates on the part of the governor, and the three women members of the General Court of New Hampshire to tell what has been done in the legislature. The state League feels the meeting was one of the most important it has ever held.

"THE Home and Personnel of the League of Nations as seen by an Eye-witness" was the title of an interesting talk given the New Haven (Connecticut) League recently by Mrs. C.-E. A. Winslow, who spent a winter in Geneva while her husband was medical director of the Red Cross at the headquarters of the Assembly.

THE Menasha (Wisconsin) League was not two weeks old when it began its work early in April, of stimulating the interest of women in political duties and applying that interest to the ends of good government. The new League started out with thirty members and with Mrs. E. W. Griswold as president.

EVERY member of the Sixteenth Ward (New Orleans) League agreed to sell a household article and give the proceeds to the League treasury. It is not known what articles other members sold, but Mrs. Benjamin Kernan put up an edition of Paul de Kock in twenty-two volumes.

World News About Women

Speaking of Suffrage

WITH the Ninth Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance at Rome just closed, and with the story of the Congress still to come, it seems a good time to take a bird's-eye view of woman suffrage the world over. The table in the next column tells the story, subject to correction if the reports from Rome show something we have missed.

As every one knows by this time, Premier Mussolini, presumably in response to the Suffrage Congress influences, has promised the vote—gradually, by limited classes—to Italian women. This was at the opening session. Later, a striking procession of women, a thousand strong, representing pretty much all the world, marched from the Congress to the Premier's office, to present a resolution calling for the enfranchisement of all the world's women.

President since she organized the Alliance in 1904, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt stood out against all pleas that she should take the office again. She did consent to accept the post of Honorary President, and Mrs. Corbett Ashby of England was made President.

Miss Marjorie Shuler will report the Congress in a later issue of the *Woman Citizen*.

Where Women Vote

Country	*Suffrage*	*Year*
Africa		
British East Africa	**Full**	**1919**
British South Africa		
Cape Colony		
Natal		
Orange River Colony	**Municipal**	**1914**
Transvaal		
Rhodesia	**Full**	**1919**
Australia	**Full**	**1902**
Austria	**Full**	**1918**
Belgium	**Municipal**	**1920**
Canada	**Full**	**1918**
Crimea	**Full**	**1917**
(First Mohammedan Country)		
Czecho-Slovakia	**Full**	**1918**
Denmark	**Full**	**1915**
Esthonia	**Full**	**1917**
Finland	**Full**	**1906**
Germany	**Full**	**1918**
Great Britain		
England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales	**Full, at 30 years**	**1918**
Ireland	**Full, equal with men**	**1922**
Holland	**Full**	**1919**
Hungary	**Full**	**1918**
	Partly withdrawn	**1919**
Iceland	**Full**	**1915**
India		
Bombay	**Full**	**1921**
Burma	**Limited**	**1922**
Jahalwar	**Full**	**1922**
Madras	**Full**	**1921**
Travancore	**Full**	**1921**
Isle of Man	**Full**	**1881**
Jamaica	**Full**	**1921**
Lettonia	**Full**	**1918**
Lithuania	**Full**	**1920**
Luxembourg	**Full**	**1919**
Norway	**Full**	**1913**
New Zealand	**Full**	**1893**
Palestine (Zionists)	**Full**	**1919**
Poland	**Full**	**1918**
Russia	**Full**	**1917**
Serbia	**Municipal**	**1919**
Sweden	**Full**	**1918**
Ukrania	**Full**	**1917**
United States	**Full**	**1920**

Welcome to Mrs. Catt

MRS. CATT, returning June 1, is to be welcomed June 5 at a big luncheon given by the New York League of Women Voters. She is to speak about her experiences on two continents, and the speech is to be broadcasted. Telegrams were sent to presidents of all state Leagues asking them to hold meetings where they could listen in on the speech.

On Their Own Initiative

THE German section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has issued a plea to the German people to reconstruct northern France themselves. The message sent out by Lida G. Heymann, chairman of the German section, urges them to "go out with hammers and saws and begin the work."

Faithful Service

MRS. ELLEN M. BOLLES, of Lumberton, New Mexico, carries the title of "the oldest woman postmaster in the country." She is seventy-five, has been postmaster for nine years, and still stays up for late night trains.

Health Scholarships

THE American CHILD HEALTH Association is offering a series of health scholarships to teachers who have been especially successful in teaching health. Five $1,000 scholarships and fellowships are to go to college graduates now in service as principals, or elementary school supervisors. Five $500 scholarships are for normal school graduates or college graduates now engaged in classroom teaching. Fifteen $200 scholarships, for holders of teacher's certificates now engaged in classroom teaching.

Further details and application blanks may be obtained from the American CHILD HEALTH Association, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

A Fair Exchange

FOUR members of the Good-Will Delegation—the group sent to France by the American Committee for Devastated France—have been assigned the task of teaching their French sisters the art of canning and preserving. Two of these four are the champion canning team of America, and the other two stood second in the test. But there will be a fair exchange, for while they will show the people of the devastated areas how to preserve fruits, meats and vegetables, a short course has been arranged for them (over there) in order that they may learn the mysteries of French gravies and sauces.

The Pulitzer Prizes

WILLA SIBERT CATHER has been awarded the Pulitzer Prize for 1923 for her novel "One of Ours." The prize—$1,000—is given each year for "the American novel which best presents the wholesome atmosphere of American life and the highest standard of American manners and manhood."

Edna St. Vincent Millay was awarded the prize for poetry.

Another Air Record

THE National Aeronautic Association has for the first time granted a license to a woman. Miss Amelia M. Earhart of Atchison, Kansas, has won this honor after piloting her plane to an altitude of 11,000 feet, which is believed to be the highest a woman has ever flown.

Latest from Mme. Breshkovsky

CATHERINE BRESHKOVSKY'S American friends were recently alarmed by a press report to the effect that she and Kerensky and other leaders of the old Socialist Revolutionary party had offered to surrender themselves to the present Russian government, in exchange for members of the party's executive committee, who have been for a long time held in prison and are losing their health there.

I wrote to Madame Breshkovsky an earnest remonstrance against her going to prison again, at her time of life. She answered that the proposal had been made by the Bolsheviki—as she believes, to test the sincerity of herself and her colleagues in desiring to deliver the prisoners, and in the hope that their refusal would show their selfishness. She thinks, also, that if only three or four of the prominent Socialist Revolutionists outside of Russia had accepted, the Bolsheviki would have

been glad, as those few could have been made to disappear by an apparently natural death. But when thirty persons in Europe volunteered, and as many more from other countries, the offer was withdrawn, and was declared to have been made by the State's *procureur*, Krilenko, without authority. In answer to my remonstrances, she writes:

"We could not do otherwise, and if a chance should come again to release our comrades, we shall behave in the same way. As for Kerensky, the security of every human life is his religion. Only in defense against the assault of those who menace the life of his countrymen he would fight, as he did during the last battles, when he took part side by side with our soldiers. As for me, I am so intimately acquainted with prison life, and familiar with the hardest possibilities of the future, that I remain quiet and indifferent to all that can happen to me. Sometimes death signifies more than life. And our decision impressed our young people. Everybody knows that our word is sacred, and what we said would be fulfilled."

Madame Breshkovsky is having difficulty in maintaining the four boarding schools for poor children that she has started in Russian Carpathia, which is now a part of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. The schools are doing excellent work, and the need among the poor children is great. I shall be glad to forward any contributions.—A. S. B.

Mexican Women Meet

THE women's organizations of Mexico held their first national convention at Mexico City, May 20-30. This convention was convoked by the Mexican branch of the Pan-American Feminist League, and was attended by delegations from fourteen Mexican states, as well as representatives from a number of women's organizations in the United States.

Republican Women Want Equality

SENATOR PEPPER, of Pennsylvania, has written to John Adams, chairman of the Republican National Committee, suggesting that the executive committee be called to take some sort of action now on giving women representation in the national committee. What Republican women want is equal representation—forty-eight women representing the different states, on the National Committee, with a like representation of men. The ultimate decision of course rests with the Republican National Convention next June, but the women think some action should be taken at once—all the more because the Democratic party has already granted women full representation in their organization.

Ladies Can Wear Shoes

One size smaller and walk in comfort by using **Allen's Foot-Ease**, the antiseptic, healing powder for the feet. Shaken into the shoes **Allen's Foot-Ease**, makes tight or new shoes feel easy; gives instant relief to Corns, Bunions, and Calluses, prevents Blisters, and Sore Spots and gives rest to tired, aching, swollen feet. Those who use Allen's Foot-Ease have solved their foot troubles. Over 1,500,000 pounds of Powder for the Feet were used by our Army and Navy during the war. Sold everywhere. For **Free** sample and a **Foot-Ease** Walking Doll, Address

ALLEN'S FOOT-EASE, Le Roy, N. Y.

General Federation Notes

By Lessie Stringfellow Read

Reporting some of the resolutions passed at the recent Council meeting. Others, for which there isn't room, dealt with immigration, child labor, music, international parks, prisons, etc.

A RESOLUTION adopted unanimously at the recent Council meeting of the General Federation of Women's Clubs expressed the Federation's position against war and for international understanding, endorsing "all practical measures and movements tending to that end, and for the hearing and adjudication by orderly judicial procedure of controversies which are susceptible of settlement through judicial tribunals and the working out of principles along the above lines proposed for the acceptance of nations." However, the phrase "a world court" was omitted from the resolution, and no mention was made of President Harding's plan, since either of these inclusions might be interpreted as an injection of party politics into the Federation, which is pledged by its President to a hands-off policy in such controversial questions.

SUPPLEMENTING a strong resolution of the Council for law enforcement, the board of directors at a later meeting voted to be represented in the "committee of 100," to be organized in New York in June, the purpose of which is to establish a "watch" in every community to co-operate with federal, state and county officials, to commend those who do their duty and to expose those who do not; and "to arouse organized women of the country to see the danger of loose thinking concerning law enforcement, to create public sentiment against the undermining of present laws, and to furnish accurate information concerning the working and result of present laws." The movement to be launched by the committee is to be nonpartisan, non-political and is not to duplicate the work of any existing organization, but to co-operate with all existing organizations now working for law enforcements.

"NO Illiteracy in the United States in 1930" was adopted as the Federation's goal in a resolution pledging its support anew to all agencies working for popular education, and a strong resolution reaffirmed its abiding faith in the provisions of the Towner-Sterling education bill pending in the 67th Congress for the establishment of a federal department of education.

A RESOLUTION was adopted authorizing the creation of a committee for a national campaign against illicit drug traffic. Because the Federation members have not yet seen a film being made by Mrs. Wallace Reid in the national campaign against drugs to be waged by the Anti-Narcotic Association, and because the Federation never endorses a picture it has not seen, no action was taken concerning co-operation in the showing of this picture. State federations and individual better film workers, however, as well as those conducting anti-narcotic campaigns in communities, will be free to promote the showing of this picture.

THE observance in every community in the country of "Better Homes Week" June 4-10 was approved. The Week was established by Mrs. William Brown Meloney and approved by President Harding, Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, Mrs. Winter, Lena Lake Forrest, and many other notables, and launched by the Federation at its Better Homes Demonstration recently held in Washington under the direction of Miss Lida Hafford, Headquarters director, Mrs. Meloney and others. The movement has the approval of governors of thirty-four states.

HOLDING that the way to regulate prices is to regulate consumption, the Council went on record pledging efforts of its members to reduce the consumption of sugar in their households to the minimum until such a time as may be necessary, to reduce the cost to a reasonable price.

Domestic—Privileged

(*Continued from page* 17)

ployed there, and of incorporating them into the family life for mutual benefit. There is many a lonely young woman this minute living in one room in a boarding house and starving for mental and spiritual companionship, to whom the thought of really belonging in a home and at the same time preserving an economic independence would seem attractive. There are all sorts of social opportunities for a girl with the background of a home, which never come to the young person working for a "soulless corporation."

Looking at the financial aspect of this plan, we are again governed entirely by the case in hand. A young girl who works without responsibility, and who receives a certain amount of care and oversight herself, would naturally expect less monetary return than a more experienced girl, to whom a mother might delegate some of her own authority. The whole question of pay becomes thus so elastic, that some sort of help would seem available to a family of even very moderate circumstances. It sounds a good deal simpler and

pleasanter than a complicated system involving schedules, and over-time, and I know from personal experience it is a good deal more convenient in a family where there are little children to care for.

Perhaps I seem too optimistic in my belief that this source of household labor is available. My confidence rests upon the instinctive desire for home life and home activities and the association with children which is possessed by very many types of young women—and women of all ages, for that matter. If these women believed that such positions were open to them without loss of social prestige, and with the opportunity of economic advancement proportionate to their own skill, I believe that the demand for "domestic science" training in the schools would become vociferous, and that perhaps the factories and stores of our great cities might even feel a loss in their supply of labor.

Washington

(*Continued from page* 13)

be. During the convention of the American Institute of Architects this week, the gold medal of the Institute was conferred upon the architect of the Lincoln Memorial, Henry Bacon. No one present will forget the scene of the presentation. The new reflecting pool in front of the Memorial, directly in line with the distant dome of the Capitol and the Washington monument, was complete and the trees and shrubs bordering its rectangular sides were out in profusion. About sunset the tribes of architects from all over the country began to gather in a tent at the far end of the pool. They wore vari-colored circular capes which covered them and furnished an array of pastel shades reflected in the pool. The architects dined in their tent and then embarked for the Memorial, the officers carrying Mr. Bacon on a resplendent barge decorated in vivid colors with sails set in ancient galleon form.

On each side of the long pool came the winding lines of the architects in their rainbow colors walking to the Memorial steps. There they formed an escort for President Harding, Chief Justice Taft and others who were to preside at the presentation. As they mounted the long steps in a blue mist which had come up with a summer-evening rain, colored lights played upon the picture, floating off into the deep interior of the Memorial where the Lincoln statue was faintly illuminated. It was an inspiring sight, one that must have struck the soul of a great architect like Bacon almost dumb with its beauty and significance. President Harding's presentation was impressive, and the architects melted away into the night with another recorded achievement to their credit.

The Bookshelf

WOODROW WILSON AND WORLD SETTLEMENT, by Ray Stannard Baker (Doubleday, Page, 1922) is a book that will have increasing value with the years. Mr. Baker accompanied President Wilson to the Peace Conference in Paris as head of the Official Press Bureau. He had Mr. Wilson's complete confidence, and free access to all his own documents connected with the peace negotiations, including the complete minutes of the Council of Four, the reports and his correspondence. Most of the material in the book has never been published elsewhere.

The two large volumes give an intimate and vivid picture of the battles that went on around the council table, with President Wilson, the exponent of the new internationalism, using all his powers—to the point of breaking off all relations and breaking down physically—against the Old World diplomacy, to put his principles into effect. The main determination of France, the evidence indicates, was not for reparations or commercial expansion, but to assure her own safety, while England was anxious for her source of supplies of raw materials and opportunities for commerce.

The new boundary lines of Europe, established by the Treaty of Versailles, which have been so savagely criticised and which are often supposed to have been decided by the rapacity of European statesmen, were, Mr. Baker asserts, largely based on the findings of the experts. There were fifty-eight of these technical commissions, made up of men of all nations, including many from the United States, and the Council of Four usually accepted their decisions.

Mr. Baker's work is absorbingly interesting. It paints in vivid colors, and imputes to European statesmen all the deep-dyed villainy which popular American opinion likes to accord them. The style is that of a magazine writer rather than an historian, but that makes the books the more readable.

Another pro-League book is *The United States and the League*, by Thomas H. Dickinson, which should be read in connection with his volume, *The New-Old World* (both Dutton, 1923). Mr. Dickinson, who was abroad last year for the American Relief Association, describes a very dark and despairing Europe, and sees American membership in the League of Nations as at least partial cure. His League book traces in simple, interesting detail the history of American relationship—or lack of it—to the League. In reviewing the present Administration's attitude, he reduces what has been called "opposition" to "helplessness," because of the struggle between the Legislative and the Executive branches of the Government for control of foreign relations. Mr. Dickinson makes a strong case, and without violence; but also without any allowance for the arguments of League opponents and critics.

Some Distinguished Americans, by Harvey O'Higgins (Harpers), is a collection of short stories head and shoulders above the ordinary volume of the sort. The writer, with a reputation in fiction and drama for a fine sincere art, has presented in seven long short-stories seven "imaginary portraits" of typical Americans, keenly interpretative of American characteristics and backgrounds, and absorbing in sheer plot interest. One of the best stories is that of the political boss.

Speaking of short stories, *Plots and Personalities* (Century) is about the most startling book about fiction that two people ever wrote. The two are Dr. Edwin E. Slosson, former literary editor of the *Independent*, now editor of Science Service, and Dr. June E. Downey, Professor of Psychology in the University of Wyoming, and author of several books. The publishers frankly admit the book is the "queerest" they ever published, "and one of the most interesting." We agree. It is packed with highly stimulating challenges to the imagination not only of writing persons but of others; with tests that leave one gloomy or elated, but anyhow much intrigued; and with a brand-new set of impressions about the intricacy and the amazingness of the human mind.

Millions, by Ernest Poole (Macmillan): Half a dozen characters subjected for a few days to the acid test of the expectation of wealth, reacting each according to his own spiritual ingredients. A searching story, readable as well as pointed.

Silhouettes, II

By GULIELMA F. ALSOP
College Physician at Barnard

THE real reason for keeping slim is not the ability to wear a Tutankhamen gown but the power to enjoy many of the delights of physical life. The fat person sits in a chair and rocks and watches the tennis game. She doesn't skate, she doesn't hike; she sits and sits. And as a direct result the muscles of her body, one by one, grow soft and flabby, including the vital muscles of her heart and of the alimentary canal. Because the heart muscle is soft, a fat person is short-winded, inclined to dizziness upon slight exertion. Because both her stomach muscles and her intestinal muscles are flabby, a fat person is likely to suffer from both indigestion and constipation. And as most fat people have appetites too large for the needs of their bodies, there is a greater strain put upon the liver and the kidneys than is easily carried.

So it is as important for the fat person to lose weight as it is for the thin one to gain it, and as hard.

THE WOMAN WE WOULD LIKE TO BE—By Sarah Field Splint

EACH of us knows some woman with amazing *charm*. She stands out distinctly from all the other women of our acquaintance, a vivid personality, her face keenly alive, her gaze direct and interested, her sympathies attuned to everything vital that is happening around her. Yet so sincere is our admiration for her that we accept her graces of mind and spirit as a matter of course and never wonder how she acquired her priceless gift.

Magnetism and charm must come as the result of intelligent and patient training. Golden possibilities are in every woman but their development rests upon the energy and ambition of the individual.

If the woman of today has any quarrel with the world, it seems to me it lies just here, that even when she has longed unceasingly for a richer, more expansive life, no helping hand has been stretched out to her. Systems without number have been devised for developing the personality of men, but only one, so far as I know, ever considered the building of a woman's individuality as of any *real* importance.

A Woman Can Develop Personality

PELMANISM is that shining exception. There is no magic or mystery about it, yet it has changed the face of life for many a woman. It simply searches out a woman's latent talents and shows her how to make the most of them. Pelmanism is a perfectly clear and definite lesson course which takes a woman's thoughts out of their daily rut, and stimulates all her mental faculties.

Charm has a mental base. It implies interest—an intelligent interest—in people, in things, in life, in living and in the world that is about us. No such interest can be manifested unless the mind has color and force. What we call *personality* is another possession that goes right back to the brain. The very word itself breathes a suggestion of the vitality, the originality, the zest that are its true meanings.

So I say that the woman who lets herself sag mentally, who permits her mind to run in ruts, who fails to keep her wits polished, is a woman who faces the future without hope of charm or personality.

How, then are these qualities to be developed? Psychologists agree that first of all there must be decision as to one's *purposes in life*.

Have You Counted Your Good Points?

THE old precept, "Know thyself," is as binding today as when it was first uttered. We must *know* our good points in order to strengthen them, just as we must know our weaknesses in order to overcome them.

Every woman has something to offer her friends and the world, and a talent need not be a big one to merit cultivation. Even if it is only an *inclination* it should be cherished and nurtured. Often the use of that one talent breeds other talents.

There was never a time in the history of the world when women were in better position for this development. Old barriers are down and every gate of opportunity swings wide open. Also the Twentieth Century has seen full twenty years added to the *youth* of women. Where once they were old at thirty, it is now their privilege to be young at *fifty*. Age is largely mental.

SARAH FIELD SPLINT

FORMERLY EDITOR TODAY'S HOUSEWIFE AND CHIEF OF DIVISION OF HOME CONSERVATION, UNITED STATES FOOD ADMINISTRATION.

The mind that keeps its color, its tone and its vitality, is a mind that can be depended upon to escape the horrors of middle age.

All of which leads naturally to Pelmanism, for it is a course in mental training that gives the mind drive and precision, doing away with wool-gathering and mind wandering. It is, in effect, *applied psychology*, put into twelve lesson books by the foremost psychologists of Europe and America, and reinforced by the experience of twenty-five years during which more than 500,000 men and women have realized its benefits. It is based upon the sound principle that the mind has got to be exercised just as much as the body.

"We Are Dealing with Human Hopes"

AFTER careful examination of the twelve books, I made a thorough investigation of the offices. I have never seen an institution more impressed with its responsibilities, for as the Director of Instruction said, "We are dealing with human hopes." Every lesson has a work sheet that must be filled out by the student, and this work sheet is gone over by trained psychologists with painstaking care.

What surprised me, more than anything else, was the number of women students. Virtually every trade, profession and calling is represented on the books of the Pelman Institute—housewives, business women, "society leaders," professional women and workers—all possessed by a common desire for a richer, more interesting life.

I think the war is partly responsible for the eagerness these women displayed to master the science of right thinking. It taught them, together with all their sisters, to look for the short cuts and to take them; to walk through obstacles instead of timidly steering around them; *to reach out* for their share of the world's work rather than to wait for circumstances to bring it to them.

On every hand women are rebelling against monotony and mediocrity. Pelmanism comes as an Open Door. It does not make life more difficult but actually simplifies it. The small amount of time required daily can be found by any woman who really wants to grow.

I know women who have trained themselves to think of interesting and worth while things as they washed dishes or prepared the vegetables for dinner.

My Wonderful Friend

NOT long ago I knocked at the door of a lonely farmhouse. It was answered by a woman whom I had seen many times on the lecture platform, a wonderful personality who always made a deep and lasting impression on those who had the privilege of hearing her speak. I found to my surprise that she did all her own work and made her children's clothes and helped her husband at some of the lighter farm tasks.

"I never lose a minute," she said, "I think only of things that will help me. I spend the long evenings reading. During my busy days I think of the things I have read. I never allow my mind to go wool-gathering."

There is comfort in the thought that no conditions, however hard, can really hold one back. What this woman has done for herself, Pelmanism will do for others.

Every woman cherishes in her heart the image of the woman she would *like* to be. I believe the realization of that ideal is contained in Pelmanism.

(Signed) SARAH FIELD SPLINT.

NOTE: As Sarah Field Splint has pointed out, Pelmanism is neither an experiment nor a theory. It has stood the test for twenty years. Its students are in every country in the world. Its benefits are attested by hundreds of thousands of men and women in all walks and conditions of life.

Pelmanism is taught entirely by correspondence. There are twelve lessons—twelve "Little Gray Books." The course can be completed in three to twelve months, depending entirely upon the amount of time devoted to study. Half an hour daily will enable the student to finish in three months.

This Is What To Do

"SCIENTIFIC MIND TRAINING" is a fascinating booklet which describes Pelmanism. With its wealth of original thought and incisive observation it has benefits of its own that will make the reader keep it. Every reader of this page should send for "Scientific Mind Training"—Now. It is free. Use the coupon or a postcard and send it now—TODAY.

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Please send me, without obligation, your free booklet, "Scientific Mind Training."

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All correspondence strictly confidential.

In getting thin two dangers must be borne in mind when planning the diet. First, the elements in food that keep the blood rich and pure must not be omitted; these come mostly from vegetables and grains and to a small extent from meat. Secondly, enough bulky food must be eaten to keep the intestines working properly. In a thinning diet what the patient must eat is as important as what the patient must not eat.

The loss in weight must be gradual, about two or three pounds a week. The reduction diet for the first two or three weeks must be very rigorous, until the body begins to burn up its own fat for the heat and energy it is not getting from the daily ration of food, and so begins to lose weight. After the loss has been started, one by one a few more articles of diet can be added, the patient weighing herself weekly and adjusting her diet accordingly. She feels better when reducing if she takes regular exercise in a normal amount.

On the following diet a patient will begin to lose from one to two pounds a week. But it is necessary to eat what is ordered, or the reduction in amount would be dangerous both for the blood and the intestines, bringing on anemia and indigestion. If, however, the patient strictly follows the diet, at the end of the reduction both the blood and the intestines will be in a better condition than at the beginning.

Reduction Diet

No pepper, mustard, vinegar, oil (only a very little salt in the water in which vegetables are boiled).
No soups of any kind.
No butter, sugar, *i. e.*, no cake, candy or dessert of any kind.
Meat—one small slice, once a day.
Lettuce twice a day with orange juice or lemon juice as the only dressing. From one half a head to a whole head of lettuce to be eaten at these two meals.
Fresh green vegetables twice a day, in any amount desired, sufficient to satisfy the appetite.
Fresh raw fruit three times a day. This may be eaten either before or after meals as the patient desires.
One thin slice of a whole wheat bread, toasted or not, with each meal, no butter.
About one hour before each meal drink a cup of hot water. Be sure to drink eight glasses of water a day.

A Day's Menu

Breakfast: One orange, one cup of coffee or tea (no cream or sugar), one slice of dry toast, one slice of bacon.

Lunch: Spinach and boiled onions (no butter or cream sauce), lettuce salad, strawberries. One slice of dry bread.

Dinner: One slice of beefsteak, string beans, peas, lettuce salad, cherries.

This diet possesses fewer appetizing substances than we ordinarily eat and results in a smaller appetite. Patients generally complain that they have lost most of their appetite in about three days, but they will also lose their excess fat.

In about three weeks, after ten or more pounds have been lost, the diet can be increased in whatever direction the patient most desires. Some patients immediately add French dressing to their lettuce as the first improvement, others butter to their bread, others a pinch of sugar in their coffee. As the diet is increased, the weight must be watched and a steady reduction maintained till the point decided on at the beginning of the treatment is reached—a point that may be ten or even fifteen pounds above the average for the patient's height and age.

Summing Up South America

(*Continued from page* 8)

what they know is the South American interpretation. While many South American leaders among men are believers in Pan Americanism, the general opinion at this time is anti Pan Americanism and the very word is in some quarters anathema.

It was with a decided sigh of relief that these countries welcomed the League of Nations. The war swept away any probability there had been of military invasions from Europe and events connected with the Canal accentuated the suspicion that the menace had been transferred from Europe to the United States. The League of Nations transferred the promise of protection from the United States to Europe.

Therefore, just at the moment when the women of the North are freed from the most grinding of the old limitations and desire with the purest and most philanthropic motives to extend a friendly hand of co-operation to the women of South and Central America, they find the situation "mussed up" by politics. If the outcome of the Santiago Congress* brings renewed confidence and a program of co-operation which follows common ideals instead of national advantage, the woman's movement will go forward fast and far. If, however, the distinguished gentlemen at Santiago make eloquent speeches of friendly intentions, but the results of the Congress indicate no co-operation in positive progress, the woman's Pan American movement may be swamped in the political morass created. In other words, South American women may not want the help of those of North America. South American women are sweetly charming, very kind and polite, and they will never say they want no help, but there would be a subtle resistance to co-operation.

On the other hand, the women of the North may not understand well enough to be really helpful, the situation in which the women of the Latin countries are placed. The road to emancipation in these countries may be a very different one from that the Northern women trod. Here there is poetry, sentiment and chivalry in the relations of men toward good women despite all the hard facts seemingly to the contrary. There was no appreciable presence of these elements in the anti or pro woman forces at the North and they may produce results the cold logic of the North failed to do. It is clear that we cannot build the road over which the women of the South must pass. They must build their own and travel over it alone.

What then can we do for the Latin American women? Much; we can

Inspire them to aspiration,
Give them confidence,
Give them courage.

We will do well to adopt three don'ts:

Don't patronize,
Don't be superior,
Don't insist that ours is the only way.

These are three offenses of men in their relations with the Latin countries. In truth the Northern countries have builded a great civilization and the thought, method and institutions are similar in all of them. They belong to the same system. The Latins are different. Their thought, method and institutions belong to a different system. They should have the same freedom to develop their own system by their own method. Meanwhile South American civilization awaits the emancipation of women from the seventeenth century customs into the light and freedom of the twentieth century. In that evolution we may help, and in return receive the inspiration and the wholesome discipline of contact with a civilization quite different from our own. If we are able to work together, as I most earnestly pray we may, the women of North, Central and South America will together achieve much not only for the Western Hemisphere but for the entire world.

The Congress of 1924 may prove a crucial turning point in the woman movement, the Pan American movement, the peace movement, and the evolution of world civilization.

* Written before the conclusion of that Congress.

Plebiscites

(*Continued from page* 11)

than the old, and besides the young men have been cut off all over Europe from their employments—through the war and the distresses that have filled the years of "peace." Nothing in Europe is more unstable than Europe's young men.

Linked with this is the problem of drink. Miss Wambaugh believes that, with prohibition universal, the reconstruction of Europe might come faster, since in the prevalent despair drinking is apt to mean incitement to violence—as is so often the case with these wandering bands of youths—or release from effort. Not to mention the waste of money.

In Upper Silesia Miss Wambaugh studied one of the most discussed bits of territory in the world. Here, because the cities went German and the coun-

try Polish under a plebiscite, and even the Supreme Council couldn't settle it, the League of Nations was asked in. How the representatives who fixed the line between the two countries were all chosen from countries that had no interest at stake, was told by Mrs. Tuttle in a recent issue of the *Citizen*. For five months they sat at Geneva—a Swiss, a Belgian, a Brazilian, a Spaniard, a Chinese, and a Japanese—and the outcome was a convention of 606 articles and the establishment of a line that both sides accepted. It would be too much to say that both sides like it, but at any rate the arrangement is working, with two bodies, an Arbitral Tribunal and a Mixed Commission, sitting in Upper Silesia to administer it. For the first time in history such a decision was reached on the basis of political science, impersonally and objectively. And that to Miss Wambaugh is a highly significant and a hopeful fact, pointing the way to a time when political science shall take the place of political emotion, universally.

On her way to Vilna, which the Poles claim on the basis of a plebiscite that the Lithuanians do not accept, Miss Wambaugh stopped at Warsaw and saw among other things eight or ten women members of Parliament. She was inclined to be very sympathetic with a government that has three systems of law to harmonize, as has the Polish—not to mention the variety of languages.

From Danzig she visited East and West Prussia to study the plebiscites there. Then she took airplane for Berlin—a five hours' soar. She says she went up primarily to hunt for a hill that might separate Poland from Germany, as they had needed hills between them since the beginning of their history. But there was no hill—nothing but flatness from horizon to horizon.

At Berlin again it was the condition of the middle classes that she found most appalling, the working man being protected by a sliding scale of wages, as a result of union arrangements, while the middle classes have no such protection. Miss Wambaugh, who knows the German psychology of old and loves it not, was struck with the difference between the amiable German of peace time and the arrogant German of war time—or was it the German of the republic as against the German of the monarchy? At any rate Miss Wambaugh thinks, from her comparative observations, that the German character has been improved.

"Did you find much hate along the borders?" we asked her, and of course the answer was yes, with emphasis—especially where Germany was involved, for all her neighbors all the way around have been longing for her break-up. Everywhere Miss Wambaugh heard, "Oh, we never can be friends," and sometimes she would say, "But you can't go on this way forever—hating. Some time there must be a change—why not try it now?" And very often the answer was only, "Ah, but you don't know history."

Borders—Miss Wambaugh would like to look forward to a time when they will be abolished—with their artificiality and their inevitable emphasis on race prejudices. All that may be too far ahead to think of in the present distress, when national feeling is so strongly stressed—almost everywhere, Miss Wambaugh believes, stronger than class feeling. But at least she is very confident that what is needed above all else to solve the old problems of Europe is a new point of view. That the League of Nations stimulates a new point of view, she thinks, is one of its greatest values. And another thing of which her journey made her confident is the underlying sweetness of the human race, that people so worn down nervously and on the edge of starvation should take time and thought for a wandering American woman (she put it so) and her academic pursuit.

Attention, Suffragists!

THE special limited first edition of Mrs. Catt's book on "The Inside Story of the Suffrage Fight," has nearly been exhausted. If you have not received a special invitation to get one of these copies, send your name and address to the WOMAN CITIZEN. *Many of the old lists of suffrage names have been destroyed and some of the hardest workers for suffrage may have been omitted quite unintentionally. Every man or woman who helped, in either time or money, to bring about woman suffrage, is eligible for this edition and is invited to subscribe. Address the* WOMAN CITIZEN, 171 *Madison Avenue New York City.*

A New Job

(*Continued from page* 10)

to connect the teaching with the things they are doing, hearing and seeing every day. These store classes are alert and enthusiastic too.

"The older store workers—thousands of them—are being trained by the educational directors in many of our stores. In some progressive cities classes for adults are carried on by the public schools in co-operation with the Retail Merchants Association. This program of training on the job is promoted through the State Boards of Vocational Education. The Federal Board for Vocational Education in co-operation with these agencies carries on investigations and studies, and encourages the establishment of retail training courses. This highly specialized training, whether conducted by the private store or by the public school system, demands trained educational directors and teachers."

In her present post—as "Special Agent for Retail Education with the Federal Board for Vocational Education"—it is Miss Bacon's task to find and train teachers for these courses in salesmanship; to discover women with at least normal-school training who are willing to get practical store experience behind a counter before they undertake to train young people. Here is a vocation undreamed of just a few years ago, and Miss Bacon says there is no field which offers so much to the college garduate. Our women's colleges and universities provide candidates for teacher training courses, and for this reason, in addition to her other work, Miss Bacon is often called upon to meet college women who wish to know about this new field.

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A Line on the Movies

By ALVA TAYLOR GALLICO

"VANITY FAIR"—released by Goldwyn; directed by Hugo Ballin; with Mabel Ballin as Becky Sharp: Showing that Thackeray cannot successfully be transferred to the screen, for although it is artistically produced from the point of view of sets and atmosphere, the picture lacks drama and movement to the extent of being soporific in its effect. Let us have our "Vanity Fair" between covers.

"SCARS OF JEALOUSY"—released by First National: Entertaining melodrama, full of hokum, but you won't mind it, because it doesn't pretend to be real. There's a Southern colonel, an errant son, disinherited and then forgiven in the final reel, and an adopted son to take his place, adopted from a band of moonshiners. There's plenty of love, jealousy and excitement.

"THE ISLE OF LOST SHIPS"—released by First National; directed by Maurice Tourneur: An unusually fine picture dealing with the fascinating subject of the mysterious Sargossa Sea, where all the unfortunate ships of the ocean are said finally to drift. Mr. Tourneur has put across the atmosphere of the derelict gathering in a masterly way. The story holds one's interest throughout. Part of its charm is its improbability. We all like fairy-tales.

"THE GIRL I LOVED"—produced by Charles Ray Productions, Inc.; story derived from the poem by James Whitcomb Riley, with Charles Ray: This is one of the best moving pictures we have ever seen. A simple story put across in such a way that you cannot sit through it unmoved. It is heart gripping. Charles Ray, in his portrayal of the young man in love with his foster sister, who in turn loves another, does extraordinarily fine work. One suffers with him the pain of unrequited love.

"SIXTY CENTS AN HOUR"—produced by Paramount: In which the corpulent Walter Hiers heroes his way through an entertaining little comedy with the attractive Jaqueline Logan. A picture you won't remember by the time you have switched off the light for the night, but which during the unreeling may dispel the worries of the day.

"MASTERS OF MEN"—produced by Vitagraph; from the novel by Morgan Robertson: An excellent sea picture, containing a commendable picturization of scenes from the Spanish war, shanghai stuff, and a pleasing love story. Cullen Landis is a fine young actor.

"A CRUISE TO THE FAR NORTH"—produced by Captain Kleinschmidt: A moving picture record of a hunting and exploring trip in the Northern seas. Highly interesting in its intimate views of animal life there.

"WHAT A WIFE LEARNED"—produced by Thomas Ince: A career versus marriage picture in which the husband, an uncouth rancher, learns more than the wife, a successful novelist, who marries rather under protest and will not sacrifice her career. The picture proves nothing one way or another, but is just well enough done to be an adequate evening's entertainment, if you are not tired of seeing dams burst.

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The High Cost of Sugar

(*Continued from page* 10)

It was a foregone conclusion that the injunction would be denied, as the Government did not present any evidence of a conspiracy or in any way definitely fix the responsibility for the apparent manipulation of the market.

The public has thus been left without any effective protection from arbitrary and exorbitant sugar prices. In this situation there was no apparent recourse except for the women to take matters into their own hands and attempt to bring the sugar interests to terms by restricting their purchases.

It is a severe reflection on the American Government that it has been necessary for the people thus to protect themselves against profiteering. While the women of the United States are busy boycotting sugar, it would seem that they might well devote a part of their time and energy to ascertaining why the Government is thus either unable or unwilling to afford them the protection which the citizens of every nation have a right to expect.

Heart to Heart

100% VOTERS

IN recent years the phrase "one hundred per cent. American" has been used as a slogan, sometimes seriously, but so often vaingloriously, and in a way of boasting that it has almost lost its meaning. The *Woman Citizen* wants to start a campaign to make women not one hundred per cent. American, but one hundred per cent. voters. By that we mean that we want every subscriber of the *Citizen* to pledge herself not only to vote the coming year in every primary and election, but also to inform herself on issues and candidates, to exercise an intelligent judgment about public affairs and to express it when she votes.

The besetting sin of most citizens is apathy and inertia. Where public affairs are concerned most women, and men too, need waking up. They need an aroused public conscience.

Even the word *citizen* needs revivifying. Recently we heard a woman object to the words *Woman Citizen* as the title of our magazine, for she said she thought it meant women who were fighting for political office. The word *citizen* should be a title of distinction—let's make it so! Honest, efficient management of our public affairs would mean incalculably greater prosperity, healthier and more comfortable homes, and increased happiness and enjoyment for every one of us. Isn't it incredible that we don't take the little trouble and give the slight amount of time necessary to do our share to insure such results?

Another presidential year is approaching, when for the first time the women of all the forty-eight states will have the opportunity not only to vote for President and elect a Congress, but to shape a national platform.

At the last presidential election less than fifty per cent. of the eligible voters took the trouble to vote. The *Citizen* invites each one of its readers not only to be a one hundred per cent. voter herself but to help see to it that one hundred per cent. of the vote is cast and that one hundred per cent. of the vote is an honest, thoughtful expression of opinion. And as the act of voting is only one part of a citizen's job, the one hundred per cent. voter will begin now to plan and work to the end that the

best men and women shall be chosen as candidates to the national conventions, and that the best men and women shall be appointed to draft the party platforms. To be a one hundred per cent. voter means beginning a very long time before the election or even the primaries. It is not too early now to begin to make plans for the national convention. The early bird in this field will find that there have been those still earlier.

And to help you keep up, day by day, week by week, and to give you the information necessary to be a one hundred per cent. voter, the *Woman Citizen* means to do its share. It will be indispensable the coming year to the woman who wants to be well informed. It ought to reach a vastly larger audience than it does at present. Its subscribers are of exceptional quality, but there should be ten times as many of them. There isn't a woman who takes the *Citizen* who couldn't get another woman to subscribe to it. Send us her name or, if you are having to economize this year, find three new subscribers and get your own subscription for nothing.

You know how much of an influence for intelligent citizenship the *Citizen* is today. Won't you help double that influence right now?—G. F. B.

Your Investments

By Eleanor Kerr

THE average woman investor has very little idea as to what points should be considered in the purchase of bonds, or of how to judge them when they are called to her attention.

Any reputable house when offering bonds usually has a complete circular prepared describing the legal and financial points of the issue and giving its full financial status as well as the status of the corporation or city issuing it. A careful analysis of this circular is much more to the investor's advantage than merely the enthusiastic statement of some bond salesman or friend, which is apt to be irresponsible, and certainly in itself bears no assurance as to the real soundness and desirability of the issues for the particular person contemplating the investment.

An investor should consider his own needs. Many women prefer to have their funds put into exceptionally high-grade bonds, so that they need not keep track of the influences which frequently change the status of less well-secured issues. As a rule they also prefer to invest in long-term issues, so that they do not have to consider reinvestment of their money from time to time. Investors like these should buy practically only those issues which are legal for savings banks in New York and Massachusetts, or some of the very high-grade municipal and corporation issues which are almost in this class.

Of all types of bonds Municipals are probably the soundest as a whole, and are often, therefore, desirable for people of small incomes even though the tax exemption feature (municipal bonds are exempt from all Federal income taxes) is not of any particular advantage to them. On the other hand, municipal bonds giving an income comparable to the average high-grade corporation bond usually have no large marketability. But to many people who wish to hold bonds to maturity, this lack of a ready market is immaterial. It should be said that many municipal bonds do have an excellent market, especially those which are legal for savings banks and trustees in New York or Massachusetts.

Few municipal bonds are listed on any exchange, and the trading in them is entirely "over the counter"; that is, it is handled directly through the bond houses themselves and not through the general market, such as the exchanges furnish.

On municipal bond circulars should appear a statement of the city's finances, population and assessed valuation. In a high-grade issue the total debt should not exceed more than six per cent. of the assessed valuation, and it is preferable that it be not over three or four per cent. This leaves a wide margin of value on which additional taxes may be levied, should they become necessary. The city should have an absolutely good financial record, at least within the last twenty years. Small places as a rule have small debts, but they also have only a few bonds outstanding, and so are not very well known to investors. Their bonds, therefore, are not particularly marketable.

One should pay some attention to the type of locality whose bonds are being offered. A busy, commercial city with greatly varied industries, is a sounder community than one where a single industry predominates, for should anything affect that one industry it might disastrously affect the town. The population should be an increasing and not a decreasing one, and its general character should be considered.

The purpose of the bond issue should be the production of revenue, or city betterment. For this reason bonds for schools, roads, water works, street paving, sewers, wharves, electric light and such enterprises are considerably more popular than those which merely refund a previous issue, or go to make up an operating deficit of the city. The latter type add nothing to the security or desirability of the place, while the former not only improve conditions, but also in many cases bring added revenue to the city, either directly through water rates, etc., or indirectly by bringing increase of business and population in the locality.

We have used the word "city," but the foregoing applies equally to state, county, town, village or district.

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"Let us Converse together, and open our minds freely to each other. Let every town Assemble. Let Associations and Combinations be everywhere set up to Consult and Recover our just Rights."

Ira Nelson Morris has resigned as Minister to Sweden to be president of UNCLE SAM'S VOTERS. Ex-Congressman James W. Good and Mary Lee Adams are vice-presidents; G. B. Wayland is secretary.

Samuel Adams of Chicago, farm paper editor and president of the American Agricultural Editors Association is Director General. An advisory board of 100 citizens is being selected. Explanatory booklet on request.

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UNCLE SAM'S VOTERS will award five prizes ranging from $100 to $10 for the five best letters on the following subject: ***"Why I am joining UNCLE SAM'S VOTERS"***

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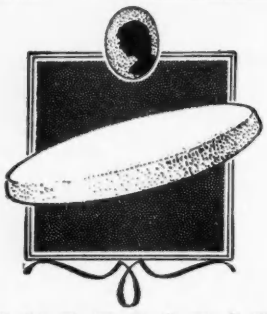

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OUR OWN DINGBATS

WELL, it seems there's one thing anyhow we've got on the highly recommended British political system. Here lately they couldn't have the Prime Minister they really wanted, because he was a lord and would have had to sit among those lofty presences, where the powerful Labor opposition couldn't get at him. One has a quaint picture of a Curzon on one side of a great pit and a MacDonald on the other, shouting across (if a Curzon can shout) ◈ ◈ ◈ We avoid all that, very simply. ◈ ◈ ◈ But then have we a lady members' room in Congress? Mrs. Stokes please answer. We trow not—while in the House of Commons a telephone has been placed in the lady members' room for the use of Lady Astor and Mrs. Wintringham. ◈ ◈ ◈ Speaking of congressmen, that was an unkind cut a Pennsylvania representative got the other day. He sent a woman constituent a list of documents, including memorials, to choose from. Her response was over-cordial—she asked for the memorials specially, because, she said "there's nothing I enjoy reading about so much as dead congressmen." ◈ ◈ ◈ We hereby extend the hand of fellowship to Brass Tacks in the "Woman's Press" on the subject of wire wastebaskets—our pet abomination. That's one thing we are sure no woman invented—she'd know there would always be pencil shavings on the floor. ◈ ◈ ◈ Some day we're going to line ours, right in office hours—after we decide what wastebasket color goes best with our aura. ◈ ◈ ◈ We heard the other day of an example of zeal that calls forth our admiration. A man wanted by the police had been photographed in six different positions, and the pictures were circulated among the police. From a small town a busy chief wrote in a few days later: "I duly received the pictures of the six miscreants whose capture is desired. I have arrested five of them; the sixth is under observation and will be taken soon." ◈ ◈ ◈ Wouldn't he make a grand subscription agent? ◈ ◈ ◈ The time of year is approaching when annually we wish we had been (or stayed) a school teacher. We give you three guesses at the reason. ◈ ◈ ◈ Maybe if our teacher friends would sign a pledge not to tell us what they do in their vacations, it would help. ◈ ◈ ◈ Those who wish our advice about how to escape from Teaching into Literary Work had better call in winter. ◈ ◈ ◈ Wasn't that just like Lady Astor to call down our own Nicholas Murray Butler for making jokes about Prohibition and America? ◈ ◈ ◈ Big dinner, stately occasion, and she says "It's got to stop!"—just like that. ◈ ◈ ◈ We seem to be running on England this time. ◈ ◈ ◈ We are still staggering under the blow of having the Prince of Wales recommend bill board advertising posters as just about equal to the Royal Academy. ◈ ◈ ◈ All we have to say is, times must have changed since the days when we mistook England's pet beef juice—BOVRIL—for the name of a railway station.

The Woman Citizen

Volume VII | JUNE 16, 1923 | Number 2

News Notes of the Fortnight

The Next World Conference

FROM June 28 to July 6 Oakland and San Francisco are to be the scene of a remarkable gathering. A World Conference on Education is to be held under the auspices of the National Education Association, with delegates invited from all countries. Its splendid object is, broadly, "to promote friendship, justice and goodwill among the nations of the earth." There will be of course an exchange of experiences among representatives of all the different educational systems, and the "inherited gifts of nationality" will be fostered while at the same time the essential unity of mankind is stressed. World peace and how education can minister to it will be a constant theme.

One phase of this conference will be an international health education conference—a thing which twenty years ago would not have been a possibility, while even ten years ago it would have been a gathering of theorists. For there are only four years of actual practical health work among children in all the countries represented. Since the war all the nations of Europe have perforce developed child health work zealously, and the Orient too has made great strides along this line. Delegates to the conference are coming from the far corners of the earth, and to the layman the program is a fascinating revelation of the extent and the many sidedness of health work.

The Peasant Premier Overthrown

A revolution, almost bloodless, has overturned the Bulgarian Government and substituted another. Premier Stambolisky, returning to the capital from the country, found himself a prisoner, while ministers were arrested at the Parliament House. A semi-official despatch says the motive is protest against the Stambolisky government's contempt for legality and its endorsement of violence. Apparently this refers to the much discussed trials of the Former King Ferdinand's ministers, who were held responsible for their country's lining up with Germany in the war, and received severe sentences. As interpreted, however, by a *New York Times* correspondent, the revolt appears to be that of the other classes against the Agriculturists. The deposed premier was known as the "peasant premier" and the Agrarian Union, a politico-agricultural party, has been in power ever since the war. Before that Bulgaria, though eighty per cent. agricultural, was controlled by the industrialists and capitalists of Sofia, and since the abdication of King Ferdinand and the succession of his son Boris in 1918, the military, capitalist and manufacturing classes have been out of things. Nearly half the membership of the Parliament is Agrarian. The old military machine has been practically wiped out, and the army reduced to miniature size. It was the army's adhesion to the opposition that made the overthrow of Stambolisky possible.

Very Briefly

Apparently Eamonn De Valera has given up the warfare against the Irish Free State. In a general order he concedes that military victory rests with the Free State forces.

The Austrian loan which resulted from the negotiations begun last year when the Austrian Government appealed to the League of Nations for help is now being offered in nine countries simultaneously. America's share is $25,000,000 of the total $126,000,000. The loan is guaranteed by revenues from customs, government monopolies, etc.

Chancellor Cuno has had his pay raised, says a despatch to the *Chicago Tribune*. So have the other officials of the German Government. Cuno's monthly pay amounts now to $67.15. His wife gets forty cents a month too, and five dollars a month for her five children.

Augustin Edwards, president of the Assembly of the League of Nations, and Chilean Ambassador to Great Britain, has recently been in this country on his way back from the Pan American Conference at Santiago. He protests that the newspapers have given a wrong impression of the Congress in saying that it was hostile to disarmament. He claims the Congress was clearly favorable to an investigation as to what a just reduction would be.

The Workers' College at Katonah, New York, has held this spring its first commencement, graduating a class of fifteen men and women, most of whom had spent two years in study of problems particularly affecting labor, combined with more general courses.

Concerning Prohibition

THE burning subject of prohibition has been prominent in the fortnight's news. Governor Smith of New York State signed the Cuvillier bill for the repeal of the Mullan-Gage enforcement law, after an intensive hearing at which both sides were strongly represented. The Wisconsin Assembly promptly got out its repeal bill, which had been tabled, and tried it on again. Though the Assembly passed it, its defeat by the Senate seems certain. In the national field the regulations to support the Supreme Court decision against liquor on all ships, foreign or American, within the three-mile limit, went into effect June 10—with the reservation that seizure shall not apply to ships leaving foreign ports before that date. No account was taken of the protests of all the foreign governments whose own laws require that they shall furnish liquor rations to ship crews, and who consider our regulations an invasion of their rights. The subject is of course by no means closed, and there is a supposition that unless some remedy is found before Congress reconvenes, special legislation will be asked for by the President. Meantime the Federal enforcement authorities have their hands full trying to supply New York and vicinity with enough Federal agents to compensate in part for the withdrawal of state enforcement power.

The Churches Speak

SIGNIFICANT of the deepening sense that the churches have a responsibility in economic, social and political matters are two church statements made public during the fortnight. The first was a call by the Federal Council of Churches urging the twenty million members which it represents to rally to the support of the World Court. Briefly and clearly it outlines the history of the World Court idea; the reservations under which it is now being

sponsored by Mr. Harding, and the earlier advocacy by the churches of such a mode of settlement. "A day of great decision for our country and the world has now arrived," it says, "a day long sought by the Christian people of our land. There will be strong forces opposing the action recommended by the President. Some will conjure up dangers to frighten doubtful minds. Others may oppose it because it does not go all the way in outlawing war. Although this is true, the establishment of the Court is a most important practical step in this direction. Surely we should not hesitate to take the first step because it is not a complete solution all at once."

The other action was condemnation of the twelve-hour steel day by the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council, together with the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Council and the Social Justice Commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. It shatters the report made by the Gary Committee very thoroughly, and says that "the forces of organized religion in America are now warranted in declaring that this morally indefensible régime of the twelve-hour day must come to an end."

The Leviathan Junket

WILL the *Leviathan* make her trial trip, and if so who will be on board? These questions are being asked with increasing insistence since the *New York World* began nosing into the cost and purpose of the junket. It is Attorney General Daugherty's plan—a trial trip for the refitted big ship to Cuba and back, with something like six hundred guests, and the Emergency Fleet Corporation paying the bill. And it is estimated that bill would be, in actual cost and in lost business in the busy season, not far under a million dollars. Mrs. Harding had asked some women guests and had to unask them when she was told that women were not to be included. Now the suggestion is being made that some of the men should be uninvited, and disabled service men should take their places. The whole business is causing considerable uneasiness in certain Republican circles. Such a costly junket at this time would make a very good talking point, they foresee, for the enemy.

Next Year is 1924

PRESIDENTIAL year is coming, and the talk thickens. Recent developments are the agitation in New York to have the 1924 convention held here, and the talk of Ford and of Borah for President. Mr. Hearst has come out with a promise of support for Mr. Ford if he runs on a third-party ticket. The Committee of Forty-eight is organizing to secure petitions through all the states for the drafting of Senator Borah as their nominee. Press comment has been that there is nothing in this because Borah has not said he would accept the nomination. The Committee of Forty-eight answers that it isn't customary to respond before you are asked, and expresses its belief that Borah would run if drafted. *Collier's* has been feeling the country's pulse about the next president by means of a personal canvass of its readers, and the results at the close of the fourth week show Ford leading with 38,467 votes, while President Harding is next with 27,170.

The Opium Commission

THE American delegation to the conference of the Opium Commission of the League of Nations was successful in getting its program adopted in principle, but with considerable reservations. They wanted, it will be recalled, a downright limitation of the production of opium to the amounts required for medical uses. The League Commission apparently did not feel free to recommend the application of so drastic a ruling to the countries most concerned. One of its reservations says that the "use of opium according to established usage in India is legitimate under the Hague convention," and the Commission rests such cases upon that convention temporarily. There is also a recommendation for further conference among the governments that have most to do with the manufacture and use of opium, in the hope of arriving at further limitations even for countries where the smoking of opium is temporarily permitted. Mrs. Hamilton Wright, a member of the American delegation, says that several nations are now each producing more than the world needs of manufactured drugs, and that there is a hard fight ahead. She says that the brightest ray of hope at the moment, is Turkey, which is on the point of accepting the opium convention.

It remains to be seen what the Council and the Assembly of the League will do with the Commission's decisions.

Gladys Wiles, our cover artist this time, began her career with the study of music. Then, after a year at the Art Students League in New York, she was confronted with the question—music or painting? She decided upon the latter, and began serious study under her father, as well as William M. Chase and John C. Johanson. Oils and portraits are her chief interests.

Her paintings have hung in the National Academy of Design, the Chicago Institute, and the Corcoran Gallery of Fine Arts; and the French Institute in the United States awarded her a medal in 1919.

Because we like personal touches about our artists, we're revealing the fact that Gladys Wiles has cats for a hobby—that is, as she puts it, "if one may have a hobby without being a collector." And another thing worth mentioning is that beneath her signature she writes Mrs. W. R. Jepson.

The New German Offer

THE conspicuous feature of the German offer now before the Allies is its emphasis on German willingness to accept the decision of an impartial international body as to the amount and method of reparation payments. There has been rather general agreement in the press that the tone of the note is a great improvement on preceding offers, and that the stress on the international conference gives ground for negotiations. The other features of the note are a system of annuities estimated at 1,200,000,000 gold marks annually, the number, however, depending on Germany's economic recovery, guarantees to consist of a mortgage on almost everything—the railroads, the alcohol and tobacco monopolies, and a guarantee fund furnished by German industry and agriculture.

Premier Poincaré claims to regard the offer as "ridiculous," and inacceptable, if for no other reason, because there is no mention of abandoning passive resistance. Belgium, after some doubt on the matter, agrees. Poincaré is, however, lending an ear to the British opinion. Lord Curzon is urging that France accept the offer as a basis of negotiations, and might in that case ask Germany to cease passive resistance as a preliminary to an international conference.

Republican Women Win

THE demands of Republican women for representation on the National Committee have borne some fruit. President Harding and Chairman Adams in conference have decided that a woman from each state might be appointed as an advisory member of the national committee, pending action by the National Convention. Mr. Adams said his idea was that the women could have from the next convention whatever sort of representation they decided by that time they wanted. Democratic women have had equal representation on their National Committee for several years.

All the World at Rome

By courtesy of the Public Ledger

Premier Mussolini following the translation into English of his address to the Suffrage Congress at Rome. Mrs. Catt at his right.

By Marjorie Shuler

NEVER was a more severe test put upon the international consciousness of women than in the ninth congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance at Rome, Italy, from May 12 to 19. With daily reports of French advances in the Ruhr; with Hungary looking askance at Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania; with Czechs watching Slovaks and Slovaks watching Czechs; with most of the European nations touched with resentment at the United States for remaining outside the League of Nations, and with Italian suffragists declaring that any talk of peace made by the Congress would endanger their cause with the Fascists—with all of this creating a tenseness and strain beyond any power of description, the fact that the women of forty-three countries did talk out their differences and hammer out a program upon which all could agree, is the greatest proof that could possibly be offered of the effectiveness and usefulness to the world of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

Peace—First

The big international problems were taken up and declarations were made upon them in spite of all difficulties. The women of France took the lead in urging a peace resolution. And from every side there came concessions and compromises which proved the unity which all the time exists, needing only the open vision, the open mind and the open heart to bring it within the comprehension of mankind.

Based on the sound *whereas* that all other progress depends on peace, the peace resolution affirmed the duty of women's working for economic reconstruction, reconciliation of the nations, the substitution of judicial methods for force, and promotion of the "conception of human solidarity as superior to racial, class or national solidarity." In addition, the convention declared for the adhesion of all nations to the League of Nations—for "the open door through which Germany might be able to enter [in Mrs. Catt's words] and the United States might be persuaded to enter."

The CITIZEN *here takes a radical step —it publishes a two-part serial. The subject is the Rome Suffrage Congress. Part one, herewith, is the story of the events of the Congress reported specially for the* CITIZEN *by Miss Marjorie Shuler. In the next issue—part two—Mrs. Catt, who has just returned, will interpret in detail the most important action of the Congress over which she presided.*

Discussions in the Congress followed the recommendations of four standing committees under whose auspices conferences were held on the first day. For two years the committees had been at work, in a thoroughly modern and scientific way with questionnaires and investigations, on four great phases of the status of women: 1) The Right to Work and Equal Pay, Dr. Margherita Ancona, of Italy, chairman; 2) The Maintenance of Motherhood, and the Illegitimate Child, under Miss Eleanor Rathbone of England; 3) The Nationality of Married Women, Miss Chrystal Macmillan, of England, chairman, and 4) Moral Questions, headed by Mme. de Witt Schlumberger, of France.

In some ways the most dramatic of the discussions was that centering about the nationality of married women. This was because of the passage in the United States of the Cable Act, which conferred independent nationality on American married women, and the problems it has given rise to in the passport offices of other countries lacking such legislation—some women now having two nationalities, some none. The resolution passed by the Congress provided that everywhere "a married woman should be given the same right as a man to retain or change her nationality," and asked the governments of the world for international action to make this principle universal.

On Equal Right to Work and Pay, the Congress declared "*all* avenues of work should be open to women" and that the only interpretation of the expression "equal pay for equal work" which is acceptable to the Alliance is that men and women shall be paid at the same rate . . . in the same occupation or grade. It voted for freedom of married women to work.

The severest conflict over this report came with regard to the declaration on protective legislation for women workers. Some of the Holland delegation and a large section of the Scandinavian delegates stood for the abolition of protective legislation for women. The United States was solidly for it. The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of protective legislation where it is desired by the women themselves, and against its imposition "contrary to the wishes of the women concerned." When the report was adopted, the applause was led by the fraternal delegate of the International Federation of Working Women, Signora Casartelli Cabrini of Italy.

A Wife's Right to Income

Considerable discussion also developed over an economic program modeled after the new Scandinavian laws which give women the right to a proportion of their husbands' incomes and in turn provide that in cases of disability the husband shall be entitled to a part of his wife's income. But the program was adopted—and another blow dealt to the old idea of women's essential dependence. The Congress expressed the modern view of homemaking in basing its action on the "belief that married women who are bringing up children . . . are doing work of as great im-

portance to the community as those men and women who are producing material wealth or performing remunerated service of head or brain." This same report recommended the payment of allowances to mothers for dependent children, and it was carried, though not without protests over the weakness of such an economic standard.

The social morality program was not adopted until the last day of the session and then only when some of its strongest medical features had been dropped. The delay in adopting the report, the evident lack of understanding of the technical medical issues involved, and the closeness of the votes on the issues led Mrs. Catt to declare repeatedly her belief that questions of this kind had no place in an organization devoted to political or citizenship activities.

These were the great international problems which faced the women. But there was a private and internal difficulty in the determination of Mrs. Catt not to stand again for re-election. Ever since the organization of the Alliance in Washington in 1902 Mrs. Catt has guided the destinies of the international organization. During that time woman suffrage has spread from four states in the United States, New Zealand and the Isle of Man to cover a large portion of the world. The number of national women's suffrage organizations has increased from five until every independent nation in the world with a stable government now has its woman suffrage society. Of the forty-three nations represented at this Congress (out of a total of sixty nations in the world), the delegates from twenty-five are voters on equal terms with men, those from two nations are voters in their municipalities,

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Of Presidents and Politics

And Monticello, National Shrine

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Monticello

Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

June 8, 1923.

WHAT your correspondent at the Capital would like to write this week would be—a hundred thousand men, lodge members, dressed up and acted like monkeys all the week, spending hundreds of thousands of dollars for the fun of it; and the chairman of the Republican National Committee here became verbally unrestrained, attacking the policies of the President of the United States, his own party's choice.

Alas, how seldom one can enjoy such free expression! For women would not be women if they said "Look at us! We do not run to such extravagances. Our convention deportment is quiet and our publicity restrained. Were we to make a show of ourselves, we would be condemned by the wide world for 'woman's folly.'" No, a woman could not say that, but no one could prevent her from thinking it.

The furore caused by the intemperate publicity of John T. Adams, chairman of the Republican National Committee, when he issued the statement to the effect that England and the European powers "are out to 'job' the United States at every possible turn" was one of regret rather than concern. But it will have a direct bearing on the coming presidential campaign because it involves the development of the campaign's principal issue, namely, foreign policy. So let us skeletonize the situation.

During the presidential campaign of 1920 when Woodrow Wilson personally traveled over the country campaigning for the League of Nations, thirty-one Republicans of high standing in the party came together and decided that the health of the Republican Party would be better if it espoused a middle course rather than isolation toward foreign affairs. It did not want to join the Democratic side in complete approval of the League, but it did come to the conclusion that some kind of a League would be the best solution of the European problem. Consequently, it issued a manifesto appealing for the election of Senator Harding on a platform of an association of nations, which has been known since as the letter of the thirty-one. It is likely to become an historical document. In its essence it read:

"The undersigned, who desire that the United States shall do her full part in association with other civilized nations to prevent war, have earnestly considered how we may contribute most effectively to that end by our votes in the coming election. The question between the candidates is not whether our country shall join in such an association. It is whether we shall join under an agreement containing the exact provisions negotiated by President Wilson at Paris or under an agreement which omits or modifies some of those provisions that are very objectionable to great numbers of the American people." It concluded by stating, "We therefore believe that we can most effectively advance the cause of peace by supporting Mr. Harding for election to the presidency." It was signed by Charles Evans Hughes, Herbert Hoover, Elihu Root, George W. Wickersham, Henry L. Stimson, and others eminent in law, science and other professions, but particularly strong in Republican prestige.

At the recent National Conference of Social Work, President Lowell of Harvard delivered an impelling speech in which he challenged the statement by President Harding that during his campaign for election three years ago, he, as the Republican standard-bearer, had

absolutely opposed the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations. The challenge was on the ground that by approving of the manifesto of his supporters, of whom President Lowell was one, the President then definitely committed himself to approval of the association idea and had enlisted in his Cabinet thereafter two of the prominent signers of the manifesto, Hughes and Hoover. Dr. Lowell's speech aroused the country and caused a deepening of the alignment here of those who want nothing to do with Europe and the Harding-Hughes-Hoover faction, whose sympathies are toward American help in a solution of the world's difficulties. Between these two factions, President Harding has been wracked from one side to the other.

Promise vs. Possibility

It is hardly fair to hold him responsible on a technicality of wording. If he asserted himself against the League and for an association, or for an association and now for such part of it as he thinks he can get, namely, the World Court, it must be understood as the evolution of presidential politics. With all the power that a prospective President has, he may make a thousand promises and after doing everything in the world to try to carry them out, finally come to the conclusion that he promised impossibilities. At least, the explanation of those who are around the President is that if Mr. Harding is criticized for not attempting to force his idea of an association of nations, it is because his better judgment has led him to attempt the practical rather than to pursue the visionary. However, into this stir came the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, and to get the whole story let us have a word about him:

John T. Adams was vice-chairman of the National Committee under the former Chairman, Will H. Hays. He was an Iowa politician, noted as an able campaign manager. During the war his sympathies were supposed to be somewhat on the German side, but that commentary we now know has to be greatly modified because of the distortion of the mental attitude of war-time. Nevertheless, Mr. Adams aspired to be National Chairman and, being on fairly intimate terms with the President, he was chosen. His selection was not over-popular because of the German supposition and qualms which certain Republican leaders and organs had as to his discretion.

Soon after he took office, his publicity organization began sending out the routine statements. Everyone accustomed to receiving this national committee publicity matter has long since formed a protective crust. Democratic broadsides paint the Democratic host as just about ready for political heaven, and the Republican side finds flaws enough to send it to the other place, and so on. But the publicity outpourings from the Republican camp under Mr. Adams's supervision suddenly became notably extravagant. Epithets were used and all sorts of abuse indulged in. Members of the party invested with dignity and responsibility began to take exception to such unrestrained writing. It happened again and again and was duly reproved. A few days ago, the desks of the correspondents in the Capital received one of the familiar Republican broadsides, couched in violent language, and calling England and France such names that they immediately sensed a limit of endurance.

When the matter was called to the attention of Secretary Hughes, like an ordinary man, he was furious. The diatribe had been circulated but a few hours before the same correspondents' desks received a slip announcing that the Republican broadside had been "withdrawn at the request of the State Department." In the meantime, unfortunately, the press wires from the Capital to every part of the country had been busy transmitting the Committeeman's attack. Several papers had printed it and the withdrawal notice was powerless. Briefly, Mr. Adams's statement said:

"In plain words, the whole matter (referring to supposedly obstructive methods employed by European governments to prevent the United States from collecting its bill for maintaining military forces on the Rhine after the Armistice) is a crooked deal. It involves the direct violation of the terms of the Armistice. It involves the repudiation of the Treaty of Versailles. It involves the repudiation of the agreement between this nation and the European powers made when America was urgently requested to maintain her forces on the Rhine. It is typical of the attitude of England and European powers toward this country in all matters. They are out to 'job' the United States at every possible turn."

Mr. Adams Explains

When Mr. Adams saw what a commotion he had created, he sent out a second statement which was in no effect apologetic, but stated that he believed he was holding true to the voice of the Republican voters of 1920 when they repudiated European entanglements. Mr. Adams became so concerned over the effect of his words, fearing he had estranged himself from the presidential end of his party, that he was ready to come out with a statement that, of course, he stood by the President. But the damage was done. Some idea of the actual issue between the Chairman and the President as the campaign opens, can be gained from Mr. Adams's second statement, in which there is not a mention of approval of the President's proposition for membership in the World Court, but on the other hand, a continued emphasis upon isolation. He said:

"Cultivating the most friendly relations possible with every foreign nation, consistent with our interests and our best traditions, is the American policy, as it is the policy of the Republican Party. It is also the American, as it is the Republican policy, that no foreign nations or foreign propaganda should determine for us just what our foreign relations should be. All Republicans may rest assured that the Republican national organization shall remain true to this policy and that it will continue to review and discuss public problems from the standpoint of 'America first.'"

Some politicians here have gone so far as to hope for the resignation of Mr. Adams from the chairmanship. Your correspondent merely repeats a coincident comment that another Republican Chairman might have more sense about the participation of Republican women in party councils, which has been a moot matter in the progressive elements of the party. And another comment: That party organization men, Republicans and Democrats alike, could take a few lessons profitably from the excellent campaign material issued from the women's divisions of the respective parties, which is restrained, without personal abuse, and although vehement in party loyalty, discreet and constructive.

A Middle Ground

President Harding's record this week has been to add considerable force to the Harding-Hughes-Hoover end of the party by his excellent Memorial Day address, which, although non-political, in effect gave Mr. Adams a definite reply. Incidentally, the President has risen many pegs in his speech-making. His address to the Shriners was remarkable for its warmth, fellowship and its excellent delivery. On Memorial Day, he summed up a European policy which may serve as a middle ground for the whole League of Nations controversy. It is the first real basis upon which pro-middle-anti Leaguers could get together for discussion. It is hardly possible that the President could evolve any better slogan for the campaign than when he said:

"We cannot guarantee, but we can promote, the peaceful adjustments of disputes. We can do the things which *rational thinking* leads us to believe will tend to render war less likely."

Your correspondent adds another comment heard after the President's speech and that is that every American voter should read or be told of the main thread of the letters of the late Walter Hines Page, one of the greatest Ameri-

can Ambassadors of the Court of St. James's. He was continually harassed in his problem of securing for the United States the best relations with the British Empire by Americans at home or temporarily abroad, who said an apparently free and frank something suited to their own purposes which was immediately construed by governments in an international aspect. For instance, the Chairman of a Republican National Committee could not write that "Great Britain was out to 'job' the United States" without causing Englishmen high in official life to come to the American Ambassador and find out what "job" meant. In other words, in all Mr. Page's correspondence it was painfully plain that his position was one of great delicacy involving heavy and sometimes heartbreaking responsibilities at best. But the work was almost intolerable when unnecessary trouble emanated from a home source. That is a lesson from the Page letters which every voter and every woman who has to do with organization work can read with enlightenment. Every day the intimate experiences of Mr. Page are a revelation to the Capital as they are exemplified by present day happenings.

Washington is showing increasing interest in the prospect of acquiring Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson at Charlottesville, Virginia, as another national shrine. Social activities, a Jefferson breakfast and other events recently have renewed the fight which prominent women are making to save this masterpiece of architecture for the nation. The place is for sale. The present owner, Jefferson Levy, who inherited it from his family, offers it to the public. The State of Virginia would be proud to be the owner if it could finance the matter, which, unfortunately, at the present time seems to be out of the question.

Your correspondent made a pilgrimage to Monticello recently. It was President Harding himself who said the other day that no matter how much was told about a subject, none of it was worth half a glance from one's own eyes. He meant that to apply to his prospective visit to Alaska and the problems there. It might well apply to Monticello. Not half enough has been said in its praise, and one visit tells a story which never could be read from a book. First, one never realizes its location—at the very top of a high hill—some might call it a mountain—which is reached by a rough, winding mountain road, whereon one passes the mules and old mountain plugs carrying the families over, and up and down, with their Saturday night produce, some astride the mules, some lumbering on after the shaky carts, the women and children sitting on bales of hay, and

(Continued on page 27)

The Rural School's Friend

By Mrs. W. S. Griswold

IN a one-room schoolhouse of Minnesota some thirty odd years ago were born the first glimmers of an idea, so large in scope that it is now national.

From the bare little schoolroom, Mrs. Josephine Corliss Preston—then just Josephine Corliss—saw the handicaps of the rural teacher, pupil, and parent, and set her mind to change them. It was a slow process. Dissatisfied with her own educational opportunity, she taught for a year, then went to school for a year. In this way she earned a diploma from Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota.

Then she moved to Washington. There she taught in Waitsburg for four years and in Walla Walla for seven—never ceasing to study the rural districts and never losing her ambition to help. Eventually she was appointed assistant county superintendent and then county school superintendent of Walla Walla County, which office she held for nine years.

At last she felt free to test her plan, which was two-sided. First—closest to her heart—came the rural school teacher, who usually just "boarded around." Mrs. Preston believes that a teacher should have a place of her own, where she may find the relaxation so necessary to her work, and she conceived the idea of the Teacher's Cottage, or "teacherage." She set herself the task of seeing that every teacher in the rural districts throughout Walla Walla County had a good boarding place, or a "teacherage" in which to live. This took organization, persistence, energy and patience, but Mrs. Preston had them all.

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Mrs. Josephine Corliss Preston

Having made good in her own county, and set the idea going in her own state, she enlisted the National Federation of Women's Clubs in a "teacherage" campaign. State Federations throughout the country began taking up the scheme. Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, then president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs in Texas, heard Mrs. Preston speak on the "teacherages" at the Council Meeting of the General Federation of Women's Clubs in Portland, and was so inspired that she hurried back to Texas to start a campaign. The Texas Federation worked hard, with the results that Texas built more "teacherages" in one year than Washington did in ten. United States Commissioner of Education Claxton joined the forces, and now nearly every state in the union is building or has a large number of "teacherages."

The other side of the plan was the establishment of community centers. Mrs. Preston realized that the drudgery and monotony of farm life must be relieved if the boys and girls were to stay in the rural districts. Community centers were the answer—places where the young and old could find recreation and real social life, and Mrs. Preston herself became a national figure in this work.

Mrs. Preston has never stopped. She was elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Washington in 1913—the first woman to hold state office in Washington—and has held that post ever since, having been reelected in 1916 and 1920. When she took office, there were in the country only three women state superintendents of public instruction; now there are nine. She has been, among other things, president of the National Education Association, and then vice-president; on the board of trustees of the Ellison and White Chautauqua; member of the National Women's Executive Committee for the National Republican Party; chairman of the Rural Education Division of the G. F. W. C., and interested in all things educational. As a matter of fact, at this moment she holds half a dozen or so distinct big positions. How does she do it?—Hard work, she says, and any one who has watched her in her office could add, splendid business efficiency.

Besides which she is big-hearted, with a broad outlook and deep human sympathies.

A New World for Women

By Carrie Chapman Catt

This is part of the address given by Mrs. Catt at the Rome Suffrage Congress, where she ended her long service as President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. Because Premier Mussolini was to welcome the Congress at its opening session, Mrs. Catt delivered half of her address then, half later on in the week. The portion printed here, chiefly from the first address, presents a round-the-world view of the woman cause such as no other woman could give.

MEN and nations are not thinking the same thoughts about women as before the war. It is an entirely new and different world for women. The thirty-two nations engaging in the greatest of world wars, in addition to the obvious first cause, alleged many other reasons for their action. These were objects which they hoped to achieve through victory, and nations held them worthy the waste of wealth and men. In the list of these causes and aims no nation included the civil rights and political liberty of women. Not a general under any flag thought of the degraded status of women throughout the world when he led his men into the thick of slaughter. Not a man in any army preparing to offer his life for his country, dreamed that he might be making the supreme sacrifice to right the wrongs of women. Not a weeping father or mother watching their loved son go forth to marching music and flying colors, perhaps never to return, had a vision that women's place in their own nation and the world bore relation to the patriotism that inspired their common service. Woman, too, was declared a "war power," and great men of great nations generously acknowledged her as a determining factor in that reserve behind the ranks which made possible the army at the front; yet these women at home, giving their all and counting no service too great, thought no word of rights of self or sex.

Out of the War One Good

Nevertheless, when time has stabilized governments and finance, when commerce, trade and business have resumed their old-time activity, when the restless, unhappy present has given way to peace and order, and great men ask each other the puzzling question: "What good did the world get out of the war?" the answer most obvious will be: "The greatest thing that came out of the war was the emancipation of woman." No one aimed to secure it or expected it as a result of war, no one fought for it, yet it came. How did it happen? It happened because the years of struggle, sacrifice, agitation, education and organization had made this movement ripe for victory.

Although the emancipation of woman was nowhere complete, we now know that the nineteenth century was, in truth, the "Century of Woman," for no factor of advancing civilization during that century showed such rapid evolution as the status of woman. So much of the woman's program had been conceded in that century that the remainder became inevitable. The momentum gathered in the nineteenth century drove the movement forward into the twentieth with continually accelerating numbers of advocates and diversity of method. The end was in clear sight when the war began.

The vote has been the climax of the struggle of every class for liberty, and naturally the grant of this privilege was longest delayed and most grudgingly given. When, however, the Alliance met in Geneva in 1920, in its first after-war Congress, it celebrated twenty-two new national suffrage victories. The constitutional barriers holding fast against the logical demands of women for political liberty had been swept away by the wave of liberal emotion which overspread the world during the first months after the war. Nations wherein the organized demand had been slight, and others where there had been none at all, yielded to that influence. The nations where the organized movement was oldest granted the vote to women as an act of delayed justice; the new republics of eastern Europe adopted it as a matter of course, and to others it came by revolution.

There are six continents. In Australia all women vote. In Europe from points above the Arctic Circle down to a line bordering Jugo-Slavia, Italy, Switzerland and France all women vote, and, in my judgment, woman suffrage is securely and permanently established. In North America, from the northernmost tip of Alaska to the border of Mexico, all women vote. In Asia, the ancient Indian civilization with modern democratic aspirations has shamed more youthful nations in generous justice to its women, and has granted the vote in several provinces. Not only do we welcome delegates for the second time from that far-away mystical country, but we receive a new auxiliary from Burma, where taxpaying women have voted on equal terms with men for forty years. Palestine, too, the storm center of age-long struggle, sends us a delegate. In Africa, most British colonies have already extended the vote to women, while South Africa alone, among them all, hesitates. We are especially proud to welcome to this Congress delegates from that wonderland of Egypt. In ancient days there were Egyptian queens and women military leaders of great renown; why not heroines today, bearing aloft the standard of civil and political equality for modern Egyptian women?

South America Moving

Of all the continents South America is the only one where no woman votes, yet it is a continent of republics many of which have celebrated their centenary of independence. Here the Napoleonic code in strictest form operates from Panama to Cape Horn, with the exception of Uruguay. Here not only does the restraint imposed by the law upon the married woman concerning the control of her property, wages, person, and children render her wellnigh helpless if her husband chooses to play the master, but a stern public opinion, far less liberal than that of Europe, restricts her ordinary freedom of action to an unbelievable degree.

Yet in every South American republic we visited we found the woman movement growing and spreading, a liberal sympathy expressed by Presidents of the Republics and by many members of the Congresses. Organization lags far behind the general sentiment, and education for women, which must everywhere be regarded as the primary qualification for improved status, offers neither the facilities nor the stimulus found in Europe.

I believe I speak strictly within the truth when I say that every independent nation in the world with a stable government has now its Woman Suffrage Society. The movement has begun, even where it has not traveled far. Startling though it may seem, our suffrage movement has in truth girdled the earth and spread from Arctic North to Antarctic South. It now counts among its auxiliaries those whose members represent the five great races of the world, Caucasian, Mongolian, Malay,

Polynesian and Indian. Its membership embraces the five great religions: Christian, Hebrew, Buddhist, Confucian and Mohammedan.

The old barriers of prejudice and custom are breaking fast. Women are sitting in the City and County Councils of all the Northern European nations, from Iceland to the Italian border. They are serving in considerable numbers in the Parliaments of Europe and in the Legislatures and Congress of the United States. Within the past two years evidence of the acknowledgment of the new status of women comes from all parts of the world. Japan has given women the right to attend political meetings and they have improved the opportunity afforded by organizing a national suffrage association, and Denmark records a law granting equal pay for equal work in government service. Australia, where women have long voted, has extended eligibility to sit in some of the state Parliaments, a right hitherto illogically denied. Within that period Germany, Belgium, Austria, Spain, Portugal, Argentine, Peru and India have admitted women to the practice of law and Germany has appointed women to judgeships. The Governments of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Rumania, France, Great Britain, Uruguay, Australia and Siam have appointed women representatives to the Assembly, the Commissions and Conferences of the League of Nations. The United States and Bulgaria have appointed women to the diplomatic service, and lastly the United States has granted married women the right to their own nationality.

No such organized movement among men has yet come into the world. It is something new: a phenomenon—this arising, uniting and marching forward together of a sex. We are an army, but our only weapon is an appeal for justice. We go forward with confidence, for no government can long withstand our plea. Time, however, must pass before the movement comes to its final victory, and education, work and sacrifice must do their part. Meanwhile it needs the encouragement and inspiration of our common union, the morale aroused by the fact that the women of all nations, races and religions are united together in the demand for the abrogation of outworn bondage and the demand for individual freedom.

We differ in many things, in race, religion and politics; but we are a unit in our demand for a woman's share in all privileges, opportunities and responsibilities the world has to offer.

The Closed Door In Music--Why?

A Symposium of Orchestra Conductors

WHY are the largest symphony orchestras in American cities like New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Chicago composed entirely of men? There are not many engagements open to soloists of either sex, unless they are of the very first rank, but there are thousands of positions in big orchestras which offer a pleasant career at good pay. What chance has a fine voilinist who happens to be a girl of being admitted to them? With huge conservatories and music schools all over the country crowded with girl students, with parents spending great sums of money on a musical education for their daughters—why are girl music students shut out from the best form of livelihood which men students enjoy? Is it prejudice or merely custom?

A news item from London, published in the *Citizen* some time ago, that women had been admitted for the first time to full fellowship in the Royal Philharmonic Society, brought so many questions as to the comparative status of women musicians in first-class orchestras in European countries and the United States, that the *Citizen* determined to get some first-hand information from orchestra conductors themselves concerning the desirability of women players in orchestras. Many women are members of small bands, but except as harpists they are so rarely seen in the large symphony orchestras of this country, that the appearance of several women players in the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra on its first visit to New York, caused considerable comment.

The first opinion asked was that of Mr. Walter Damrosch, the well-beloved dean of conductors. Mr. Damrosch deprecates the employment of women in large orchestras as he believes they are not strong enough physically to stand the strain of long rehearsals and many concerts of an orchestra like the New York Symphony. The tours of such an orchestra too, with the fatigue of traveling added to the strenuous playing, Mr. Damrosch thinks would be hard for women players.

The manager of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra has the same opinion: that it is not advisable to have women players in an orchestra which gives concerts outside of its own city, necessitating a considerable amount of traveling.

Chicago has a Civic Orchestra (organized some years ago to educate young people along symphonic lines) which includes women, and out of a total of seventy-five to eighty players, there have been as many as twenty women, and at this moment the leader of the first violins is a women. But there are no women players (outside of harpists) in the Chicago Symphony Orchestra.

On the contrary, Nikolai Sokolof, conductor of the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra, which has several women players not only in the strings but of woodwind, does not find women a drawback even on the long and trying tours which the orchestra has been making under Mr. Sokolof's conducting. He adds that he has found that women exert a pleasant and wholesome influence on a company of musicians, and that he considers their presence a genuine addition to the morale of the band.

European orchestras and conductors, it is apparent, give women players a very much warmer welcome than do American.

Bruno Walter, conductor of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, writes quaintly: "I have had very good experiences in some European orchestras with women players. I cannot see any reason why women should not play all the instruments which do not ask physically more than they can give."

The conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, M. Pierre Monteux, writes still more warmly: "Certainly women orchestra players would be quite as acceptable to me as men, their abilities being equal. In the Colonne Orchestra which I conducted in Paris, several of the members were women, and my own orchestra there included, I think, six women, all of whom played very well and were quite as satisfactory as the other members. I believe it is not the general custom to engage women orchestra players in this country, though the second harpist of the Boston Symphony Orchestra is a woman."

The same opinion is expressed by Mr. Mengelberg, the Dutch conductor who has created an enormous following in New York with his work with the Philharmonic Orchestra. Mr. Mengelberg writes that he has insisted on the engagement of women in his orchestra in Amsterdam, and that there are a number of them playing various instruments. He adds: "My experience is that these women, all first-class players, are as reliable as their men colleagues."

It is a strange phenomenon that the

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Alexa Sterling

Women Workers in Wall Street

By Eve Chappell

"Freedom, unfailing interest and stimulation and financial opportunity are the attractions"

© U. & U., N. Y. C.
Kathleen Taylor

WOMEN are no longer conspicuous in Wall Street, which is short for financial America. Far too many to attract attention are at work there now. As bond saleswomen, statisticians and managers of departments they are accepted as a matter of course, and there is hardly a phase of work in the bond investment houses that is safe from the feminine invasion.

Nor is it a new invasion. Women's opportunity in banks seems chiefly to have come with the war. In bond investment houses it came earlier, and was of women's own making, not that of circumstance. Even in the last quarter of the eighteen hundreds there was an occasional woman who took a hand at bond selling—Tennessee Claflin, for brilliant example, and she thereby made herself a mark for autograph hunters. But such a career may be merely an isolated instance, signifying nothing as the promise of a new order. And when in 1908 Elizabeth Ellsworth Cook, fresh from Cornell University, came to Wall Street, she was a front-page newspaper story.

Miss Cook had intended to be a lawyer, but a two-year break in her college course, spent working for expert accountants, diverted her from that ambition. She observed, for one thing, that there were plenty of members of the bar earning about ten dollars a week, and that sum had no interest for her. Miss Cook came to Wall street determined to win a place that would give her the same opportunities that a man would have. She broke the trail for women in the financial district of New York. Her first work was with Harris, Forbes and Company. Now, as sales manager for Hemphill, Noyes and Company, her name heads the list of women who have been successful in the bond investment houses.

Just how long this list is, it is impossible to say. Results have not been tabulated, and figures in these matters are hard come by. But some idea may be gleaned from the fact that there is a Woman's Bond Club with a membership of more than thirty, and this number by no means includes all the women who are selling bonds in New York. Many who are eligible to membership have not joined, and none is eligible

Eleanor Kerr

until she has sold bonds for at least a year. Miss Cook is president of the club, and Mrs. Jacob Riis is vice president.

Mrs. Riis lectures on Investments at

© Bachrach
Mrs. Jacob Riis

Columbia University. For seven years she has been with the firm of Bonbright and Company, and is manager of their women's department. Mrs. Riis came into the money-earning world when, after the death of her famous husband, she found it necessary to add to her income. Social work she refused to consider, for she believed that there she would receive advantage and distinction whether earned or not, just because she was the wife of Jacob Riis. She wanted a fair field; fair in all ways, for "a good salary for a woman" is a phrase she abhors.

Business attracted her, and she concluded that in bond selling lay her best opportunity. She devoted a brief period to intensive study and preparation; during that time, and in the first weeks of actual work, she was ready to resign any day, and every day. The subject seemed hopeless; the difficulties unsurmountable. It is from her own experience as well as from observation that Mrs. Riis stresses courage as the second requisite of a bond saleswoman. The first is intelligence. After two years of bond selling, Mrs. Riis became manager of a department for women—a department that is a brilliant success, though the experience of some companies does not point to the adivisability of such segregation.

Mrs. James Harvey Robinson, a late recruit to financial work, is now undertaking to build up a women's department for Ingraham and Du Bosque. Though her force of saleswomen do not confine themselves strictly to women's investments, it is in these that they specialize.

Under Miss Cook's management, at Hemphill, Noyes, there is no division into a men's department and a women's department. A bond seller is a bond seller, regardless of sex, and of the sex of the client.

Miss Eleanor Kerr, with the William R. Compton Company, is another whose name should be italicized in any story of the women of Wall Street. In addition to her work as financial statistician, she serves in the buying department. Miss Kerr deliberately picked out this business because it looked interesting to her, after she had spent much time and proved her talent in art and as a private school teacher in subjects far from bonds. She entered the statistical department of Imbrie and

(*Continued on page* 24)

Editorially Speaking

Who Wants War?

WE like to believe there will be no "next war." But there is clear enough evidence that some one is planning for it. The Methodist Federation of Social Service has a little disarmament leaflet, written by Mary Jenness, which leads off this way:

"Where are you going, my lad, with that fishing pole and box of worms?"

"Going to church, sir!"

"And where are you going, United States, with those 16 new cruisers, 6 submarines, 6 gun boats, 2000 airplanes? And those plans for quadrupling the Civilian Military Training camps, National Guard, and R. O. T. C.? And your pockets bulging with millions to spend on these things? Where are you going?"

"I am getting ready for peace."

One answer is as logical as the other, says the leaflet.

It is, and the conclusion that somebody "does not want peace to happen" is inescapable. The point of the leaflet is an appeal to the United States to take the moral leadership of the world toward peace. "We who have least need to arm are setting a cruel pace for the nations least able to bear it. The way to prevent war is to stop thinking war and think peace." If the question is up to the United States, it is surely up to the women. Are the women ready to lead their country toward really effective disarmament? Are they ready to lay aside fear of phrases and labels and to take a courageous stand?

The *Citizen* intends to present the facts about the war plans of the United States as fast as it can get hold of them. It wants the women of the country to be sure they are facing the facts and are doing their part, definitely, directly.

Past the Amateur Stage

"THE reason we won suffrage," said Mrs. Whitehouse, Chairman of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party the year suffrage was won, "was that we no longer worked as amateurs but as professionals."

Said Mrs. Winter, President of the General Federation, to the women of her organization at a recent meeting: "We have passed the loose amateur stage and must subject ourselves to training in leadership."

It is an important lesson women have been learning, that the amateur viewpoint of wishing a thing to happen does not make it happen; that passing a resolution accomplishes nothing; that good intentions may be vicious unless accompanied by hard work to put them into operation.

The women of the United States have a vast new power in their hands. Those represented in most of the women's organizations are the only leisure class in the United States. They have time to study public questions and to form intelligent opinions about them. They have the machinery to make their opinions effective, not by using their club organizations for partisan politics but for developing the widespread public opinion which moves through political action. Their possibilities of service are endless.

Another amateur trait they are outgrowing is the fear of controversy. Among thinking people, on important questions, there are bound to be differences of opinion, serious and deep seated. To avoid discussion because one is afraid of the dissensions involved is to close one of the most valuable sources of education. There is nothing like frank, free discussion to develop one's own power of observation, of deduction and of expression.

In the fleeting passages of purely social gatherings, one agrees with one's neighbors; but the study of important social problems, to be of any value, needs the presentation of every viewpoint and the sincere weighing of arguments from every side. If women are going to measure up to their new responsibilities they will invite discussion on controversial subjects and learn to accept the give and take of arguments without allowing personal feelings to become involved.

They Steer Well

FRANK A. GOODWIN of Boston, registrar of motor vehicles, has had to revoke 8,067 automobile licenses and only 31 of the offenders were women. It is said that about one car in ten is driven by a woman; but the women furnish much less than that proportion of the flagrant offenders.

There was a time when women were thought to be incompetent to run motor vehicles. Now it is proved that they cause fewer accidents, proportionately, than men. This should be an encouragement to try more women in responsible public positions. Municipalities, and even nations, may have fewer bad accidents when more women are chosen to steer the ship of state.—A. S. B.

New York Drops Out of Line

GOVERNOR SMITH'S action in signing the measure repealing the enforcement act was a great disappointment to many men and women in the state of New York. The Governor's memorandum of explanation offers no evidence of insincerity, and we are willing to credit him with the wish to be guided by considerations of duty. But that is not the same as saying that the statement offers any satisfying reason for his action. He refers to the removal of double jeopardy —that is, the possibility of a man's being tried twice for the same offense under different statutes. But this gets no emphasis. Most of the argument swings on a vindication of state's rights, of the state's freedom not to duplicate a Federal statute. He argues that the removal of the state law will concentrate attention on the Federal statute and on the necessity of getting at the traffic at an earlier stage. A great part of the message is defensive—a warning to the wets that the removal of the state law is not to be construed as an endorsement of license. For the small favor of the warning there must be gratitude. But the fact remains that the withdrawal of state support in enforcement can not reasonably fail to increase violation of the prohibition law, and can not fail either to have a profound moral effect in creating an atmosphere of license.

Why So Few Women in Orchestras?

THE inferiority complex of women has never been able to stand up against the masculine assertion that all great musicians are men, and that there have not been any great women composers or even conductors. It is a fact that cannot be denied. What is a Chaminade to a Beethoven, or a Brahms, or a Wagner? Turn to the article on page 12 for the beginning of a reason.

Music schools are full to overflowing with girls. They graduate ten women to one man. A woman's money is as good for tuition, so far, as a man's, but afterward—ah! there is a different story. Practical experience as a player in an orchestra is denied to women. The road leading to command of a conductor's baton is closed to them. Fellowships for

music study abroad are reserved for men. How, with such handicaps, are women going to get the training and experience necessary to develop such talent as they may have?

There are great woman solo players, but the solo performer's talent is rarely creative. Conductors develop from the orchestra chairs—composers have often been conductors. This entire road of development is closed to women. The open door in music has never been granted them. It is possible that women may not have creative ability in music, although they have shown that they possess it in all the other arts, but so far no one knows whether they have or not. The doors will have to be thrown wide open to them for a century at least before fair judgment can be made.

The Double Standard Jolted

IT is good news that the British House of Commons has passed a bill, by a vote of nearly ten to one, providing that Englishwomen may hereafter obtain divorce on the same grounds as Englishmen. Under the present law a wife must be able to prove cruelty as well as infidelity, while a man can bring suit for unfaithfulness alone. It is one of the most flagrant acceptances of the double moral standard, implying very plainly that on the man's part infidelity is by no means so serious as on a woman's. Also, it is in operation one of the cruelest of inequalities. A woman may be shackled to a man confessedly and openly unfaithful to her, who merely by refraining from what the courts would recognize as cruelty, can inflict on her most exquisite torture.

Of course the battle isn't won yet—there is the House of Lords with its respect for tradition to reckon with, but at least this is a step forward.

Poor Civilizers—Guns

MAJOR PINGER, released by the Chinese bandits, is all in favor of "civilizing them with krags"—"making good little laundrymen of them." No one is going to begrudge Major Pinger a set of exasperated feelings, and nobody will be in favor of handing bouquets to the bandits. But Major Pinger's theory of international relations is an old and a mighty bad one. A great deal of that sort of "civilizing" has been done. It isn't the real thing, and it has a tendency to be a boomerang. China, no doubt of it, is in a bad state of chaos. But China has a rich history, a highly developed civilization, and an extraordinary power of recuperation. She needs all the help, and not by krags, the rest of the world can give. Fortunately, though such remarks as Major Pinger's have sometimes had grievous consequences, the European nations have kept cool in the Chinese situation, without relinquishing for a minute the idea that China is responsible for the safety of foreigners in her territory.

The Marriage Partnership

A new conception of the dignity of "woman's oldest job" is stirring about the world. There was evidence of it in the action of the Suffrage Congress, reported on page 7, when it asserted the economic value of home-making and spoke for the wife's right to a certain part of the family income, to be guaranteed to her by law, by virtue of her contribution. This is a long way from the once fully accepted theory that the head of the house should hold the purse strings and dole out what was needful. In these days of allowances and shared incomes among the more modern and intelligent people, it is a shock to discover that much of the old practice still prevails. Mrs. Winter, President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, in an address in connection with Better Homes Week, comments on the great amount of this "economic slavery" she has encountered in the course of her travels through the country. That a conference of women from all nations—advanced and backward—should agree on the modern view of marriage as an equal partnership, is a big cheering thought.

About a year ago the National Women's Trade Union League of America at its convention passed a resolution for an investigation into the economic status and labor conditions of women in the home—not only the two million working for wages, but the twenty million working in their own homes. Their idea, too, was that these twenty million are engaged in work for which they receive no official recognition, which is however of economic value and essential to the life of the country.

It all has an immediate bearing on the subject of housework in which the *Citizen* is so greatly interested. If the profession of housework is dignified for the house-wife, it can also be dignified for the household assistant.

Clean Parks for Good Citizens

ON the day after last Decoration Day we rode along the length of Central Park. In nearly all the open spaces the grass was thickly strewn with scraps of paper—so thickly strewn that one almost says covered. The city had had a holiday. . . The large foreign population, you say. Maybe, and maybe not. A good many foreign people certainly would not have acquired that sort of habit in their own countries, where police regulation is not easy going, and must have picked it up here as a bit of American liberty. Also, one has more than once had the experience of being on outings with perfectly good Americans who were likewise indifferent to the rights of others who might be passing the same way. The attitude has a score of manifestations—petty defiances of law, with a sense of triumph in getting away with them; complete disregard of others when those others are not people one knows personally. Good citizenship calls for active protest when that is possible, and for insistence on police action when that is in order. As things are now, the offender against public rights in the public parks is arrested one time in a hundred or so, and is not much deferred by fear of consequences. A consistent policy of arrest and punishment would tell in no time.

Why not undertake the park job in your community?—creating sentiment for appreciation of an open spot, for keeping it clean and fresh, and for demanding police cooperation. Lots of things people do are far less important than that.

Common Sense about Foreign Languages

BY its decision in the Nebraska case the Supreme Court has pronounced unconstitutional all the state laws which prohibit the teaching of foreign languages to children in the schools, public and private, below the eighth grade. These laws, passed in a large number of the states, were the result of war-time fears, and were of course designed to prevent the teaching of German. In its decision the Supreme Court says that no sudden emergency has arisen to make the knowledge of some other language than English so harmful as to outweigh the "infringement of rights long enjoyed." Naturally if the authorities of a school wish not to include a foreign language in the curriculum, they can omit it; but not every school in a state would make such a choice, and when some schools offer the foreign tongue, the others will almost certainly follow.

The prohibition, aside from the infringement of a right, was particularly unfortunate in a country which is provincial in its knowledge of foreign cultures. It ignored the fact that the time to acquire languages is in early youth, and it shut off one source of mental training and development. And all this at a time when it had become specially important to understand foreign civilizations.

This decision is not to be confused with endorsement of using a foreign tongue as the teaching language. That has been ruled out because it means unassimilated groups of foreigners *in* our life, but not *of* it. This means merely the normal cultural opportunity of any well-planned educational system.

What the American Woman Thinks

What Is Steel For?

By MARTHA BENSLEY BRUERE

IT all comes around to what steel is made for anyhow!

Are the iron and the coal mined, the railroads and the blast furnaces run, the steel ingots fabricated for the purpose of paying high dividends in the industry, or to push forward the general standard of living and the health and happiness and intelligence that go with it? What are skyscrapers for? And steel ships? And rails and cars? At what point do they all tie up together? Is it where dividends are paid and capital increased or where lives are lived?

The only way to judge the report of the Committee appointed by Mr. Gary as president of the American Iron and Steel Institute at the request of President Harding to study the feasibility of doing away with the twelve-hour day, is on the basis of what steel is for. If it is to return the highest per cent. on the investment then there is no possible quibble with the recommendation that the twelve-hour shift should go on. But if steel is being made in order to increase the happiness and comfort of the human race it is quite another matter.

The effects of the twelve-hour day do not need to be discussed from the human standpoint any more. We know what they are. When a man works twelve hours a day seven days a week, as they do in steel, the human results are just as predictable as the chemical results of adding a spark to gun cotton. To appoint investigating committees, to appropriate funds, to take up the time of trained minds in further research is as wasteful as to ask Einstein to redemonstrate the binomial theorem. The Pittsburg Survey, the Federal Council of Churches, the Senate Committee, the Interchurch World Movement, the Cabot Fund, the Federated American Engineering Societies have done that work thoroughly and well. The question is not what the twelve-hour shift does to the people who work it, but whether we as a democracy dependent upon an intelligent electorate and committed to caring for the wreckage of industry, are willing to underwrite the human cost of it.

The report says:

"*The workmen as a rule prefer the longer hours because it permits a larger compensation per day.*"

In 1919 after the war inflation was over and before the depression of 1921, the United States Steel Corporation paid to its skilled laborers an average annual wage of $2,749, to its semi-skilled $1,952, to its unskilled $1,466. At the same time the minimum for comfort was estimated at $2,024, and for bare subsistence $1,575. So that while the skilled workers lived in comfort, and the semi-skilled somewhere near it, the unskilled laborers were considerably below the minimum of subsistence. A letter from Mr. Gary to the Commission of Inquiry of the Interchurch World Movement says that 70,000 men are receiving the common labor or lowest rate of pay. He testified in the Senate Investigation that 69,000 were working the twelve-hour day. A report published by the Department of Labor shows that in the town of Gary when the steel workers' wages rose as high as $1,850 a year the infant death rate was 89.4 for every thousand born—just about normal. That when it dropped to between $1,850 and $1,050 the rate increased to 127.1, and that below that figure it rose ten points higher. At the same hourly rate the eight-hour day would drop the annual earnings of all but the skilled workers below the point where they stood a reasonable chance of keeping their babies alive.

The report of the Gary committee on the twelve-hour day has drawn widespread condemnation. The CITIZEN *is fortunate in having its feeling voiced, with substantial facts and figures, by so well-known a writer in the economic field as Martha Bensley Bruère.*

A man will often sacrifice his own hope of living out his term of years as well as his present health and happiness in order to support his wife and keep his children alive, but it is the general consensus of opinion that we have passed beyond that rudimentary stage of civilization where it is necessary to let him do it. Certainly they have passed beyond that stage in many less rich countries—in Britain, France and Germany and in most other civilized spots. Even in this country the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, the American Rolling Mill Company and some of the independent mills around Youngstown have passed beyond it. We know the thing is feasible because it is being done.

The report claims also that with the present great demand for labor it would not be possible to get the 60,000 extra workers that an eight-hour shift in steel would require. Why not say instead that it might be difficult to get 60,000 more ununionized workers at less than a living wage? For United States Steel is still a "no-union, no-conference" industry. There are at least twice 60,000 men idle in the coal industry—but they have the disadvantage of being unionized.

The report also says that the increased cost—about 15 per cent.—would have to be added to the selling price. That again depends on what steel is for. On December 31, 1922, the book value of the common stock was $257 a share, compared with $143 in 1914 and $121 in 1902. The corporation has put back into property about $1,100,000,000 for new constructions and acquisitions and $400,000,000 in working capital, or a total of a billion and a half in twenty-two years, and all this in addition to the dividends which have been paid. Would it not seem that unless steel is produced for the primary purpose of producing money — more and more money—it would be possible to pay the added cost of the eight-hour day—if any—out of profits? There is some experience to show that a higher output can be had from a steel plant under three eight-hour shifts, than under two twelve-hour ones and that the difference goes far to balance the increased wage —but whether it does or not is also aside from the point.

It is reported that the Steel Company has workers which will keep the mills running at fullest capacity for from six to eighteen months. It would be undoubtedly painful to be unable to fill their places, to have to fill them at less profit than they had planned, or to be forced to dicker with the union for additional workers. But this is also aside from the point, which is whether we can afford, even at the cost of the perpetually growing prosperity and power of the steel interests, to so curtail the chances of an abundant life for hundreds of thousands of men.

And what's to be done about it?

After this report it is idle to hope that the eight-hour day will be established by the steel company itself. Obviously it must be forced upon them. How? By whom? Shall we leave it to the unions? They weren't very successful in the last attempt they made at it. How about Congress? Sometime it's going to sit again. There might be some chance through the Supreme Court if it were as familiar with the implications of the twelve-hour day as the general intelligentsia of the country, but the recent minimum wage decision is discouraging. Of course a Federal eight-hour law would cover the case—something along the lines of the one being written into the new constitution of our unenlightened neighbor, Mexico.

But let us stop hiding behind the fence of our own pretended ignorance. Let us admit honestly that we know what twelve hours work a day, seven days in the week does to men, and decide that an industry which after twenty-five years of public consideration refuses to run on a living wage and an eight-hour day, must be forced to it.

For as President Harding said to the heads of this same industry, the twelve-hour day and "the type of worker it produces have outlived their usefulness and their part in American life . . . in the interests of good citizenship, of good business, and of economic stability."

A Milestone

By Cornelia James Cannon

OCCASIONALLY, in taking our way through life, we come upon a milestone that tells us how far we have gone. When we are following the primrose paths of youth, and our energy and courage are unbounded, we pay slight heed to these indicators of progress. We discount them as either help or hindrance. We call off the miles as though ringing bells and go gaily on to the tune of the chimes.

But when we are footsore and weary, when the goal seems impossibly distant and the darkness is beginning to settle down, the milestone inspires us to new hope. It tells us that we are not standing still, that we are further on our way than we had dared to dream was possible, and that perhaps the long and toilsome way ahead is not beyond our strength.

Today, in the midst of the cataclysmic disappointments of the world's upheaval, we look with lacklustre eye for any milestone that will indicate advance. Our most optimistic hope would be the discovery that we had not, in our wanderings, retraced our steps, or strayed into a maze.

There are milestones, obscurely placed, however, which have some slight note of encouragement for us. One of these is a book, published in 1898, under the title, "With Kitchener to Khartoum." It was written by a young war-correspondent, G. W. Steevens, who was regarded as a model of expert achievement in his field, and who admirably reflected the dominant social and political attitude of his day. The book had a tremendous vogue when it came out and, I feel safe to say, expressed the philosophy of nine tenths of its readers. It is not uninstructive to reread it today and ask ourselves, who originally applauded it, what has happened in this strange world in the last twenty-five years to make these words fall upon our ears as though out of a past as alien as that of Tutankhamen?

After describing the system of raising and paying troops in Egypt, our eyes fall upon this paragraph:

"Even these figures do not do justice to the easy conditions on which Egypt supports her army. For six battalions are Sudanese blacks. The material for these is not drawn from Egypt proper, nor properly speaking, by conscription. The black is liable to be enlisted wherever he is found, as such, in virtue of his race; and he is enlisted for life."

Not by implication alone but in words this is accepted as the right and happy way of utilizing the black race to further the higher purposes of Anglo-Egyptian civilization.

The British and Egyptian soldiers, officered by English gentlemen, set out to conquer the Sudan from the Expected Mahdi and his fanatical followers, but by the help of the modern methods perfected by the Christian nations.

"In the existence of the railway lay all the difference between the extempore, amateur scrambles of Wolseley's campaign and the machine-like precision of Kitchener's. When civilization fights with barbarism it must fight with

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civilized weapons; for with his own arts on his own ground, the barbarian is almost certain to be the better man. From the shops of Halfa the untamed Sudan is being tamed at last. It is the new system, the modern system, mind and mechanics beating muscle and shovel-head spear."

The barbarian arts expressed themselves in the form of "suits of armour, Saracen helmets, spine-headed spears, curly knives, spiky clubs, ancient guns." Barbarians so armed were not able to make much impression upon the possessors of civilized weapons, even with their friend, the Sudan, to help them. The correspondent deplores the presence of this destructive foe, and the meagre prospect of any future compensatory advantage to be achieved by conquering him.

"Yes; it is a murderous devil, the Sudan, and we have watered it with more of our blood than it will ever yield to pay for. The man eater is very grim, and he is not sated yet. Only this time he was to be conquered at last."

After the battle of the Atbara come the paeans of joy and praise, for at last the iron rails are getting the better of the servants of Allah. "And now began the killing. They were volleying off the blacks as your beard comes off under a keen razor. They cleared the ground of everything like a living man, for it was left carpeted thick enough with dead. 'Now that,' panted the most pessimistic senior captain in the brigade, 'I call a very good fight.' The blacks stood about among the dead; their faces cleft with smiles, and shaking each other's hands. 'Very good fight' ran round from grin to grin."

The word went back to the waiting public at home of "this clockwork—perfect masterpiece of a battle. Not a flaw, not a check, not a jolt; and not a fleck on its shining success. Once more hurrah, hurrah, hurrah."

When, however, the English language was called upon to paint the glories of the battle of Omdurman, it showed the strain.

"Over 11,000 killed, 16,000 wounded, 4,000 prisoners—that was the astounding bill of dervish casualties. By the side of this immense slaughter, the tale of our casualties is so small as to be almost ridiculous. Putting it at its highest, the victory was even more incredibly cheap than the Atbara."

The Christian exults, and puts to shame the mild doctrine of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.

"We were present at the tardy vengeance for a great humiliation. Gordon was dead, but our men had come in the fullness of time to exact 11,000 lives for one. Gordon may die—other Gordons may die in the future, but the same clean-limbed brood will grow up and avenge them."

The next day the faithful followers of Jesus of Nazareth listen to an Easter sermon on the text, "Thanks be to God who giveth us the victory," and never once wondered how their God squared it with the God of the slaughtered dervishes.

Are we who read and marvel today the same human beings who read with pride in 1898?

Has a new world grown up about us while we have been busy with the daily duties? Or have we lost the taste for this kind of sport? Can we no longer think of people in the mass, and count the slaughtered as just so many dead?

We are uncomfortably aware of the religious enthusiasm of the followers of the Mahdi, of Egyptian responsibility for abuses, of a question that will not down as to what the English were doing there in the first place. We wonder if primitive people can be cured of anti-social attitudes solely by the argument of the bullet, and whether ideas must not always be replaced by ideas, however efficient the activity of the bayonet may at the moment appear.

The ethical beauty of the White Man's Burden has lost its pristine appeal. The tumult and the shouting dies, the glory of kings is surely departing. Are we beholding the first dim flush of dawning of the day of the contrite heart?

The Woman Voter

(This four-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.)

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The Virginia Re-registration Bill

During the recent session of the Virginia General Assembly, through the efforts of the Norfolk League, a bill providing for a re-registration of voters of Norfolk was amended to exempt those registered since August, 1920. A member of the League executive board gives the following explanation of the matter which will be of interest to Leagues in states having different registration arrangements:

THE Virginia constitution adopted in 1902 makes no provision for periodical registration. It provides that those who registered before 1904 under the several clauses applying at that time, shall constitute a permanent list, and states that whenever the registration books are destroyed by fire or otherwise, the electoral board shall provide for a new registration. However, there is a statute which applies. Section 107, Virginia Election Laws, says: "The electoral board of every county and city *may* direct the registration books of any precinct to be purged whenever they deem it proper, and they *shall* direct such purging of the registration books of every precinct once every six years." Directions for procedure are given.

I presume the work has been done in other parts of the state according to law. In small communities where the voters are personally known to the registrars it would give little trouble, and there are few large cities in Virginia; but in Norfolk, it seems, the books have not been purged since the registration of 1904 and are cluttered with a great number of names of people who have moved away or are dead—and members of both classes have been known to vote.

About the time women were enfranchised, a law was passed providing that cities of more than 30,000 inhabitants could employ a general registrar. Norfolk representatives introduced the measure in the General Assembly and so far as I know, Norfolk is the only city which has availed itself of the privilege. So for three years we have had a general registrar on full time and recently he has been given an assistant. Hence we consider that we have the machinery for purging the books under the statute.

Virginia is conservative. Few women in the state worked for suffrage; many opposed it; more were indifferent. It has required a great effort on the part of those interested and several campaigns involving issues of great interest to women, to induce between six and seven thousand Norfolk women to register. If a re-registration were ordered, the effort would have to be repeated and for several years the woman vote would be greatly curtailed, to say nothing of the man vote. Therefore, when the agitation for a new registration started in certain quarters, we were much concerned. We realized that the books should be cleared up, but contended that it could be done without an entire registration. The politicians contended that any other way would be unconstitutional, so the electoral board, the registrar, and others drew up the bill and requested our state senator to introduce it.

It had passed the senate when our state legislative committee called up the local League president and informed her that in the closing days of the latest regular session, a bill was passed further providing for the purging of registration books in cities having a general registrar. We wired our delegates in the house asking them to have the bill amended to exempt those registering since August, 1920, so that a hardship might not be worked on the women. This they readily did, the senate concurring, but the wording was amended to read, "the electoral board *may*" instead of "*shall*."

The electoral board was so displeased with the amendment that it has declined to proceed with the purging of the books by any method, which only confirms our suspicion that the measure was not so innocent as it appeared. In fact, we have good reason to believe that the whole business was a fight between two factions here, hang-overs from the old days of boss rule, and we refused to be made the victims. We have not been registered six years and it is no fault of ours that this matter has been neglected for nineteen years. While the matter was pending, various politicians, all reputed adherents of one of the factions referred to, called up various members of our executive board and vehemently protested the innocent character of the bill. But, like the lady in *Hamlet*, they did protest too much. Moreover, they did not consult beforehand as to what they should say to us; some made admissions which others denied—and one of the first things we learned at school was that two and two make four. They had no idea how much they told us!

Of course, we were more or less criticised by press and public and put in the light of opposing a reform, and asking special privileges for women. As a matter of fact, we stated over and over again that we favored the purging of the books but wished it done under the method provided by law, certainly for the past three years. All deaths are registered in the city health office. Poll taxes must be paid for three years preceding the year in which one offers to vote, and a person longer in arrears could be assumed to have left the city. The list of names dropped has to be posted, and provision is made for appeal.

It may be that the whole matter will come up again at the next regular session of the state legislature, but if it does we expect to be among those present.

Treasure-Trove at Headquarters

A DESK was emptied and moved at headquarters the other day, a desk with very deep drawers in which successive users have tucked things away, and in one drawer a treasure came to light. It may have been there in the long-ago suffrage days when the desk was new, and it may have been given to some busy person at the Des Moines convention who slipped it into her envelope of convention papers without examination. Possibly somebody brought it to headquarters when the occupant of the desk was away and somebody else dropped it into that deep drawer. Nobody knows. The only sure thing is that the treasure has come to light, and headquarters is mighty glad to have it.

It is a treasure in two pieces. One piece is the program, slightly yellowed and worn in the creases, of the Mississippi Valley conference and twenty-first annual meeting of the Iowa Woman Suffrage Association, held in Des Moines, Sep-

tember 20-23, 1892. It is no such elaborate program as every state League convention has these days, but a simple single-fold sheet making a four-page leaflet, with "Grant women liberty or her sons will lead the nation to death" at the top of the first page, in quotation marks. "All of life is but a poor boon if the ties that hold woman to a negative existence be not broken" is quoted at the bottom. (Who knows, headquarters' staff asks, the origin of those two quotations?)

The practical note that has always characterized the woman movement is struck in the first morning's session. Officers were elected, committees appointed, and then there was a discussion on a subject which still has a familiar ring, "The growth of the work demands more money: How shall we raise it?" The splendid names of the participants in the discussion, for this was the Mississippi Valley Conference, are: Miss Susan B. Anthony; Mrs. Carrie Lane Chapman—now, of course, Mrs. Catt—the Rev. Olympia Brown, and Mrs. Emma Smith De Voe. Unnamed members of the conference added their voices and their suggestions. In the afternoon of the same day, which was Tuesday, there was talk of how the World's Fair (which opened in Chicago on the first of May, 1893) could be utilized to advance the suffrage cause. The Rev. Olympia Brown, Laura B. Clay, of Kentucky, Mrs. De Force Gordon, of California, Henry B. Blackwell, of Massachusetts, and the Hon. M. B. Castle, of Illinois, spoke on that subject and Mrs. Sarah B. Stearns, of Duluth, read a paper, "Enfranchisement by Statute."

Addresses of welcome were given at the evening session by the Hon. J. D. McFarland, the Hon. George G. Wright, and, on behalf of the press, the Hon. Lafe Young. It is not stated just how these gentlemen won their honorary prefix. They may have been governors and mayors and members of the President's cabinet, and foreign noblemen, such as the League is used to now, and certainly they were men worth hearing or they would not have been invited. And besides their speaking, the audience had a privilege of a quality no League convention will ever enjoy. Miss Anthony made an address. If the evening had a touch of chill in it, as September evenings often have, very likely she was dressed in the splendid deep ruby velvet she loved and the rose-point kerchief she made herself fine in.

Mrs. Julia B. Nelson, of Minnesota, who, if memory serves aright, was a kinswoman of Bayard Taylor, spoke on "The Road to Freedom," and Mrs. De Voe sang. The Rev. Olympia Brown and Miss Clay made addresses and a collection was taken up.

Next day Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Mrs. M. W. Campbell, "and others" discussed ways of using forces and means to the best advantage and Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton gave a résumé of Congressional work. It is known that Mrs. Upton has not changed a bit since that day. She stood up then, as she stands up now, a figure of poise and power, and she told her hearers things it was valuable for them to know. Incidentally, she made them laugh, but only incidentally. Funny stories and irresistible quirks were merely the spangles sewn on the stout, well-woven fabric of wisdom she offered.

The afternoon session ended with a recess for the Mississippi Valley conference, Harriet B. Kills, of Mississippi, Miss Ella Harrison, of Missouri, and Mrs. McDiarmid speaking. The Iowa Suffrage Association's convention began next day, which was a Thursday. Friday, came the address of the president, Mrs. M. J. Coggeshall, and with that session the convention ended to be followed in the evening by the Valley Conference reconvening. Mrs. Holmes, president of the Illinois E. S. A., discussed an article by Marion Harlan in the *North American Review* which apparently everybody had read, for the title is not given. Followed what would now certainly be called a round table, "Progression or Decay: Which?" with the Rev. Olympia Brown, the Hon. M. B. Castle, and President B. O. Aylesworth speaking, and Miss Laura Clay adding an address. "The Three Women" was the title of a paper by Mrs. Emma Crammer, of South Dakota, Friday morning, and little did the lady dream that thirty years later women voters would be asked to select a list of four times that number.

Friday evening there was a "platform meeting" with five-minute talks by the Rev. Melissa Terrill, Mrs. C. H. Dunham, Henry B. Blackwell, the Rev. Mr. Frisbie, President Aylesworth (it is not certain that anybody at headquarters knows what he was president of, for nobody cares to confess ignorance by making inquiry) the Rev. Mr. Sooy, Dr. Hunting, the Rev. Ida C. Hultin, Mrs. W. J. Young, D. H. Breeden, and Mrs. Carrie Lane Chapman.

All these sessions were serious affairs but on Wednesday of the week everybody made merry at a banquet the Iowa Suffrage Association gave, and the banquet souvenir program is the other piece of the League's new-found treasure. "Two heads in the country, two upon the hearth, two in the tangled business of the world" is the sentiment printed without quotations at the head of the program. Mrs. Carrie Lane Chapman was toast master—toast master the words are—and Catherine Waugh McCulloch responded to the toast, "Happy a woman's voice may do some good—here's a woman will speak." Miss Alice Blackwell's subject was, "The danger of an irresponsible educated class" and Miss Blackwell is asked right here and now to tell what she said. The Rev. Ida C. Hultin was called on for a speech on "The Ideal Woman," with the quotation, "Let your ideal run before you, and do you run after it." Miss Anthony's speech was "Our Wage-Earning Women," and Mrs. A. L. Frisbie spoke to the question, "Is housekeeping one of the industries?" perhaps not guessing that the Middle West would presently answer with an emphatic "No" by organizing in all the state universities, schools of domestic science ranking for "stiffness" with engineering, to declare to all the world that housekeeping is not an industry but one of the learned professions. Emma Smith De Voe responded to the toast "Good-Will to Men" and the Rev. Olympia Brown to "More Father in the Family, more Mother in the Councils of the Nation."

Mr. Henry Blackwell and five other men were called on. Mr. Blackwell's subject was, "Are Men Responsible for the Present Situation?" and it is possible he did not say they were not. The toasts apportioned to the other men must have been a little difficult to handle and the wording of them makes League women chuckle just a little. They were, "Individual Rights," "Either sex is but half itself," "The stone which the builders rejected, the same has become the head of the corner," "Attend to the Women," and "Woman's sphere is bounded alone by woman's duty."

The conviction that the banquet, *qua* banquet, was sumptuous, can not be shaken. It began with blue points on the half-shell, the roast was "Supreme of chicken, *a la princess*" and when dessert came, there were angel cake, meringues, macaroons, ice-cream *aux fruits* and besides nuts and coffee, pears, grapes, peaches, and raisins.

The *Woman Voter* will be glad to receive reminiscences of that conference-convention and banquet from women who were there. In the mean time, headquarters files its double treasure for all visitors to see.

Florida Makes It Forty

IN the hall of the famous old house in Washington which is National League headquarters, there hangs a map which was originally merely a white sheet with states outlined on it in black. From the beginning of the campaign to persuade the states to accept the provisions of the Sheppard-Towner Act, that map has been a picture of the field of battle. States in which the Act was accepted by the governor were colored red and as the legislatures, one by one, made the Act state law, a coat of true blue was penciled on over the red. Every day when there was crayon-penciling to be done has been a gala day at headquarters, and there was a day of despondency (May 26 it was) when headquarters' staff read in the morning paper that the Florida senate had rejected the Act. All the sea-board from the Pearl River in the south

to the Pawtucket in the north was blue and true, but at the southwest corner of these United States swung red and recalcitrant Florida. Everybody at headquarters avoided looking at that disappointing map till without warning, on the morning of the thirtieth, a telegram came from the Florida state president, Mrs. J. B. O'Hara, announcing that the newspaper paragraphs had been wrong. The bill had not been killed; it still lived, and the senate and house had both passed it. One of the youngest helpers at headquarters was first in the hall with her blue pencil. Joyously she colored Florida, the fortieth state, and as she finished she drew a sigh of keenest satisfaction.

"There!" she said as the bit of ruddy color was hidden in blue. "You've been bothering me, Miss Florida, you've had me scared. You stuck your tongue out at me when I came in this morning but I've got you fixed. You won't stick your tongue out again at anybody in this League ever again."

How Minneapolis Did

"ASK Every Voter to Hurry and Register" read the slips which the Minneapolis League distributed to 35,000 school children in advance of registration Monday. Thousands of slips with the admonition "Hurry Home and Register" were handed out in department stores, where they were tucked into parcels, and organizations of various kinds took slips of the same kind to give out, so that no part of the city was neglected.

Neither was any candidate. All of them received brief and to-the-point questionnaires, and the various questionnaires were suited to the duties of the office for which the candidate was offering himself, though two questions appeared in every interrogatory: "Do you think Minneapolis needs a new charter?" and "Will you speak at League of Women Voters meetings upon request, with other candidates for the office?" The charter question was followed by an inquiry as to which form of city government the new charter ought, in the candidate's opinion, to provide for. One of the questions asked candidates for school director was, "Do you believe the Board should allow a certain maximum of student hours to be given to religious instruction outside the public school?" and another was as to the use of public school buildings for public purposes.

Candidates for library director were asked whether they advocate building a new library with space for the collection of pictures, jades, and other *objects d'art* which T. B. Walker spent so many years bringing together, and which has for more than a generation been a semi-public treasure, or whether they prefer a two-unit building, art gallery and library. A further alternative is a mere remodeling of the present building without housing for the Walker collection.

The candidate for park commissioner was asked to tell whether he favored supervised recreation and to what extent, and whether he felt that greater or less charge should be made for use of public golf links. Among the questions asked aldermen candidates were, "Do you approve election by proportional representation?" and "Do you favor state, municipal, or private ownership of public utilities?"

Minneapolis' plans and details of campaign will be valuable to other Leagues for the suggestions they offer, but Minneapolis spirit is something that cannot be sent by post.

Speaking of Leagues

THE passage of the Sheppard-Towner Enabling Act at the eleventh hour by the legislature of the state of New York is regarded as a great triumph for the united organizations committee led by Mrs. Frank Vanderlip and Mrs. Willis Mitchell, who brought success out of what many out-of-the-state persons believed would be inevitable defeat. The senate twice defeated the bill. On the last day of the session it passed the house by a vote of 104 to 35 and 10 members present but not voting. It was rushed to the senate with a special message from the governor, and voted upon immediately. The vote was a close one, 26 to 22, with one vote in reserve to be used if necessary. The New York League now calls on all the women in the state to make good the promises made in their name that the Act would be successfully administered because the women would give it their active interest and their support. League women are asked to keep the new law in mind and as soon as Washington accepts the state health department's plan and appropriations are made, to set to work to assure that every district undertakes the work and carries it out efficiently. League women are pleased at several other legislative successes in the state: the repeal of the Lusk laws; retention of county children's courts; restoration of the Bureau of Women in the Labor Department; reorganization of certain state departments and bureaus; literacy test for all new voters; short ballot; special public school classes for subnormal children; and four bills equalizing the status of men and women in regard to inheritance, custody of children, and age limit of competency to bequeath property.

MISS JULIA LATHROP, president of the Illinois League, is one of the speakers announced for the institute of government and citizenship which the University of Kentucky, through its extension department, will conduct June 27-29. The Kentucky League requested such a course from the University and the program will have the League's best co-operation. There will be round table discussions as in other schools of the kind, and lectures on naturalization and Americanization; the merit system and efficient legislation; control over foreign relations; problems of Kentucky citizens; party systems in Kentucky; rural police and citizenship; actual legislation; taxation and expenditures; the courts and the citizen; election laws of Kentucky; a laboratory of politics, and several other subjects of immediate interest and importance. In addition to Miss Lathrop and members of the university faculty, the list of speakers and teachers includes Raymond Crist, Commissioner of Naturalization; W. J. Millard, National Municipal League; and Professor John L. Hill, former dean of Georgetown College.

THE Toronto League sent to its members in April a questionnaire which is extremely interesting because of its likeness to questionnaires Leagues in the United States have issued and because of its unlikeness to them. The date of the last Provincial election, the number of members and of parties in the Provincial legislature, the various stages in passing a bill and the difference between committee of the whole and a House session are all familiar to League women this side of the Canadian border, but "Name the ridings in Toronto" and "What is meant by 'A' and 'B' seats and which ridings have them?" will puzzle all but the hundredth woman. "What is the difference between a Bill and an Act of Parliament?" is a question the answer to which might be guessed, and "What is obstruction?" hints at knowledge everybody who has attended many sessions of any legislative body possesses, but "What are the powers and prerogatives of the Lieutenant-Governor?" "What bills may not be introduced by a private member?" and "Who compose the Executive Council?" are matters by no means clear to most women of the National League. Perhaps the Toronto interrogatory might be used as a primer in the study of international friendliness which must obviously be based on mutual understanding. It is an exceedingly interesting questionnaire and Leagues will find it useful for its suggestions.

THE Governor of Ohio, who talked at the convention banquet of the Ohio League on May 16 said: "In a state over-organized with groups gathered together largely for selfish purposes, there is one ray of light. It is an organization working unselfishly for the mass, and working always for constructive legislation—the Ohio League of Women Voters." It may be, of course, that he will find other rays of light when he speaks elsewhere, but for the moment it looks as if His Excellency rates the League as a unique

state asset. Miss Juliette Sessions, League president, who looks so much like a pastel portrait of Miss Ida Tarbell, had the pleasure of announcing to the convention that the state League has almost doubled in the past year. Fifty-five local Leagues were represented in sessions which listened to Miss Belle Sherwin and Miss Elizabeth Hauser, of the National League board, and to Justice Florence Allen, whose address on the outlawing of war the Ohio League prints in pamphlet form. A handy little weapon in the battle to get out the vote appears in the program of the convention (May 16-17). It reads: "The greatest grafter in the country today is the man or woman who is willing to accept the benefits of government without being willing to shoulder any of its responsibilities."

THE West Virginia League feels greatly encouraged by the success of a number of bills the League and the other organizations represented in a joint council for legislative work, endorsed, and worked for. Acceptance of the provisions of the Sheppard-Towner Law comes first, of course, with a mother's pension amendment a close second. This amendment increases the amount of aid to the mother, raises the age limit of the child, and removes the clause preventing mothers who own their own houses from receiving help. A county child welfare board is provided for by another new law; the law governing the Board of Children's Guardians was amended increasing the board's power and enlarging its jurisdiction; the "50-50" bill went through triumphantly at the last minute; and sundry laws, relating to humane officers, to repression of prostitution, to the use of land by 4-H clubs, and providing for the teaching of the Constitution in schools are now added to the state statutes. The League failed to pass all the bills it endorsed but not one of the bills it disapproved became law.

WARD 25 League of Boston had what everybody who was there says was a grand party on Friday, May 25, in the afternoon. The guests of honor were Mrs. Arthur Rotch, president of the Massachusetts League, Mrs. Mary Tenney Healey, president of the Boston League, and Mrs. Robert DeNormandie, director of the first region for the National League. The party was at Mrs. LaRue Brown's house, she who was once upon a time chairman of the National League Committee on Child Welfare, and Mrs. Frederick Holcomb, ward chairman, made the cakes and sandwiches. It is not known which of the women named is chiefly responsible, but a number of women joined the League that afternoon. Mrs. Brown seems to think Mrs. Holcomb's way of presiding was the potent factor and Mrs. Holcomb seems to think it was the charm of Mrs. Brown's hospitality.

THE *Bulletin* (Pennsylvania) published in its May issue an illuminating account of the work of Dr. Ellen C. Potter, member of the state board of the Pennsylvania League and secretary of the Department of Public Welfare of the state. A great part of Dr. Potter's work is to find out where the money goes and stop it if it is going too fast or in the wrong direction. Since things were checked up in state institutions, in one of them the amount of butter provided has dropped from 1,200 to 850 pounds a month. Before the check system, 1,400 dozen eggs were paid for and since the check, 863 dozen have been used, while the sugar bill, with no suggestion of a boycott, has been reduced from 1,000 pounds a month to 800.

AT the joint convention of the Missouri League and the St. Louis League, the program of the National League was adopted in general with several interesting additions. The Leagues decided to work for an intermediate reformatory for boys, for a law prohibiting employment of girls under eighteen and boys under twelve in street trades, and for a law raising the juvenile court age in counties having less than 50,000 inhabitants, from seventeen to eighteen years. Mrs. T. W. Hardy was re-elected president of the state League, and the three presidents of the St. Louis League decided on without opposition are: Mrs. O. D. Ives, Independent; Miss Florence Weigel, Republican, and Mrs. Roscoe Anderson, Democrat.

THE Richmond (Virginia) League has issued a neat, envelope size folder containing "What it is," "Why it is," and "What it does," borrowed in part and by permission from the New York League, a list of all the local officers, and brief favorable comment by Virginians of distinction. Dr. S. C. Mitchell, professor of history at the University of Richmond, says: "The Richmond League of Women Voters has a mission in humanizing government. City government is merely community housekeeping. Women's insight and experience are needful in carrying on this task. Government hitherto has been chiefly political and legislative. Under the influence of women it will become more social and economic to the great advantage of the community."

THE Illinois League, like Alice, has swelled so rapidly that it fairly popped out of the rooms in the Brownleigh Club. Larger quarters have been taken at 308 North Michigan Avenue, and unlike the immortal Alice, the League is secure against sudden dwindling.

THE Norfolk (Virginia) League has lately ended a two-weeks' drive for registration and for membership. For the work, the league was divided into ten teams, each with a captain. Every member was instructed to talk to all the women she saw, find out whether their poll taxes were paid, and whether they had registered. Every day during the drive speakers were sent to meetings of such organizations as the W.C.T.U., the Jewish Council, the Nurses' Association, and all the church societies—"Everywhere we could get invited," Mrs. F. E. Killam, president, says. "We talked, first citizenship and voting, and then League membership. We ended on a Saturday by having women in front of the various department stores all day to distribute League literature and urge voting. We had attractive posters, each setting forth some good reason why women ought to vote. All this time, our publicity chairman kept something going along these lines in the daily papers.

"The result was that the men took up the cry and now every day we see a long editorial or article on the duty of everybody to vote . . . The League membership was about doubled and grows every day. Four new leagues have been organized in outlying sections."

THE May number of *Progress*, the new monthly which is the "voice" of the Kansas League, bears on its cover a portrait of Mrs. Charles H. Brooks, first chairman of the National League and second vice-president of the Kansas League, and contains an excellent summary of the origin and purpose of the National League by Mrs. Brooks herself. Mrs. Eugene Rafalsky is editor and the strong editorial on the failure of the legislature to accept the provisions of the Sheppard-Towner Act puts in brief compass the reasons why every League in Kansas will "work as it has never worked before for the passage of the Act two years hence."

IT was by unanimous vote that the League of Women Voters of the Territory of Hawaii decided to affiliate with the National League. The action was taken at the annual meeting, May 10, in Honolulu. Mrs. F. F. Bunker is League chairman, Princess Kalanianaole first vice-chairman, Mrs. J. P. Morgan second vice-chairman, Mrs. O. H. Olney, treasurer, and Mrs. J. D. Cain, secretary. The far-away League works in close-to-home fashion for with the announcement of affiliation came an order for 1,000 copies of the League's "Know Your Own Town" pamphlet.

THE Cincinnati League has appointed Miss Emily Kneubuhl, of Minneapolis, executive secretary. Miss Kneubuhl will begin her work there in October.

World News About Women

Joyful News

THE suit brought by the state of Massachusetts against Secretary Mellon, Grace Abbott, Surgeon-General Cumming, and Mr. Tigert to test the constitutionality of the Sheppard-Towner Act has been dismissed by the Supreme Court on the grounds of lack of jurisdiction. Also, the case brought by Mrs. Harriet A. Frothingham on practically the same grounds has been dismissed, after losing out in the District of Columbia Supreme Court and the Court of Appeals.

As *Citizen* readers know, the Sheppard-Towner Act provides for an initial appropriation to the states which have accepted the provision, and annual appropriations thereafter for five years for the purpose of co-operating with them to reduce maternal and infant mortality. The state of Massachusetts, through its attorney-general, claimed that the appropriations were not for national purposes but for the use of states, and that together with various other similar appropriations, they constituted an effective means of inducing the states to yield a part of their sovereign rights. The Court's opinion pointed out that the states are at perfect liberty *not* to yield. Women throughout the United States will rejoice at this triumph for maternity protection.

Advice on Marriage

FOR a little over a year an interesting new institution has been in existence in Vienna. It is a marriage advisory office, under Dr. Kautsky, whose work is unique. It is endowed and administered by the municipal government, and stands ready to answer all serious questions relating to matrimony. Its range is broad and it recognizes no class distinctions. Perhaps the questions most frequently asked are whether couples are physically qualified for marriage, whether they may hope to have children, and whether such children may be exposed to hereditary ills. It also goes one step further and when the circumstances demand, offers complete information concerning prevention of conception.

To Protect Children

TWENTY-TWO states now require the physical examination of every child applying for an employment certificate, according to the "Physical Standards for Working Children," a bulletin issued by the United States Department of Labor. Virginia has gone still farther; it requires the examination of every working child at regular intervals during the years when he is especially susceptible to the strain of industry.

Club Comfort in London

THE American Women's Club has purchased, for $1,000,000, the Mayfair mansion in London, built by Edgar Speyer. This magnificent residence will make a luxurious stop-over for American women visiting the continent.

Calendar

Medical Women's National Association Convention, together with the American Medical Association's Convention, at San Francisco, California, June 25-30.

Institute of Government and Citizenship at the University of Kentucky, June 27-29. The Kentucky League of Women Voters requested such a course, and the program will have the League's best co-operation. Miss Julia Lathrop, president of the Illinois League, is to be one of the speakers.

World Conference on Education under the auspices of the National Education Association of the United States, June 28 to July 6, at Oakland, California.

International Health Education Conference, June 28 to July 6, at Oakland, California, in connection with the World Education Conference.

Business and Professional Women's Convention at Portland, Oregon, July 9-14.

Institute of Government and Politics conducted by the National League of Women Voters in co-operation with Columbia University, July 16-27.

Second Annual Women's Activities Exhibit at New York City, September 24-29. A unique section, known as the Hall of States, will be devoted exclusively to state exhibits.

The Cable Act at Work

MRS. MAUDE HOWE ELLIOTT, American-born daughter of Mrs. Julia Ward Howe—author of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic"—is an example of an American woman restored to her own nationality. Twenty-seven years ago she lost her citizenship through her marriage to an Englishman, and it is only since the Cable Act has been in effect that she has been able to regain it.

A Worth-While League

A CIVIC LEAGUE, organized by women and headed by Mrs. P. J. Quealy, has existed in Kemmerer, Wyoming, long enough to prove its value. At every meeting of the city council a committee, drawn from the membership of this League, has been present to make suggestions or raise objections as it saw fit, always with the betterment of the town as a motive. They are proving to the men that women want to help, and in the most practical way.

Mrs. Catt's Welcome

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT has returned from her eight months' journey—Europe, South America, Europe again—and more than eight hundred people gathered on June 5th at the Biltmore Hotel, New York City, to give her a welcome-home luncheon. The New York State League of Women Voters were the hostesses, with the State President, Mrs. F. Louis Slade, presiding, and Mrs. Edgerton Parsons committee chairman. It was a brilliant gathering, including such guests of honor as former Justice Clarke and Mr. Everett Colby, and so many prominent suffragists that it amounted to a suffrage reunion. Some had come hundreds of miles to join in honoring their national leader.

Mrs. Catt's speech was broadcasted, and arrangements had been made for state League meetings all through the country to receive it. Part of the speech was a heartening picture of the strong sweep of suffrage through the world and of the strength of the woman movement. The other part was a remarkably clear and impartial picture of the Ruhr situation—of what, she says, in Europe they frankly call the "war"; followed by a call to the United States to intervene. She wants this country to take the initiative in bringing expert, impartial opinion to bear on that desperate situation.

The New M. P.

CONSERVATIVE England is indeed becoming democratic. The august body of the House of Commons has opened its doors, and Mabel Russell—a former musical comedy star—has entered, by a large majority. Miss Russell is the fourth woman elected and the third to sit in the British body. She stood for election as a Conservative after her husband, Captain Hilton Philipson, lost out—because of irregularities by his election agent. The *Citizen* will have more to tell of the new M. P. later.

In Earnest about Sugar

ORGANIZED women of New York have drawn up a resolution asking the President for a public hearing at which the housewives may voice their protest against the sugar tariff. A meeting held at the offices of the Department of Public Markets was attended by twenty-five delegates of women's organ-

izations representing hundreds of thousands of members. The women expect to send a delegation to Washington to lay the resolution before the President.

Better Homes for Belgium

MISS MARTHA VAN RENSSELAER, head of the Home Economics Department of Cornell University, is sailing June 18 to start a Better Homes campaign in Belgium late in the year, modeled on the American campaign. Miss Van Rensselaer has been in charge of the home economics phase of the movement in this country, and goes to Belgium by request of its government. She was listed among the twelve greatest American women for her work in this field.

Feminism in Egypt

EGYPTIAN women are clamoring for emancipation from the strict seclusion in which they have hitherto been kept, and while at present the men are ignoring it, the movement is constantly developing. They wish to discard the veil, following the Turkish precedent, and they want radical reforms in the education of women, as well as a consolidation of the suffrage branches which have sprung up throughout Egypt. The Moslem press is denouncing the movement as counter to Koranic injunctions.

One Term Only

A NOTE from Mrs. J. H. Stoner, mayor of Cokeville, Wyoming, whose term expired June 4, tells us that she will not run for reelection. In the May 5 *Citizen* we gave a gratifying report of her year's term and repeated the report that she would run again.

At Seneca Falls

ON July 20 and 21 the National Woman's Party is to hold a conference of national and state officers, life members and founders at Seneca Falls, New York. The object of the conference is to celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the first Equal Rights Conference held here in 1848, and it expects to plan for the introduction of an Equal Rights "blanket" amendment in the next Congress. Members and friends of the Woman's Party are to be welcome as guests, but not to speak or vote at business meetings.

"The Truth about the League"

TWO committees of the League of Nations Non Partisan Association and the Woman's Pro-League Council have undertaken interesting work for the summer. The Speakers' Bureau Committee, in a continuation of the School for Speakers organized this spring by Mrs. Frank Day Tuttle, has opened up along new lines under the leadership of Miss Evangeline B. Johnson. Those who had attended Mrs. Tuttle's school to learn the truth about the League from experts, were given a chance to show their own ability as speakers. As a result of three meetings twelve good speakers were secured for the Bureau. This work will be continued through the summer.

The Information Distribution Committee of the two organizations has planned an extensive circulation of pro-League literature. Miss Belle W. Baruch, Chairman, intends reaching every organization, club and association, as well as small groups in every locality, with the idea of properly presenting the League of Nations to the people of the United States. This Committee is closely linked with the Speakers' Bureau, and each speaker going out from these offices will be well supplied with pamphlets for distribution. The address of both committees is 598 Madison Ave., N. Y. C.

General Federation Notes

By LESSIE STRINGFELLOW READ

THE clubwomen's fight in behalf of the Pueblo Indians is to be continued. This was decided at a meeting of the General Federation of Women's Clubs board of directors held in Atlanta, where a resolution was adopted "giving moral support" to Mrs. Stella Atwood of Riverside, California, chairman of the Federation's Indian Welfare committee, around whose head a storm has been brewing for some time.

The resolution authorizes Mrs. Atwood to continue the services of John Collier, publicity and research specialist, whose articles in papers and magazines and whose investigations "have aroused the interest of the country and the ire of the Indian Bureau." It further provides that Mrs. Atwood be authorized to employ a lawyer for counsel should this become necessary.

It was generally agreed that but for Mrs. Atwood's timely efforts, the Bursum bill would have become law. Her efforts will now be devoted to defeating another bill thought to be equally unfair to the Pueblos and to the passage of one drafted with the idea of guaranteeing to them continued holding of their ancestral lands.

MORE than 2,000 new clubs have entered the General Federation in direct membership during the past year, Mrs. Thomas G. Winter reports. This will make an income from dues alone of about $42,000 next year.

THE overwhelming success of the First Annual Garden Week, launched by Mrs. John D. Sherman, chairman of the Applied Education Department of the Federation in co-operation with *Garden Magazine*, was such that the Federation is expected to make the event an annual one. Arkansas led all states in celebration of the Week, Mrs. Sherman said.

IN seventeen states legislation has been secured providing for the appointment of women to administer state laws concerning mothers' pensions, minimum wage, and prohibition of night work in specified occupations, according to Mrs. Frank Ellis Humphrey, chairman of industrial and social conditions in the Federation. The division is now working in co-operation with the committee on institutional relations to secure a federal prison for women.

DELAWARE clubwomen are assisting in a $300,000 campaign for a memorial library to Delaware boys, to be part of the state university. The clubwomen are also supporting several scholarships at the university.

THERE are 50,000 known drug addicts in New York City; 30,000 in Philadelphia; 60,000 in Massachusetts, and nearly 1,000,000 in the United States. America consumes more drugs than any other nation, and more opium alone than that consumed in France, Italy and Germany combined. Which are a few of the reasons pointed out by Mrs. Thomas G. Winter why the General Federation of Women's Clubs will campaign against the illicit drug traffic. Work of organizing the campaign has been placed in the hands of the Public Welfare Department.

THE Brattleboro Woman's Club (Vermont) is giving an education to an Italian girl from a Vermont town; has contributed $50 to the Kurn Hattin Home for Boys at Westminster; $50 to the Federation Scholarship at the International College at Springfield, Mass.; $25 to the Endowment for Women's Oriental Colleges, and is now planning to take up work in municipal reforestation, for replanting a waste piece of land near its town.

THE county federation is the one thing that can be depended upon to do local work in a big way, according to experience reported from Indiana. Alabama also reports success with county federations, having forty such organizations in sixty-seven counties.

A STATEMENT made at the Mid-Biennial Council of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, published in the *Citizen* of May 19, has been corrected. It was reported that the Federation warmly endorsed the proposed Department of Education and Welfare, with its head a member of the President's cabinet. Mrs. John D. Sherman, chairman of the Department of Applied Education of the G. F. W. C., now writes us:

"I know that this is exactly what was reported, but it was corrected by me the following morning. The Federation has never stood for a Department of Education and Welfare, but always for a Department of Education with a secretary in the President's cabinet."

The Farm Woman in the Role of Atlas

By Thomas Nixon Carver

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THERE never was a more thoughtlessly silly remark than that of a prominent feminist that "the more you know the fewer children you have." The obvious result of such thoughtlessness is to people the world with fools. The more democratic we are and the wider our opportunities for education, the more destructive that kind of nonsense becomes. When every one is encouraged to get an education, and provided with abundant opportunities, every one will become educated who has the capacity and the desire to be educated. The only uneducated persons will be those without that capacity or desire—in short, the natural born fools. If "the more you know the fewer children you have," then "the less you know the more you will have." That will turn the peopling of the world over mainly to the fools. Most of the children born will have a bad heredity, that is, they will be the children of parents who lacked the capacity or the desire for education. Let this go on for a few generations and there will not be enough mentality left to support a civilization. There will not even be enough capacity or desire for education left to support an educational system.

There is little likelihood that this folly can be removed by merely demonstrating that it is folly. Educated persons must be made to feel a sense of social responsibility, a *noblesse oblige* commensurate with the education that they have received. This can not be created by thunderings and condemnation. So long as they have competing interests that are stronger than their interest in family building, these other interests will absorb their energies to the neglect of family building. It is not likely that these other interests can be destroyed or seriously weakened. There remains only the possibility that the interest in family building may be greatly strengthened until it can compete at least on even terms with the others, and therefore get a fair share of the energies of educated people.

There have been a few choice spirits in the world who have actually regarded family building as their chief ambition. There have been women who have found their best material for self-expression not in canvas or marble, but in the plastic lives of children whom they might mould into those ideals of mind and heart which they, the mothers, had pictured in their dreams. There have been men who have regarded business or profession not as an end but as a means of providing the material basis for family building. In fact, every real aristocracy the world has ever known, which must be distinguished from sham aristocracy, has been created in this way. From the standpoint of absolute values, this is the noblest ambition any man or woman can have. Education that does not create such a sense of absolute values as to make this the dominant ambition of every educated person is a cheap and tawdry kind of education.

This sense of absolute values and this noble ambition come more easily and naturally to the farm woman than to the city woman. The latter is surrounded by so many artificialities; she is so strongly tempted to flutter and twitter about, imagining that she is tremendously busy, when she is in reality busy with things of no importance whatsoever, as to make it difficult for her to retain her serene appreciation of the things that really count in the building of the race or the nation. The farm woman more easily sees the mutual dependence of the building of a family and the building of an estate. It is relatively easy for her to see that these things must go together. There are not so many things to obscure the essential fact that the formula "With all my worldly goods I thee endow" literally means the endowment of motherhood. She is, therefore, more ready to accept the endowment in the reasonable sense in which it is intended than is her city cousin.

Our school geographies in the old days contained a picture of Atlas, a weary giant, bearing the world on his shoulders. The world is actually carried in a very different sense on the shoulders of those who bear its burdens and responsibilities. The greatest of all responsibilities is that of supplying the world with the right kind of people. The family builders are the people who carry this responsibility, and the farm women, more than any other class, are carrying it today. The world in a very real sense is, therefore, carried on their shoulders. In other words, the farm woman is found today in the role of Atlas.

Women in Wall Street

(*Continued from page* 13)

Company absolutely without any specialized knowledge, was turned loose, and before long was looking for new phases of work; she became manager of the department, and in that position she had the handling of the information in connection with the purchase and marketing in this country of the first three South American municipal loans ever issued here. Miss Kerr's knowledge, like that of Mrs. Riis, is turned to educational uses. She lectures at New York University on finance. Specifically her subject is "Functions of the Buying Department of Bond Houses and other Monied Institutions."

Statistical work has attracted many women to the financial houses, and it offers a wide swing of opportunity. At its least interesting and least remunerative, it is a mere compilation of data. But in the higher fields of security analysis it gives chance for distinguished work; work that earns high recognition in salary. Also it gives excellent background for bond selling, and some women who have made brilliant records as statisticians have gone into other work for their firms. Miss Beatrice Carr is an example. After several years of work in the analysis of securities, she is now in charge of the correspondence department of Robinson and Company. Miss Lulu Smith is another statistician who has gone over to the sales force. She is with Rollins and Company and sells bonds by mail in districts not covered by traveling salesmen.

Women from many classes are attracted to the work; women from society, from college, and from other occupations. Miss Hildegard Dieschman is on the sales force of Hemphill, Noyes, and Miss Alexa Sterling had earned a name for her golf playing before she earned one selling bonds for Strauss and Company.

The string of applicants for positions in bond houses lengthens year by year. Out of a probable two hundred who applied last year to Mrs. Riis, she chose twenty-five as possible material. Of these about one in six made good. Mrs. Riis has come to take college training into slight account, though at first she considered it an essential. But if two women make on her an equally good impression, and she must choose between them, the balance would fall in favor of the college woman, for university training usually carries with it a mental discipline not easily attained in another way. The best background for bond selling is interest in economics and mathematics. And of course psychology, which is needed in all salesmanship.

A certain freedom, unfailing interest and stimulation, and financial opportunity are the attractions to this work.

Freedom, in that the bond saleswoman is responsible only for results. There is no chance to fall into a rut. There are new problems to be met daily. Business may not stand still; if things are not happening, they must be made to happen. The financial opportunity is great. Though salaries are small at the beginning, every young woman who batters at the door of an investment house has her eye fixed on the huge sums earned as commissions when a large clientele has been established. And women as well as men have established these clienteles, and are earning commissions which make their yearly incomes seem like fortunes in comparison with those earned in most other fields.

Into the strongholds of the stockbrokers women are beginning to penetrate; and these have always been the most conservative in the business world with regard to women. Miss Kathleen Taylor, in charge of the uptown office of Bridgman and Edey, is probably the only woman in New York to hold her kind of a position. The entire office is under her management—men's department as well as women's department. And her men clients show no surprise at finding a woman in charge.

Miss Taylor was invited into the financial world. It happened in this way:

Several years ago the attention of John Muir, a stockbroker, was attracted by a magazine article which advocated the entry of women into finance, and pointed out the special qualities of perception, and tact, and social ability, and attention to detail that they would bring. Mr. Muir was canny enough to see the value of many innovations. "Job lots" and "baby bonds," that the poor man might have a chance at investments, were two of his favorite ideas. He decided that perhaps women in the offices might be the next thing on the cards. He therefore wrote to the author of the article, asking that a name be suggested. Miss Taylor was mentioned and she was called from her work—tutoring, in Boston—for an interview. She had had no training for financial work, and so far as she knew had no special qualifications other than a love of mathematics, but Mr. Muir was convinced that she was the woman for the experiment he wished to try. When the question of salary arose, Mr. Muir told Miss Taylor the sum he usually paid to men at the beginning, and offered her ten dollars a week less.

Miss Taylor could see no reason for that, and said so.

"But it is customary to pay women less," Mr. Muir began.

"Not with me," Miss Taylor told him. "I am just back from speaking for suffrage, and equality—."

She won her point, and the man's salary. She has worked with other firms. The opportunity to undertake her present work came a few months ago when Bridgman and Edey opened their Fifth Avenue office. Miss Taylor's position is a most significant innovation, for in the stockbrokers' offices women's accounts have been shunned rather than encouraged, and with most of them the idea of a women's department has been taboo. Miss Taylor considers a recent advertisement of her firm, calling attention in bold, black type to its women's department, to be one of her most important achievements. Most of her women clients transact their business over the telephone, though occasionally one may be found bent over the ticker, eagerly reading the tape.

The high positions earned by women in bond investment and stock brokerage houses are excellent stepping-stones toward a partnership—a thing yet to be achieved by a woman. A working partnership, that is. Such as exist now have come about through the investment of capital.

All the World at Rome

(*Continued from page* 8)

and *those still seeking the vote represented fifteen nations only.*

It was natural that the Alliance should cling to its leader and want to retain her in office. At the opening of the convention Mrs. Catt was waited upon privately by the presidents of twenty-seven national organizations who asked her to remain as president. Despite her refusal all the countries sent in her name as candidate for the election and she was compelled to tell the convention publicly that she would not accept the office. In the election only one candidate stood for office, Mrs. Corbett Ashby of England, who has served as secretary and who since the last Alliance has been at the head of one of the most important of the committees of the organization, that of co-operation with the League of Nations. Mrs. Corbett Ashby is an excellent linguist, she has served on the board and is familiar with the work of the organization, so that she is fitted to give good service to the Alliance.

Mrs. Catt was made Honorary President by acclamation, and the gift of a "golden book" was made to her. When the presentation came on the last day of the convention she was showered with flowers—great clusters from some of the national auxiliaries and single blossoms thrown at her from all parts of the hall.

Besides Mrs. Corbett Ashby, the women elected to the Board were: Madame De Witt Schlumberger of France, Dr. Margherita Ancona of Italy, Mlle. Gourd of Switzerland, Miss Frances M. Sterling of England, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot of the United States, Frau Schreiber Krieger of Germany, Mrs. Julie Arnholt of Denmark, Mrs. Ayra Theodoropoulos of Greece, Frau Lindemann of Germany. There was a tie between Miss Rosa Manus of Holland and Dr. Paulina Luisi of Uruguay, Miss Manus withdrawing and leaving Dr. Luisi as the board member.

There were many picturesque features on the program. For that matter, the gathering itself was picturesque, with the women brought together from the far parts of the world into this history-filled city—so many types, marking the differences between North and South, East and West, the conventional clothes interspersed here and there with some colorful oriental drapery.

At the formal opening on May 14 it was impossible to open the Roman Senate as had been planned, because the congress membership had increased to 1500 and there were such additional crowds of Romans that the only building large enough to hold them all was the Palazzo dell 'Esposizione where the convention itself was held. In the flower and flag-draped great hall Premier Mussolini, with officers in impressive official uniform, came to make the opening speech. As all the world knows now, the great sensation of his speech was the announcement that "the government Fascista, if nothing unforeseen happens, will grant to several categories of women the right to vote—first in municipal and then in political elections." (Recent despatches say that the first steps are being taken promptly to fulfill the promise.—Ed.)

That evening there was a second great gathering for the speeches by government delegates and representatives of fraternal organizations. The next afternoon came the reception by the Italian government on the Palatine Hill. Premier Mussolini welcomed the guests and tea was served on the brow of the hill overlooking the ruins of the ancient Forum and historic Rome where women once voted.

Wednesday was the enfranchised women's day. Miss Annie Furuhjelm, who is in her fifth three-year term in the Finnish parliament, presided and the enfranchised women discussed political parties and women. There was unanimous condemnation of a women's political party, and the conference which was not a part of the regular Congress program, passed a resolution asking women in political parties to urge the adoption of the Alliance program. It was decided to ask the new board to appoint a committee to canvass means of electing more women members to parliament, and the women in political parties were also called upon to work for women members of parliament and for the nomination of qualified candidates of both sexes who favor the Alliance program. Women members of parliament made speeches in the evening, with official international delegates headed by the brilliant young Dame Rachel Crowdy of the League of Nations Secretariat.

The unenfranchised women had their conference on Thursday, with Madame Schiavone Bosio of Italy presiding. Women of all continents had the stage on Friday evening, Mrs. Maud Wood Park speaking for North America and Miss Bertha Lutz, of Brazil, for South America.

Of all the picturesque events the most notable and important was the parade on the closing day, May 19, when the delegates from forty-three countries, including the thirteen new countries admitted to membership at the Rome congress, marched from the convention hall to be received by Premier Mussolini. It was the first international suffrage parade, and the last in a list of historic marches made by the women of the world in the name of liberty. The women went to the Ministry of the Interior where Premier Mussolini received the resolutions passed by the convention and presented by Mrs. Catt, calling upon Italy and other governments which have not yet extended the vote to women to give it. It was the climax of the effort made by the congress to reach those governments which have as yet withheld the vote from their women, and it marked the determination of the enfranchised women to carry forward the movement until women shall be voting throughout the world.

The Alliance is going on—strong and confident. Not only to win the vote for the remaining fifteen nations, but to break down all the other barriers still raised against women even in enfranchised countries. Significant of that new spirit is the new and stronger auxiliary in Germany which takes the place of the one that dissolved when suffrage was won.

So is the adoption of a new Constitution, broadening the scope of the Alliance to interest women with political powers. Significant too of the Alliance strength and sweep is the list of cities from which came invitations to the next congress—Paris, Bucharest, Palestine, Athens. This year voting women were welcomed from the United States, Ireland, Bombay, Madras, Travancore, Jahalwar and Burma — how many congresses must there be before there is no one of the fifteen nations of non-voting women to welcome?

The Bookshelf

ONCE in a long while there comes a break in the smooth stream of books, a disturbing element, demanding extra attention. Sometimes it is unusual comment on present conditions, sometimes an amazing prophecy, rarely poetry, and on specially fortunate occasions, fiction whose prose is vivid and imaginative, whose characters are drawn so as to combine the best qualities of the cartoon and the etching, and whose chapter headings are disturbing poetry of a high order. Such a book is Stella Benson's *"The Poor Man"* (Macmillan, 1923). The quality of Miss Benson's prose is revealed in her flashing descriptions quite as much as in her uncomfortably keen portraits. She is a little less than human, and a little more. Her pen is dipped in pixie magic, it is at once mischievous and wistful, impish and touched with fine beauty.

The story itself is laid in California and China. Its "Poor Man" is Edward Williams, morbid introspective of the most pitiable, yet never securing pity that is free from scorn. He was eager for it, would have nourished himself on it; given pity, he might even have grown into the thing he knew he wasn't, a hero. When he forgot to think about himself, his imagination played lovely tricks, but that was so seldom that no one could keep on liking him between times. The fascination of the book lies not in the bare fact of much unlovely human material, but in the skill with which Miss Benson uses it, the poetry it induces, and the philosophy it reveals.

Clare Sheridan is an energetic person with a very lively pen. She ranges all over Europe in *"West and East"* (Boni, Liveright, 1923) finding out what they think about, talk about, feel. The Europe she pictures is a very different country from the suave, orderly, classic region most people picture when they hear its name. And she reaches her conclusion in the middle of the book, while she visits Geneva. "If there is a hope for Europe, it is here. If there is anything on earth that can prevent my son being taken for the next war, it is the League of Nations."

"Trodden Gold" (Little Brown, 1923) is chiefly disappointing because it is so good and isn't any better. Howard Vincent O'Brien tells a quick, vivid story of two sisters who marry widely different men, one a college professor of chemistry who is acutely afraid of money and its effect on life, the other a business man who makes it successfully. There are many intelligent and interesting discussions of modern problems.

It had a chance of being a big book, but its characters and its situations are too stereotyped. Nevertheless, it is worth reading. —M. A.

A Line on the Movies

By ALVA TAYLOR GALLICO

"THE GIRL OF THE GOLDEN WEST"—released by Associated First National: Something of an atrocity in the name of David Belasco. Most of the actors in the screen version are badly miscast. The piece is played in the style of the Bowery melodrama of years ago. If you thought the famous Belasco play was funny as an Italian opera, wait 'til you see it in the movies.

"THE SOUL OF THE BEAST"—produced by Thomas Ince: A great picture for the youngsters. They will love it. When you wake up after the picture they'll tell you it's all about a girl who ran away from a circus with her pet elephant, Oscar, and had lots of adventures with animals and a bad man, and a nice boy, and the elephant rocked the baby's cradle in the end. Oscar the elephant is quite marvelous and Miss Madge Bellamy looks like an illustration from the Blue Fairy Book.

"TRAILING AFRICAN WILD ANIMALS"—by and with Mr. Martin Johnson: This picture cannot be recommended too highly. It is a treat and an education. Mr. and Mrs. Johnson have taken their cameras marvelously close to giraffes, elephants, lions, zebras, rhinos. Nothing could possibly give you a better insight into the habits and behavior of the African species than this picture. It is worth going out on a rainy Monday night to see. And don't forget, it

Mrs. Catt's Inside Story of the Suffrage Fight

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND POLITICS

by Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler

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is more important that the children see it than that you do.

"THE WHITE ROSE"—produced by D. W. Griffith: An unusual picture in many ways. It possesses glorious scenic beauty, and much that is fine and spiritual, adulterated by a harping sentimentality. The story of a young minister who has an affair with a dance-hall girl and whose conscience exacts payment for his transaction. Miss Mae Marsh is simply immense as the erring girl, later a mother. In fact the whole cast is so much better than Mr. Griffith's play that they are worth going to see. Nothing for the children.

"GARRISON'S FINISH"—produced by Jack Pickford, and marks his return to the screen after a two years' absence: That same old racing story with the crooks and the framed jockey and the thrilling horse race. One of those things that remind you of the fact that the cinema is still in its infancy. Madge Bellamy supplies the pulchritude.

"THE MAN NEXT DOOR"—produced by Vitagraph: Emerson Hough's novel neatly transferred to the screen with Alice Calhoun a charming Bonnie Bell. A little too long, but all members of the family will enjoy this story of the rancher's daughter who tried to be a society girl, and the faithful men who tried to help her and protect her. Frank Sheridan and David Torrence are excellent.

"TRIFLING WITH HONOR"—A mighty entertaining picture about an ex-convict who becomes a spoiled and pampered baseball idol who does not hesitate at selling out his team until his redemption is arrived at through the faith and worship of thousands of youngsters all over the country, as expressed through the mouth of one small boy. This is a real picture with a real theme, made vital because of the importance of the national pastime, and through the excellent acting of Mr. Rockliffe Fellowes. Buddy Messinger is splendid as the boy.

Washington

(*Continued from page* 10)

the men guiding the animals in and out of the ruts.

At the top, three miles from Charlottesville, are the gates to the estate, opened with considerable ceremony by a colored boy. He flourishes you in with a wave of the hand. Enter another long, winding, beautiful woods road still ascending, with clumps of yellow Scotch broom sprinkled throughout the woods and such virginity in the undergrowth that the mystery of the place begins at once to cast its spell. It is not difficult to think that you are the first person who has trod the road to the house since Thomas Jefferson left.

At the top, the house itself settles down among giant trees in a soft nest of uncut grass, with daisies blooming here and there and superb English ivy with leaves three and four inches across coming out in the pale green of a Southern summer. Immense English hedges of privet encircle the place and through the archways artfully cut, one can see off down the mountain on to the surrounding country, which in a blue haze is a succession of these hills and valleys, some with a house atop, others completely covered with forests; and down in the valley the green and white town of Charlottesville itself, from which "confusion" Jefferson longed to get away to the seclusion of his mountain-top home.

To me, it is far more beautiful than Mount Vernon. The house itself has nothing of the effect of having been clambered over, which is the necessary misfortune of Mount Vernon. The old bricks under the trees have taken on that look of mold and age which comes from utter seclusion. Bees, wasps and all the rest of the insect tribe which flourish when not disturbed add to the secluded atmosphere. The house apparently is merely without its "family" in residence—nothing has been disturbed that destroys the illusion. The architecture is more intimate than that of Mount Vernon. It looks conducive to family life. As if the architect had said to himself over the drawing-board, "Now, what a place for children." Thomas Jefferson was grandfather to eleven and at evening sat out in the spacious yard watching them at their pranks.

The underground passage-way by which the slaves could carry on their work without disturbing the scene with mops and pails is entrancing, and all the outbuildings grouped around have their settings undisturbed. Jefferson's law office, so marked, overlooks the hillside and is a small cottage in perfect keeping with the style of the larger buildings.

The gods have been good to preserve Monticello all these years. Such places are few in this new country. Women's organizations have taken hold of the problem here and with the support of women throughout the country, through the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, it will not fall through. Jefferson was the author of the Declaration of Independence and founder of Democracy, Governor of Virginia, Minister from the United States to France, traveler and seeker of art in Italy, architect for many of the mansions of old Virginia now scattered among the hills, architect of his own superb place at Monticello, architect and founder of the University of Virginia, which travelers pronounced one of the most beautiful institutions of learning in the world, and twice President of the United States. Monticello was the heart of his heart. In it he put his ideas of home-building. Here he spent his last days attending to the supervision of the University, to his law office and his writing.

The Closed Door

(*Continued from page* 12)

United States with its boasted freedom and equality of opportunity for women should lag so far behind Europe in opening the doors for them to a musical career. The reason Mr. Damrosch gives against the employment of women—that they could not stand the strain of long rehearsals and traveling, might have more weight if it were not for the experience of the many theatrical and opera companies which include women. These organizations have long rehearsals and far more extended tours on the road than orchestras, and women members share the strain equally with the men, without apparent suffering. Perhaps women players here have accepted the situation and have not made a determined effort to break into the larger orchestras. It is probable that the breach will be made in the more progressive West, and that if Minneapolis, Cleveland and Chicago prove that women players are acceptable, more conventional New York will follow their examples.

THE letter that follows gives us a "hunch":

"I wonder if by chance you keep on file the various ways reported in the *Woman Citizen* by which women's organizations have raised money. Some time last fall or winter a club reported its success in having the highway gasoline stations on a certain day manned by women. I should very much like to get into touch with that organization and learn how they managed the venture."

We found that the gasoline-selling stunt was that of the Indianapolis League. But we hadn't a list, and we want to start one, with new ideas coming in all the time. Please send in a *brief* account of any good means you have seen tried out by women's organizations for raising money.

P. S.—Of course we think getting subscriptions to the *Woman Citizen* is about the best way.

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Heart to Heart

THE 100% VOTER AND WORLD PEACE

"I have decided to use the few years remaining to me to helping the men," said Carrie Chapman Catt at the luncheon given in her honor on her return from her long trip to Europe and South America. "The woman movement is safe. It is the one place in this troubled world where no armies are being raised and where victory is certain, but the men worry me," and she told of distraught Europe and the need of a constructive disinterested force for peace.

"World disaster threatens and the United States alone is in a position to help. Shall we not respond?"

For the first time in history women are in a position to help in a world crisis. Not only in the United States but in most of the civilized world today women's opinions count. "I found woman suffrage as firmly planted in Central Europe as here," said Mrs. Catt. "The revolution has gone deep and extends to the very foundations of man's attitude to women."

And the women of every country are alike in their burning hatred of war. From Egypt and India, from Rumania, Germany, France and England the women delegates to the Congress in Rome had this one thing in common—their intense longing for a peaceful world for their children to live in. They look to the women of America to help. The United States, the richest, most powerful and only prosperous nation in the world, found a way to intervene to win the war—it can find a way to bring peace.

We know that the chief stumbling block in the way of the United States playing a noble part in peace is partisan politics. Men of both political parties are tangled in a seemingly inextricable mess. Many of them, thoughtful and earnest, see no way out.

To women the situation seems simpler and clearer. The peace of the world is bigger than any political party; it is more important than any administration; it surpasses tariffs, railroads, and every domestic question because they all depend on peace. It is the paramount issue this year and will be next year and the next until it is settled and peace as nearly assured as is possible in a fallible world. We believe that on this issue all women, without any regard to party lines, will line up beside Mrs. Catt to "help the men" bring order to a stricken world. Let each of the political parties beware of making political capital out of this question. To do so, will be to defeat their own ends as far as the woman's vote is concerned. The 100% voter will stand on her own feet on this question. She does not want a cowardly or selfish national policy in foreign affairs. Being a 100% voter means much more than being a good Republican or Democrat; it demands a clear cut vision of our national responsibilities. The *Citizen* will try to do its part by supplying accurate information.

Have YOU *secured one new subscriber to the* WOMAN CITIZEN *since our last issue? Get a friend to become a* 100% *voter.*—G. F. B.

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Your Investments

By ELEANOR KERR

IN choosing District Bonds (which are one kind of Municipal bond) careful discrimination is necessary. The laws of many of our states provide that any parts of communities, such as counties or towns, may incorporate to form a district, whose bonds are exempt from Federal income taxes, but are not obligations of anything except the district. School district bonds are the best of these. Frequently a city and its surrounding suburbs will be incorporated as a school district, having charge of all school affairs, and having the power to levy taxes and otherwise raise money for school purposes. These bonds are not legal for trustees or savings banks in New York or Massachusetts, unless they are located in those states or near by, but they nevertheless are almost as desirable as the obligation of the municipality itself in which they are principally located.

In the country, portions of counties will often combine to form road, drainage, levee, or water districts to put through some much needed improvement, which will benefit all of them. The cost is divided on an acreage basis, according to the benefits to be received by the different properties. Taxes are then levied accordingly in a sufficient amount to pay interest on the bonds and to amortize the principal by the time the bonds are due. Also an excess amount is levied—usually equal to 10 per cent. of these two sums—so that unforeseen contingencies may be taken care of. These taxes are collected at the same time as the regular county taxes, and in a well administered district should not average annually more than about 1 per cent. of the acreage value. Usually they are very much less.

Where these districts are well organized and the improvements are under the direction of competent and honest engineers, District Bonds are a desirable and sound investment. Where these safeguards are lacking they are a decidedly risky one.

District Bonds should only be purchased from conservative, long-established bond houses, with many years of successful experience in the underwriting of such issues. Their judgment is to be trusted, but the judgment of those without such specialized knowledge, no matter how well intentioned, may not be particularly wise.

The Tired Silhouette

By GULIELMA F. ALSOP

College Physician at Barnard

UP the road they came, the hot sun pouring down upon them. Mrs. Smith took out her handkerchief and wiped her face and neck. "I'm all tuckered out, Cynthie, I declare I can't go a step further. It's my flesh, I reckon. It always did run in the Smith family to put on flesh."

Mrs. Smith sat down heavily under the thin shade of the locust trees and began the serious business of mopping herself all over again. She turned to the woman who had sunk down beside her without a word of complaint and looked at her curiously. "You ain't said anything for a long while. Seems to me a thin woman like you oughn't to feel the heat so. You're awful white around the mouth. Nothing wrong, is there, Cynthia?"

And Cynthia, as soon as she could gather breath to answer, said no, she guessed she was all right, the heat always did make her feel sort of funny in her head.

And they sat and fanned and panted in the thin locust shade.

Mrs. Smith came to first. She looked around at the long and shapeless form of the woman lying beside her and grinned. "I guess it's neither being fat nor being lean. It's just the heat."

At that moment a boy and a girl came peddling down the road on bicycles. The girl wore knickers and had short hair. The boy had a pair of tennis shoes tied together by their shoe laces, hung around his shoulders.

"I'll race you up the hill," the girl shouted back over her shoulder.

"No fair. You've got a head start. I'll beat you anyhow." And away they went in a cloud of dust.

Cynthia sat up and shook off the dust. "I guess it's not the heat either. It's us being old. That's it."

"Poof, I'm not old." Mrs. Smith's face had calmed somewhat from its brilliant purple to a pale pink. "And you needn't be pretending I am." Her eyes wandered to the opposite hillside. "Why, there's Mike Haggerty plowing. Been at it since sunup, probably. Ain't he a fine figure of a man!"

Cynthia took her hat off and fanned with it. She jerked her head in the direction of the man plowing. "He don't seem to mind the sun either."

"Mike? Aw, why should he—he's a man. He and I went to school together, in the same class." Mrs. Smith smiled at the remembrance.

Cynthia stared. "You and Mike? Why, he's lots younger than you."

"Why Cynthia, I thought you was a friend of mine." Mrs. Smith tried to be offended and offish but it wouldn't work. She faced Cynthia squarely. "What's the matter with us, Cynthia? It is not the heat, nor being old, nor being women, and it ain't you being lean and me being fleshy—it's something else." Mrs. Smith stared again at the man plowing in the sun on the hillside, and a look of wistfulness and sadness stole into her eyes. "It's being always so tired."

Cynthia, in her long loose grey tweed suit, looked like a telegraph pole as she sat bolt upright. "That's just exactly it, you're always tired because you're too fleshy and I'm always tired because I'm too scrawny. We ain't neither of us fed right."

Cynthia looked down at herself and then slowly up and down the comfortable embonpoint of Mrs. Smith. "I guess any one with half an eye could see that. And what's more, we ain't tough. Mike there, he's tough. And those kids, racing up the hill, they're tough. You and I—we're soft."

Mrs. Smith looked at Cynthia in great admiration. "Cynthia, you're clever. I'm soft all right. Why, I wobble all over."

"And there ain't nothing to me to wobble, I'm just skin and bones." Cynthia stood up and her face had the look of a Yankee farmer. "Only I'm a-going to change all that. I'm going to eat right and I'm going to get tough and keep tough. I'm tired of being tired all my life. I've had enough of it right now."

Cynthia started off down the road. Mrs. Smith panted after her: "What you going to do, Cynthia? I want to do it too. I'm tired of being tired too. Nothing's any fun any more. Why, when I was a girl—"

Cynthia turned on her almost fiercely, "I'm going to be a girl again and do everything again."

"Play and dance and go berrying?" Mrs. Smith stopped in the middle of the road.

Cynthia nodded. She pulled out a big watch from her belt and looked at it somberly before poking it back again. "And I'm going to start by walking home, the long way, Clara Smith, and you're coming with me. There's time a-plenty."

Mrs. Smith stood motionless and stared at the long, sun-stricken road before her that wound up the long hill. "Don't let's start today, Cynthia, it must be 100 degrees in the shade and I'm tired already."

Cynthia drew her friend's hand through her arm. "Take it easy, Clara. I'll bet it's ten years since we took a walk together. It's exercise we need, every day of our lives."

MRS. W. S. PARTRIDGE, President of the Holly Woman's Club, Holly, Colorado, writes:

"The WOMAN CITIZEN *is being used by the Holly Woman's Club, a small literary club, at every meeting. We have found it useful, and so full of information that we expect to continue its use again next year. If we had time at each meeting, we should read the magazine from cover to cover. The ladies have asked me to say that the clear, concise way of handling the various departments has been most helpful."*

MRS. JOHN C. KERR, New York City, says:

"Why not suggest to your readers that they take a copy of the WOMAN CITIZEN *with them on each week end visit? I have gotten several subscriptions promised from my hostesses."*

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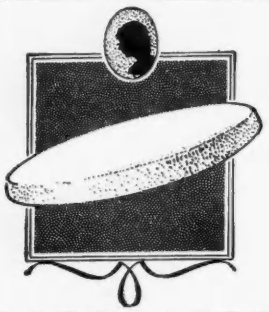

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They Say—

RUNNING over some recent numbers of the *Citizen* I note several articles which "gave me pause" on the first reading, and I am moved to comment.

I wish there were some one in every community with Miss Hauser's vision and skill in writing to tell about the "Jukes Family" in each. And I wish that the stories could be told and retold until some means were devised to put a stop to the perpetuation of imbecility and criminal tendencies.

It is one thing for Mr. Jesse Lynch Williams to discuss the problems of divorce with gay if somewhat mordant humor in his charming plays, "Why Marry?" and "Why Not?"—and quite another when he with seriousness (which may be more or less questioned) advocates, if not "free," at least decidedly "easy" divorce. There is room for a lengthy discussion of this widespread and most persistent problem—but I will only ask whether all development in character doesn't depend upon how we acquit ourselves in *all* of life's "endurance contests"—and anyway, isn't life just one endurance contest after another?

Margaret Dennis Vail,
Richmond, Ind.

SPEAKING of endurance—here's a letter which says that quality may be over-done.

THE impression made upon me by the articles to which you gave prizes, was that your prize winners were setting a killing pace—an impossible pace for most women. The idea of crowding all one's housework into Saturday and Monday—it can't be done. Your prize winner has the other days free "from ten o'clock to three-thirty"—but she would put in an eight-hour day before and after that time. Then only a strong woman could go out and enjoy herself during those hours. And as for brain work, any brain worker knows that the first hours of the day are needed for efficient work. I truly think you have "another guess coming" in your attempt to solve this problem.

I am glad you have attacked it. Your magazine is the first "woman's magazine" I ever took any interest in. Long may it wave.—H. B. B. Columbus, O.

IN connection with my work as Assistant Professor of History in Illinois Woman's College, I am continually referring my students to the *Citizen*, and reading them selections from it. The article "Are Women Free?" in a recent issue aroused much interest in my class in United States Government.—Fannie E. Wakely.

Jacksonville, Ill.

IN an unguarded moment Mrs. Florence Guertin Tuttle mentioned the following notes of comment on her article on the League of Nations, and we begged permission to pass them on. The League of Nations Non Partisan Association has reprinted the article, and distributed it widely.

YOUR piece in the *Woman Citizen* of February 24 is a ripper. It is exactly the kind of thing that ought to prove effective now. I wish it might appear all over the country.—Manley O. Hudson,

Law School of Harvard University.

I have read your article in the *Woman Citizen* with great interest and if you will forgive me saying so I think you have hit off in a brief and effective way most of the important things that are worth saving about the League. I am sure it will be most valuable.—Robert Cecil.

The Woman Citizen

Volume VII JUNE 30, 1923 Number 3

News Notes of the Fortnight

The Dry Ship Puzzle

BEFORE the regulation forbidding foreign ships to bring liquor within the three-mile limit of our shores actually went into effect, President Harding made a strange proposal to the British and other maritime governments. It was that the foreign ships should be allowed to bring in liquor under seal if the American right to search and seize were extended to twelve miles instead of three. The French promptly objected that under the general application of this ruling Great Britain would control the English Channel and the Straits of Gibraltar. It was found that no such sweeping application of the principle was intended, and that our Government had in mind only certain supplementary treaties for the accomplishment of this one purpose of getting out of an awkward situation and improving the business of catching the rum runners. Even so, the offer will probably be refused, as involving far too many complications.

In the course of a discussion of the subject in the British House of Commons a private member proposed to make it compulsory for all ships entering British ports to carry the medical liquor stores required on British ships. This tit-for-tat resolution was not passed, however, and great Britain shows an inclination to help solve the puzzle.

The next step was Secretary Mellon's ruling that the amount of liquor claimed as medicinal under the laws of the countries whose ships enter our ports should not be seized. This was understood at first to cover the dietary allowances made for crews and in the case of Italy for third-class passengers. But it seems to have been misconstrued as allowing much more than was the intention, and there was some confusion in the case of the first ship to have its liquor seized. From both the *Baltic* and the *Berengaria*, however, though very liberal medical supplies were left on board, the bulk of the stock was taken off. These are to serve as test cases of the law, the ship's master formally protesting the removal.

Very Briefly

ACCORDING to the newspapers, both Senator Borah and Henry Ford have denied the reports that they might head third parties as candidates for the presidency. Meantime the straw canvas of choice for president taken by *Collier's* shows Mr. Ford still leading the field, with 64,948 votes, President Harding following with 39,236.

All the prisoners held by the Chinese bandits have been released, comparatively unharmed. The next event in China's troubled story was the forced resignation of the president, and his flight.

John D. Rockefeller has given $150,000 for the promotion of the use of insulin, the new diabetes treatment, in hospitals. This discovery has been saving the lives of many diabetic patients, but the supply is still seriously limited. It is not a cure, but a mode of treatment which must be continued throughout the patient's life. Now a serum for the treatment of rheumatism is being established by the clinic of the New York University Medical School. Of five thousand cases treated eighty per cent. are said to have been improved to a point just this side of a positive cure.

Cost of living figures collected monthly by the National Industrial Conference Board show an increase of 8 per cent. between April 15 and May 15 of this year. Coal prices declined, food remained stationary, while rents and the cost of clothing went up.

Robert Smillie, the noted Labor leader, has been elected to the House of Commons, defeating a Liberal candidate by an unusually large poll.

The *Leviathan* trial trip was pulled off as planned by Mr. Lasker, though with 318 guests instead of 600. The big ship made a speed record. The President endorsed the trip and Mr. Lasker answered his critics, who claimed this was nothing more nor less than a joyride, by explaining his views of the necessity for the trip.

Missouri has just made effective a very stringent state prohibition act.

A Blow to the Kansas Court

THE Kansas Industrial Court, designed to settle industrial disputes by law, has had a rather stormy career, criticised by first one side and then the other. Capital has objected to the wage-fixing feature and labor to the anti-strike provision. It was an issue in the last gubernatorial election. Its sponsor and author, Governor Allen, did not run, but the present governor was elected on an anti-court platform. Now the United States Supreme Court has given the Court a hard blow.

In 1921 the Wolff Packing Company of Topeka refused to renew a contract with a meat-cutters union, and a dispute started. When it was referred to the Kansas Court, an order was issued imposing certain wages and working conditions upon the company. The company refused to accept them and the case was fought through the courts of appeal. On June 11 the Supreme Court made the decision that the Kansas court had no power to interfere with the contractual relationships of employers and employees in such an industry as the meat business, on the ground that it was "not affected with a public interest." Compulsory arbitration has been pronounced unconstitutional.

Amherst

SELDOM has an event in college circles stirred so much feeling and discussion as has the forced resignation of President Alexander Meiklejohn of Amherst. The long-gathering tension came to a climax at Commencement time and Dr. Meiklejohn was asked by the trustees to resign for the good of the college, but to remain as a teacher. In complying Dr. Meiklejohn said frankly that he did not think it would be for the good of the college, and refused to retain his chair as professor. Eleven Seniors declined to accept their diplomas, in loyalty to the spirit of the liberal Amherst which they said the action of the trustees had killed. Six of the younger professors have since resigned, in similar protest. Dr. Meiklejohn had lost the support of his trustees, of two thirds of the faculty, but had that of practically the whole student body and his own alumni. Undoubtedly, there is a clear cut issue here between liberalism and conservatism in education, but the situation was complicated with factors of personality, with the president's failure to placate the older men, and to fit himself closely into the life of the New England college which he was reforming. Walter

Lippman in a very lucid article in the *New York Sunday World* sums up thus:

"Amherst has lost a fine educator and a great spiritual leader of youth because he was an unsuccessful leader of men. He did magnificently with students. He failed lamentably with grown-ups. He could inspire but he could not manage. He was lots of Woodrow Wilson and none of Lloyd George. Meiklejohn's Amherst . . . hopeless as it was, made Amherst one of the most distinguished small colleges in America."

Piecemeal Clemency

ON the eve of his departure on his Western trip the President released twenty-eight of the fifty-two political prisoners who are serving terms on charges of interference with the conduct of the world war. They are, however, to be released with a condition that in the event of failure to be law abiding and loyal they shall be returned at once to prison. This has been protested as subjecting these men to the whims of petty officials for the rest of their lives and depriving them of trial in case of any alleged offense.

The effort to secure their release has been shared by the widest range of persons—all the way from extreme conservatives to radicals, and it will not in the least be remitted until the rest are freed. The twenty-seven includes only two of the so-called Sacramento group. According to the announcement of release, the others were refused freedom because they had been imprisoned on charges of overt acts, and not merely for expression of opinion. Senator Pepper, however, who has been deeply interested in these cases for many months, says (speaking as a lawyer) that the overt act charges no longer apply.

The Labor Board's Reprimand

WITH no power to enforce its rulings or to inflict penalties in the usual sense, the Railroad Labor Board has administered its maximum punishment to the Pennsylvania Railroad system. The Board has publicly rebuked the Pennsylvania for its refusal to conduct fairly an election for employee representatives to deal with the Board. Ballots cast for the shopcrafts representatives were thrown out, and the road refused to obey the Board's order to hold another election without discrimination against the unions. Pennsylvania shop employees were "deprived of essential rights as laboring men to which Congress had declared them entitled," said the rebuke. It was ready months ago, but when it was about to be announced the railroad secured an injunction and the case was taken all the way to the Supreme Court, which upheld the Board's jurisdiction.

In his speech on the railroads made at Kansas City on his way west President Harding said that he does not hope for compliance with the Rail Board's decisions on the part of employees so long as they are ignored by the managers. He admitted disappointment over the failure of both sides to co-operate with the Board but spoke in favor of its continuance with certain modifications. This was the speech in which he argued for the plan of consolidation of the railroads into several systems, which would insure the protection of the weaker roads. The plan is of course due for much discussion—the President said there would be legislation covering it introduced in the next Congress.

Stamboulisky's End

THE sequel to the downfall of the Bulgarian peasant premier came swiftly and dramatically. Premier Stamboulisky was not captured with the other members of the Cabinet in the revolution that overthrew his agrarian government. He escaped, in disguise, was pursued by troops, escaped again during the fighting. Finally captured, he was seized in an attempt at rescue by the peasants, and tried to flee with them. In the fighting that followed Stamboulisky was killed.

The new régime is said to have the sympathetic support of King Boris.

Europe's only woman diplomat, it will be remembered, was in the service of M. Stamboulisky—Mlle. Stancioff, first secretary of the Bulgarian Legation in Washington, who was so valuable to the premier that she had not yet taken her place in this country. Speaking eight foreign languages, she interpreted for her chief at all the international conferences. She has now resigned, and may perhaps engage in journalism either in Great Britain or in the United States.

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The quaint fishing town of Gloucester and the lobster markets of Rockport (see our cover) live through the palette of Fern I. Coppedge. Or again the Pennsylvania hills, the farmhouses and frozen streams of the Delaware Valley give her the inspiration for her snow scenes.

Miss Coppedge studied at the Art Institute of Chicago, the Art Students' League of New York, and the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, as well as under William M. Chase. Her "Thaw" hangs in the Detroit Museum and "Snow Covered Hills" is part of the permanent collection of the Pennsylvania Academy Fellowship, State College, Pennsylvania.

Old furniture and old houses are a hobby with Miss Coppedge. Her winter studio—built in 1773 as a Friends' Meeting House—is a veritable treasure. It is here on winter days that three huge fireplaces throw their golden glow over the mellowed surface of mahogany, or catch the glint of age-old brass and copper—Miss Coppedge's special favorites.

The Ruhr—No Change

THERE has been no outstanding change in the Ruhr situation during the fortnight. It merely grows worse. The British note to Poincaré, asking for exact terms, has not yet been answered. The resignation of the Belgian Cabinet, over a discussion of the language to be used in the university of Ghent, served as occasion for delay, but Premier Theunis has now been asked to form another Cabinet. M. Poincaré, backed by a new vote of confidence, is determined not to have the reparations settled by any neutral commission, but has perhaps weakened a little on his interpretation of an end to passive resistance. The German mark has gone to impossible depths. The food situation is growing increasingly more desperate in the Ruhr, and the Germans believe a food blockade is under way, to break down passive resistance—a simple matter, if desired, since France now controls all the railroads. Germany has sent a note to all governments except France and Belgium protesting against "Franco-Belgian terrorism," especially the death sentences on German citizens.

The only hopeful thing is that M. Poincaré is willing to listen to British proposals before framing an answer to the German offer.

A Good Retreat

THE decree issued in March by the Saar Commission, which practically denied all freedom of speech in the valley, has been withdrawn. This, it will be recalled, was the decree denounced by Lord Robert Cecil and other friends of the League of Nations, which is responsible for the Saar Commission. The order had doubtless been put out under strong French influence, and its withdrawal is due to the effect of the protest made in the British House of Commons and to the public opinion back of it.

June 26, 1923.

The President

Tackles Alaska

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Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

June 22, 1923.

PRESIDENT HARDING is confident he can solve the Alaskan Problem. Three quarters of the difficulty in that far-off Yukon waste is a low supply of "confidence." Discouraged, backsliding Alaska. She has not even been a mecca for missionaries of late. One or two have gone, notably Reverend Hudson Stuck, who contributed his admirable story of Alaskan conditions, but the field has not been popular. The Far Eastern heathen has been much more attractive, and the drawbacks to inculcating civilization have been almost too much for the idealism and hope of missionaries.

Queer how little Washington knows of the real Alaska as the President sets out. Cabinet members and correspondents, gathered at the steps of the President's private car as he departed, said with a smile, "Now for some of the Alaska cold." "Humph!" said an old Army general—"some of the real Alaska mosquitoes—fleas and bugs of every kind!" There are a few Army officers here who have "done" Alaska. They speak of the experience with a great deal of sarcasm. When they were not half frozen, knee-deep in slush, they furnished livelihood for the largest and sharpest biting mosquitoes extant. But all this is not in keeping with the note of optimism with which the President departed. He has always wanted to go to Alaska; he has strong convictions as to its problems; he is glad to leave his sultry desk in Washington. Hence the trip.

As Vacation—Doubtful

Mrs. Harding, too, was extraordinarily happy when she boarded the observation platform, but it was noticeable that she had no desire to linger there, for the thermometer was soaring around 100, and the engineer was making ready to pull out on the stroke of 2:00 o'clock. Mrs. Harding looks extremely well, more handsome than ever before. Many of her friends at the Capital will follow the trip with some anxiety, for she still is only delicately convalescent.

But this will be no vacation for the President. The problem of his proposition for American membership in the International Court of Justice is as simple and concrete as a brook stream beside that of the Alaskan enigma. The President, as a matter of fact, has left on what amounts to a trip of exploration. For twenty years, administrations have been vexed about the territory; dissensions and disagreements have come from within administrative circles and without—that is, emanating from Alaska itself. Old hands at the Capital remarked when the President departed that he had undertaken to really settle the famous Ballinger-Pinchot controversy which occupied the whole country politically during the Roosevelt Administration; in fact, those who know Alaskan conditions say that the fundamentals of the situation then are just as troublesome to-day. Other than the personal victory of Mr. Pinchot over Secretary Ballinger of the Department of the Interior in the old controversy, the problem was left in statu quo and the President today must decide:

1—Whether the dangers of capitalistic development, control and monoply of Alaska's fortunes are greater than the advantages, or, 2—Whether the Government shall undertake a constructive program of financial and administrative aid, going into the business of railroad extension and conservation of resources, or, 3—Whether there are in Alaska substantial elements for a nucleus of local self-government.

Your correspondent pursues this subject with some gratification at 100 in the shade. Let us review the substance of the Ballinger-Pinchot situation:

Alaska for many years economically has been in the hands of the large Guggenheim interests; that is, that corporation has owned the principal properties, and the largest part, by far, of the white population in the centers is made up of employees of the Guggenheim interests. Secretary Ballinger in the Roosevelt Administration had been a Commissioner in the Land Office. When Roosevelt appointed him to the head of the Interior Department, he said that he had procured a twenty-five-thousand dollar man for a five-thousand-dollar position. However, it soon developed that Secretary Ballinger was not in harmony with Gifford Pinchot and his conservation policies.

A bitter argument sprang up between them regarding Alaskan claims during which Mr. Pinchot accused Secretary Ballinger of all kinds of irregularities in favor of monied interests operating in Alaska. The fight is too complicated to go into detail, but it was a war of development vs. conservation, private against public interests and so on, upon which it was unwise to take sides without giving a great deal of study to unravelling the attendant complexities.

Alaska Drops Back

However, in the main, time has more or less proved that Mr. Pinchot's conservation policies formulated for the entire United States and severely applied to Alaska were not as beneficial to that far-off section as they were intended to be. Conservation laws were passed which did nicely for Yellowstone Park or New York's Adirondacks but failed utterly in the barren regions of Alaska. Whether it was the misapplication of conservation or the intensive control by private interests or the lack of government coordination, the fact remains that Alaska to date has not kept up with the rest of the United States. This, in spite of the extraordinary resources of the territory.

The Ballinger-Pinchot fight, the first to bring attention to the whole Alaskan situation, was also the first to start an unhappy interdepartmental disagreement as to "who's who in Alaska." Every bureau and every department—there are about thirty of them having to do with Alaska—became intensely zealous, or

jealous, of its particular concession, whether fisheries, fur, gold or taxes, and resented the co-operation and co-ordination which even then was vitally necessary. This dissension has gone on. President Harding inherited it. Even in the amicable Cabinet with which he is blessed to-day, there is none too good a spirit about Alaskan matters. The President was wise when he invited Secretaries Hoover, Work and Wallace to accompany him, and if he returns them to Washington all good friends, he will have made another conquest. Secretary Hoover, with his natural executive ability, would be glad to have more control than he has now. Secretary Work is just as ambitious. Secretary Wallace is as zealous of his agricultural interests there. The wonder is, not that Alaska has not increased its population to any appreciable extent in all these years, but that it has survived at all, with twenty or thirty masters to whom it has been responsible. To be exact, thirty-five departments and bureaus have a finger in Alaskan affairs, as follows:

The Department of the Interior has control of its Territorial government, including the Governor; its public lands, its mining claims, its town sites, its manufacturing sites, its hot springs and cemeteries on public lands, its Indian allotments, its wharf sites, its homesteads, its coal leases, oil leases, its Government railroad, its national parks and monuments, its schools for natives, including education in the protection of their health, the propagation of the reindeer, the topographic and geographic survey of its lands, the suppression of traffic in intoxicating liquors, and the protection of its game.

The Department of Agriculture exercises supervision over its national forests, its fur-bearing animal life, its weather bureaus, its public roads, its migratory birds, its agricultural development through the operation of five experimental stations.

The Department of Commerce functions through the Bureau of Fisheries in the protection of its fish industry, which has attained immense proportions, its Coast and Geodetic Survey in enforcing its maritime laws, and maintains lighthouse service and other aids to navigation.

The War Department operates the cable and telegraph lines in Alaska, maintains army posts and military reserves, and, through its engineering corps, provides for the improvement of its rivers and harbors and other navigable streams, as well as the construction of trails and roads through the Alaskan Road Commission.

The Navy Department has control of

(*Continued on page* 21)

"How Not To See a Country"

(*The Author's Title*)

By Carrie Chapman Catt

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Caracas lies in a great saucer in the midst of mountains

WHEN we planned to go to South America we were determined to visit each of the ten republics which cover the continent (with the exception of Dutch, French and British Guiana) and also Panama, usually classified with Central America. We soon found that the capitals of Paraguay, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela were so inaccessible that the time at our disposal would compel us to drop them from the list. But from Panama we sailed back to Europe upon the Dutch ship *Venezuela* and its cargo ports enabled us unexpectedly to visit another South American country—the Republic of Venezuela. There was no time for work or to make arrangements for seeing people, so we conducted ourselves as ordinary tourists on idle pleasure bent. As little account of the sight-seeing which has given us much enjoyment could be included in previous articles, perhaps one little letter strictly from a tourist's point of view may be permissible. It might be entitled "How not to see a country."

Off the coast of Venezuela lies the Dutch island of Curacao (pronounced Coorahsow). The island is volcanic, mountainous and unproductive, but the town of Willemstad, fringing the round blue bay, is a thriving one, for it is a free port where all who wish may unload any cargo desired with no duty to pay and no questions asked. In the dark mysterious past it was a rendezvous for pirates, and now that that romantic day is past, adventure still makes its headquarters here. Smugglers buy in this free port and attempt to run ashore on other islands or along the mainland, when the eye of the almost omnipresent customs is turned the other way. The plastered, tile-roofed houses tinted green, blue, red and yellow, and all the shades between, set in neat rows along the narrow streets and running in terraces up the hillsides, Dutch in every detail, make a colorful scene very appealing to the lover of beauty. A drive to the ostrich farm and another to the quarantine station, the only "sights," took us along narrow roads bordered with natural hedges of cactus. Tiny houses of mud or woven fibre, with thatched roofs, were scattered along the way. Our passing brought the entire family to the door, several brown children, a few chickens and pigs, a goat and an adult or so. Whenever Miss Manus pointed her camera in their direction, the entire collection scuttled back, the children, goats and pigs sometimes tripping each other up in the hurried process. A little bay bounded by poriferous rocks of curious shapes, presented more shades of blue than I ever saw in one spot before and was a fascinating vision of loveliness.

Ships—American, French and Dutch—were all busily loading cargo in this port. The *Venezuela* lay there for two days. The main cargo was coffee, for this island is the loading port of the great Venezuelan coffee district of Maracaibo, the product being brought over in small boats.

We next stopped at Puerto Cabella on the mainland of Venezuela, where for sixteen hours we loaded more coffee. The town was small and we drove

through every street in half an hour. We went on an excursion in the afternoon to the Hot Springs, a boiling spring which provides with "cures" a primitive bath-house attached to a primitive hotel. Our equipage was a Ford in that state of happy dilapidation when its enemies say it is done for but its friends know that it has just begun to work. The springs had long since surrendered to old age. The distance was reputed to be thirty-five miles. The road was a "long trail a-winding" through foothills, over rocky rivers (which we always forded) and along a cut through nature's forest. Sometimes the road was deep with sand, but usually it was dotted with ruts and holes and sprinkled with stones.

We were jounced from seat to roof and back again, one as springless as the other. One never has the right things for comfort on these trips. One should have a circular air cushion to sit on and another on top of the head tied on with becoming ribbons instead of a hat. After such mountain drives the parrots always say, "Wasn't it wonderful! That road is a great feat of engineering, isn't it?" Well, the only real feat about that road was that a Ford as nearly worn out could get safely over the engineering feat without sending its passengers footing it home on their own feet.

As we bobbed from floor to ceiling we caught kaleidoscopic glimpses of a great variety of live things scuttling out of the track of His Majesty, the Ford. A tired-looking breed of chickens were most numerous and some thousands must have aroused their fatigued energies to squeak out of our way, although I should think our trail might have been marked by a continual pile of dead ones. The soil is the color of *café au lait* and dogs on that road match the soil in color. Some hundreds barked and curled up again. Most of them had puppies in tow. Pigs, the long-snouted variety which board themselves, mostly sows with young ones, squeaked across the road by the hundreds. A few dozens of goats with their kids, and now and then sheep with their lambkins, added variety to the escaping multitude.

"Babies of Bolivar Street"

The most interesting of the things put to rout was the army of tatterdemalion children who apparently occupy the middle of the road most of the time. It is a cheap country in which to bring up children, for among the poorer classes boys wear no clothes until they are five or more. Girls usually wear a string of beads and an apron unbuttoned in the back. When the boy reaches the clothes age he may wear either pants or coat but it is considered extravagant to wear both at the same time. At least a hundred little naked brown boys and as many little girls with aprons flying jumped aside to let us pass.

"They wade in the puddles, they roll in the dust,
No weather can ever their pleasure defeat;
All days are the same! Life is only a game
To the naked brown babies of Bolivar Street." *(Gilbert)*

Sanitation not only along this "feat of engineering" but in all the interior of South America outside the cities is the same as that of our primeval ancestors. The same little thatched single-room mud cabins dotted the roadside as those of Curacao and all South America. They were often surrounded by a scraggly grove of cocoanuts, bananas or papayas, but no occupant had foresight enough to have all three, and often the dooryard contained nothing but cacti, which may be one reason the children, dogs, pigs and goats prefer the street.

This is the last in Mrs. Catt's series of letters from South America. Purposely, we saved out this "tourist" letter from Venezuela, as a postscript, to follow her summing-up. It is Mrs. Catt and South America in lighter vein, and a delightful finish—since the letters had to come to an end—to a series which CITIZEN *readers have enjoyed (they've proved it) enormously.*

We continually passed or met little caravans of burros heavily loaded, from eight to twenty in a group, and these alternated with caravans of small two-wheeled wagons drawn by very small mules. We passed more than once a man riding a burro and behind him were marching two or three women with great packs upon their heads. Lone women walking with a big load on their heads were scattered all along the way and they appeared alert and enterprising, as though they had a family to keep and were about their business. Men never carry cargo—the women and donkeys do that, but the men had a curiously tired hookworm appearance as though life had lost its flavor. The only white man seen on the journey was a cadaverous creature with his hands in his pockets who appeared to have been in that posture since the renowned accident that happened to Lot's wife.

A South American writer of a book I read said of this country, "Venezuela seems to have surrendered to the climate and to have given up trying." He must have taken this excursion to the Hot Springs. But nature in Venezuela is not weary. In the background were mountains—such as we had seen elsewhere, merely the mountains universal; but the foreground belonged exclusively to Venezuela. We followed a stream and caught many vistas of rocky gorges, sparkling little waterfalls and tangled tropical vegetation overhanging quiet pools of water. There were flowers, many brilliant ones, and nearly all were strangers. In one of my peregrinations between seat and roof of that car I beheld a grove of great spreading trees of beautiful foliage resembling oaks, and those amazing trees were covered with huge brilliant crimson blossoms! They were neither the Pride of India nor the red acacia common in South America. There were two other varieties of large trees covered with blossoms, one salmon red and one deep pink. We passed through a marsh covered with a blue water-flower unlike any we knew, and entrancing visions of the richness of tropical flora rejoiced us every moment.

We compassed the alleged seventy miles—over as bad a road as I would ever wish upon my worst enemy—in a Ford which was probably rescued from King Tut's tomb—in three and a half hours.

The next morning at 5:30 we were called and, sore and jaded as we still were, we arose, for the first preparation for going ashore at every port is to be passed by the police and doctor. Before the ship takes its final position, usually, the health and police inspectors come abroad. Every passenger must show his passport and appear in person. As the ships travel nights and put in long days at loading, the passengers are thus taught habits of early rising. By nine o'clock we were off on the main jaunt, a motor trip to Caracas, the capital of Venezuela. The road lies upon the sides of mountains, running into one cañon and out into another, making short and sharp turns and all the time climbing up to the summit of 4000 feet. Over that summit the road descends into Caracas 1000 feet below. The city lies in a great saucer in the midst of the mountains and is 3000 feet above the sea. Women wore woolen gowns upon the streets and we shivered in our summer wear.

Charming Caracas

It is a delightful, stimulating climate at that time of year and just the place for a fine auxiliary to the Pan American Association to sprout and grow, but a stay of two hours was all too brief to plant the seed. A wonderful broad avenue lined with magnificent villas, each set in a garden of incomparable brilliance, was proof of the presence of wealth. The city seems prosperous and there were many more white people in evidence than usual in South American cities. We paused on the edge of the saucer to look at the beautiful capital, Spanish-colonial in all particulars, spread below us in colors of red, green,

blue and yellow. There was no evidence here that Venezuela had given up trying, and nothing in the climate to justify that comment.

As we paused for the view we were given a lesson in how the poorer classes of Caracas live. A water faucet at that point furnished water for the entire community. They came in singles and doubles and families, mainly women and children, filled their water vessels and went away carrying it upon their heads. The aristocratic water vessel was a Standard Oil can. The mother with one of these great cans upon her head, followed by all her children, each carrying a smaller vessel upon its head, made a procession of water carriers similar to those seen among primitive people the world over. The river and the gourd or home-made pottery have given way to the water-tap and the Standard Oil can—centuries lie between, but women are doing the same things still.

We were told that those who went to Caracas by motor would take their lives in their hands. When the trip was over we concluded this verdict was a correct one. The road has no outside wall or protection and a flaw in the motor brake at dozens of turns might have sent the car crashing down thousands of feet into the rocky valley below. One man in the party ducked his head at every turn, but we faced every precipice with pretended fortitude. We came home in an extraordinarily prayerful mood and realized that we had "done" a country as tourists do. We had learned no new facts, and confirmed no old ones, we had stepped behind no door into a Venezuela home, we conversed with no intelligent person; we had only seen something of the life of the lowest stratum and something of the magnificent scenery and prolific resources of the country. We went away with regret that no opportunity for work was possible.

Trinidad, discovered by Columbus in 1498 and meaning Three Sisters mountain, is another island off the Coast of Venezuela. It was colonized by the Spanish. The Dutch and the French each tried to take it and the British succeeded in taking it from the Spanish in 1797. It is as English as Curacao is Dutch and Caracas Spanish. Geologically it apparently belongs to Venezuela, for both have those world wonders—lakes of asphalt. The *Venezuela* loaded barrels of this product for eighteen successive hours and meantime we visited the so-called Pitch Lake and the oil fields. It was an informing but ugly and smelly adventure.

To see Pitch Lake we paid the price of a genuine scare. A pier resembling a sidewalk not more than six feet wide and with no railing on either side extends out into the ocean for a quarter of a mile. The boards are rough and not well nailed and the walk slants first one way and then the other. Below was a wild tumbling sea and across the walk a gale was blowing which made sails of every woman's garments and threatened to sweep her off to a watery grave. We slipped and tripped and steadied but managed to get over and back in an even more fervently prayerful mood than that produced by the trip to Caracas.

One takes his life in hand, more ways than by mountain drives, in attempting to see something of the country surrounding South American ports. Usually the ships anchor out at sea and the trip ashore is made in small boats. Often the little boat and the big ship rock like barrels and give an occasional pitch, and it is something of a feat to step from one to the other at the exact moment when they come nearest together. Sometimes passengers are swept into the deep but not often. The basket method of going ashore I have already described. My own catastrophes on this trip count

(*Continued on page* 21)

Home—Fifty Years Forward

"Domestic Service Will Cease to be a Back-door Job."

An Interview Reported by Hannah Mitchell

So far, the discussion of "woman's oldest job" has been carried on largely by women who are home makers. Various points of view have been expressed—all the way from advocacy of every woman her own housekeeper to systems of trained help in relays, on an hour basis. Here is a comment from another source—from a leading professor of household science. How far do you agree? The CITIZEN *would argue some points, but it wishes to urge most heartily the point that housework is not hereafter to be a "backdoor job."*

FIFTY years from today there will be no such thing as domestic service as we understand it today. Or at least no such thing as domestic *servitude*, and no domestic servants in the present sense of the expression. That is the prediction of Frederick W. Howe, director of the School of Household Science and Arts at Pratt Institute, and similar opinions are held by a number of educators and students in the field of home economics and household management. Practically all of these persons are sensitive to the trend in their field, very practical theorists on all that has to do with home life and home making.

"Fifty years from now there will be practically no domestic servants," said Mr. Howe, "and the American home will be more attractive and more practical than it is on the average today."

"But running a home, developing and conducting the home in its best form, requires work and the work of more than one person," I objected.

"Certainly," he replied. "But women are going to spend more time themselves in making homes and for the outside help that is necessary they will be able to hire by the hour, day or week, specialists trained and doing a high grade of work along the lines needed. Domestic service will cease—is already ceasing—to be a back-door job. It will have dignity and respect, the dignity and respect which we are beginning to feel for all kinds of work.

"A hundred years ago the home was the center of social life. It was also the center of much of the industrial life. With inventions and the growth of factories, with the complete change made in our manner of living, economically, in the last century, the home has lost many of its old functions. We have been for some time in a state of change. In this country it is always the tendency to swing to extremes before settling to a medium which means adjustment.

"The general restlessness of women is all a part of this change—this in-between period. We have not emerged from it yet, but my belief is that we shall return to the home, or rather that we shall develop a new home which will be the basis, the unit of our civilization, just as the home of a century ago was in its day.

"In our extreme swing we have well-nigh taken away from it every function that the home had. In returning to a happy mean we shall return certain things to it. There are certain things that belong to the home, and I believe that family life is coming back, not as it was in the old days, but a family life that is stronger and shows the progress that study and greater knowledge always bring.

"I base this belief on many seemingly small signs that show the way the wind is blowing. Many of them are related to

(*Continued on page* 24)

Teaching the Young Idea to Club

By Mildred Adams

SHORT girls, tall ones, plump ones and slim ones, bobbed heads and braided ones—three long rows of them sitting in the raftered room. A tall girl whose red-gold hair rippled along the fine contours of her head rapped for order. Roll call brought out a long list of old American names that rang strange and welcome in ears used to the melting pot. Then, with a flutter of pleated skirts and a crackling of starched middy blouses, the whole group rose and repeated with earnest understanding—

"I pledge my loyalty to the Junior League by doing better than ever before what work I have to do;

"By being prompt, honest, and courteous;

"By living each day trying to accomplish something, — not merely to exist—and above all, by believing that it pays to know the truth, and to follow it."

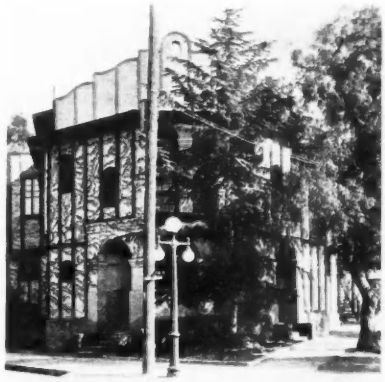
Thus opened the regular meeting of the first club Junior League in the United States (and by the way it bears no relation to the organization named the Junior League of America.) It is an auxiliary of the Contemporary Club in Redlands, California, the woman's club of the town, and the center of social and civic life.

Where Roberts Rules

The League's business was conducted with a quiet efficiency which would amaze many an older club. Here was no long and devious oratory, no padding of phrases that meant nothing, to cover "hurt feelings" that meant much, no voices so low and tangled that they couldn't be heard. Those fourteen and sixteen-year-old girls went straight to the point with their motions and their discussions, and when they leaped up too quickly for Roberts' Rules their president restored order with a skill worthy of a Federation head.

The purpose of the Junior League is directly to learn those things which the finest type of clubwoman needs to know. That was one of the things their good angel had in mind when she founded it. She is Mrs. J. A. Kimberly, a founder of the parent Contemporary Club, and a staunch believer in both the value and the duty of a woman's club to its community.

In 1916 she decided that the club needed a junior auxiliary which should



The Contemporary Club and the Juniors share this lovely club home, in Redlands

act as a feeder of young blood into a group which was, like most clubs, too apt to rely solely on its older members. Also—and this was the other side of her idea—such an auxiliary would bring together the youth of the town, would act as a center for wholesome work and play. There wasn't very much for boys and girls to do in Redlands between the time they stopped being children, and the day they became grown-ups. So Mrs. Kimberly persuaded the club that it needed the auxiliary, and the auxiliary needed the club.

The next step was to decide what should be taught these embryo club women. Obviously a good member must be able to stand on her feet and talk when occasion demands, so public speaking, which included voice control and enunciation, went into the training program. But talking demands something to talk about, so story-telling and current events were added at different times. A meeting when every one talks at once is noisier than Babel could have dreamed of being. Therefore parliamentary law, and practice in conducting meetings, were early and important subjects.

But all that was mental training. Some of the girls handled their bodies badly, stood awkwardly; they grew restless on Saturday mornings after five days of school. So dancing was introduced for play, and because it would give them poise and health and command of themselves. Out of dancing came pantomime, and the combination of pantomime and oral English have resulted in quaint and successful plays.

And last they have learned to feed their guests. This year they have divided themselves into groups, and under a competent instructor they have presided at delicious monthly luncheons which they prepared and served.

The League's play time is devoted to giving dances and plays. They are very popular in the community; in fact it has become a byword that if you want anything done, all you have to do is "get a good Junior Leaguer." And as no one has ever heard of a bad one, the demands made upon them for time and activity sometimes threaten to be embarrassing. They have concrete proof of their popularity in the thousand dollars raised by their own efforts, which they just paid toward the club's building debt.

Seven years is not long in a club's life, but it is enough time for League training to begin to show results. As a school for future members, the League has already "graduated" into the Contemporary Club twenty girls from the thirty-odd who entered in its first years. The president bears testimony to their value, and the only plaint of the girls is that the grown-up club doesn't give them enough to do!

As a source of inspiration and discipline, the League has already more than proved itself. One has only to talk to the girls and watch their enthusiasm, or to their parents and see their quiet pride and satisfaction. The list of present occupations of the first League members is in a way an index. Out of the twenty-eight girls, fifteen are still in college, four are studying music, two art, three are engaged in business, and four are married. There isn't a dilettante in the group.

Watch Junior Clubs Grow

The Junior League idea for women's clubs is spreading very fast. Near-by towns have followed Redlands' example, and girls who have moved away have founded Leagues in their new homes. The president of the California Federation of Women's Clubs recently expressed the hope that next year would see a Junior League in every club in California. Meanwhile, Mrs. Thomas Winter, the General Federation President, is urging all state heads to "stress the Junior Club" idea. Just as The Contemporary Club has, they will find it valuable to club and community alike.

Editorially Speaking

Talk Back About The World Court

THE President's change of ground about the World Court, expressed in his speech at St. Louis last week, was a deep disappointment to many. Newspaper despatches indicate it rather generally. It had been supposed that Mr Harding would keep to the position taken last winter in launching the proposal for an American share in the Court—a carefully worked out position demonstrating that entering the Court doesn't mean entering the League of Nations. But last week he went farther in cautiousness and declared his hope for a complete separation from the League, even in the election of judges. (Incidentally, he declared too that the League was "as dead as slavery"—a statement that has brought some very live-sounding response from its friends.) The change of front would seem unwise tactics, likely to please no group very much, and to alienate many. A wobble in the leader's position at the beginning of a campaign means a wobbly campaign.

Just what, if any, influences were brought to bear upon the President to make him change ground, we can't say. But if the isolationists at Washington have found new weapons; if the opposition of the Republican Chairman is counting, it is all the more "up" to the country to make its voice heard for the Court. Powerful forces are already lined up for it—colleges and universities, women's organizations, business groups, the churches. The President is talking to the whole country more than ever—with the help of radio. Let the people take every means possible of talking back. Let them respond to his direct appeal, which in itself was a fervent avowal, strong enough to offset some of the uncertainty created by the rest of the speech: "I shall not restrict my appeal to your reason," he said. "I shall call upon your patriotism. I shall beseech your humanity. I shall invoke your Christianity. I shall reach to the very depths of your love for your fellow men of whatever race or creed throughout the world. . . . . My passion is for justice over force. My hope is in the great court."

If the country wants to follow that part of the President's leading, it must say so with conviction and emphasis.

The Cosmetic Pendulum

"NOW take a final look at yourself in the mirror. You should look like a glorified *you!*"

So ends the advice given by a woman's magazine in advocating the every-day use of rouge, lip-sticks and eyebrow pencils by our girls. It adds, "Make-up has become not only respectable but a matter of course."

In the same magazine, and others of its class, editors and famous contributors frequently express deep concern about the girls of today, especially because of their dress and behavior and their lack of respect for their elders. In the same issue will be pages of advertising, featuring extremely décolleté figures: personal intimacies of the toilet are fully described and the lure of the physical emphasized—and on other pages beauty writers tell how many different kinds of cosmetics are necessary for the toilet table of the girl who would be well groomed, and that popularity and success await her if she has the lure of beauty.

These magazines go into millions of homes. Such advertising must be extremely effective with young girls. Luring lips and brilliant eyes, the charm of Cleopatra—what girl does not want them, especially if they can be had for a few dollars? Fortunately there are well-established firms of the finest reputation that set a higher standard for their advertising, and women can choose which ones to patronize.

Good looks are an undoubted asset in the business of life. The obligation is on every woman to be dainty and wholesome in her physical body and as becomingly and fittingly attired as her taste and purse allow. To this end soap, cold cream, lotions and powder have their place. No one can have any objection to the honest advertising of their use. Undoubtedly more faces are washed with soap today and the skin kept healthier by frequent bathing because of advertising.

Even make-up has its rightful place. Behind the footlights it is used to make one look natural under the artificial light. If it is used in front of the footlights its only justification can be if it makes one look natural, and the test is that no one should suspect you of having it on. Its popular use today allows no one to forget that you are using it.

The pendulum is bound to swing far in the other direction. It won't be long, we predict, before any use whatever of cosmetics of any kind will be considered bad form, and some advertisers will be in a position of having killed the goose that laid the golden egg.

Wanted: Enforcement With Common Sense

THE other day Mr. Lloyd George made a plea to his countrymen not to be irritated by our seizure of liquor on British ships. He asked their sympathy for "America's very bold experiment to deal with probably the greatest curse of modern civilization"—making the same plea that Lady Astor made a few weeks ago that prohibition be given a chance. That is an attitude for which we should be grateful, and one we should like to see adopted at home too. But many a convinced prohibitionist must be concerned about some of the methods of enforcement.

Last week, for instance, two events happened that don't belong together. One was the seizure by American officials of liquor stores on British ships—stores intended, quite in accordance with British law, for passengers on the British ships' outward course. The sole basis for our seizure of the liquor was our right to the water the ship lay in. Even with all this, a point had been stretched (legally) to avoid friction—a liberal allowance was left on board for medicinal" purposes, by arrangement with the ship's doctor, representing the medical regulations of his country.

Here then was, on the whole, a strict application of our prohibition law.

At the same time, on a beach not far from this port, a bootlegging gang landed and actually drove away, under threats, a picnic party that had spread out its peaceful lunch there. Regular "pirate stuff." According to newspaper reports the gang proceeded openly and without delay to land its contraband cargo on the beach, and although the county seat was only a few miles distant, there was no interference.

This was a very flagrant case, to be sure, but flagrant cases are numerous. The question is whether the cause of prohibition is served by an enforcement which creates irritation because it seems to other nations an infringement on their rights. Isn't this an expenditure of energy which is plainly needed for the enforcement of the law against the most outrageous rum-running?

We are prohibitionist by birth, we might say, and this magazine is wholeheartedly committed to the cause of law enforcement. But we are glad to see signs that this ruling will come up for reconsideration by Congress—and hope for the application of common sense on the one hand, and

on the other for greatly strengthened effort and determination against the rum fleet and other rank forms of law breaking.

Pity Poor Men

WE have been asked to do something for men—or at least to try. We have been told that the remedy for a great evil from which they suffer lies wholly in women's hands, and that any woman who has access to the ear of her sisters and at the same time turns a deaf ear of her own to the men's woe, is hard hearted. That woe is the bondage of warm clothes for men in summer; stiff collars such as we wouldn't wear in the dead of winter—and, for relief, soft clinging ones that are worse than our worst for a decade; close-fitting encasements for their legs; coats of a weight, at the lightest (except for the exceptional palm beach suit) that would serve us nicely for spring or fall wrap. The imprisonment of the corset by no means offsets these horrors. For one thing, it isn't by any means always present, and for another it doesn't apply so extensively to the person.

Then there are men's stern conventions—that habit of keeping coats on save in the informality of regular office hours or at home. So much freedom the poor creatures achieved for themselves; but how far from bold they are in claiming their obvious privileges. How little provocation sends the average man scuttling into his coat, with what pitiful defiance his braver brother stays out of his!

And now one of the sex says that it is up to us women—that the minute we collectively tell them they may come out of bondage, they'll come. We doubt whether it is as easy as that—they have probably sold themselves thoroughly on the idea of their strange clothes, so that they would resist. And they *are* so deeply conventional. But if there is any possibility that the power to effect this deliverance is in our hands—if the one man we quote is perhaps a prophet—well, we can't take the responsibility of silence.

Shall we start a campaign for men's emancipation?

A Menace to Peace

EVERY woman interested in peace should read Mrs. Catt's recent article, "Summing up South America," and should pay especial heed to what she says of the distrust and suspicion prevailing throughout Latin America in regard to the foreign policy of the United States.

It is a mistrust of long standing. Dr. Hiram Bingham, Professor of Latin American History at Yale, published in 1913 a book entitled "The Monroe Doctrine an Outworn Shibboleth." In it he traces the gradual change in the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine from a promise of protection to the Latin-American republics against interference from Europe to a claim of the right to interfere with them ourselves, and finally to a practical assumption of the overlordship of the whole Western hemisphere outside of Canada. He shows that, even so far back as 1913, the United States had repeatedly interfered by force in the internal affairs of various Latin American republics, had set at naught the recognized principles of international law, and had broken treaties that we ourselves had made.

This had naturally led to fear and distrust, and he proved by abundant quotations from Latin American writers that this feeling was even then widely diffused throughout Central and South America. During the last ten years our foreign policy has gone much farther in that direction than would then have been thought possible.

Dr. Bingham says that this actually hurts our trade. "You can seldom sell goods to a man who dislikes you, except when you have something which is far better or cheaper than he can get anywhere else. Furthermore, if he distrusts you, he is not going to judge your goods fairly, or to view the world's market with an unprejudiced eye."

To women, it is of still more concern that in three or four Latin American countries we are maintaining armed forces, and have had them there for years, ostensibly to keep order, but the Latin Americans believe to maintain in power a government which the majority of the people do not want. In either case, our young men are exposed to all the demoralizing effects. And the increasing irritation due to the continuance and extension of this policy of interference with our neighbors is almost sure sooner or later to lead to war and the sacrifice of American lives. Our women, who are looking so eagerly toward Europe, should inform themselves seriously as to these unfortunate conditions right at our own door, in which we are directly involved.—A. S. B.

The Triumphant Typewriter

THE typewriter has just celebrated its fiftieth birthday, and it may certainly claim without fear of successful contradiction that it has established itself. A letter in long hand in a modern business office is almost quaint, though not appreciated as such. In magazine offices it is by no means extinct, and probably a woman's magazine has more long-hand letters than other kinds, since more women write from homes than offices, and the typewriter is not yet thoroughly domesticated. In entering men's world of business women learned long ago, of course, to use men's weapons. But we can testify that the typewriter is steadily gaining in homes, too. Women engaged in any form of public activity find they need typewriters to make their work more efficient—to write their letters and their speeches, and to keep their records; above all, to save time. It's growing—and the *Citizen*, for reasons selfish and unselfish, wishes it speed.

Do You Know How To Eat?

HAVE you been reading the articles on diets by Dr. Alsop in the last few numbers of the *Citizen?* There was one to make you thin, one to fatten you, one to stop that tired feeling, and now in this issue there is one for general efficiency. These are the work of a woman doctor whose whole life is concerned with the health of women. We believe they are very valuable.

One never ceases to be amazed at the ignorance of us human beings about the most fundamental things in our physical lives. Wouldn't it seem reasonable that instruction in how to eat and why, how to breathe and stand and exercise, would have been drilled into all of us as the bedrock basis of our school training—if not earlier? It certainly hasn't been so—in the experience of most people of middle years. Now, thanks to the new health education—such as will be gathering together its representatives from all the world at San Francisco when this is read—the times are swiftly changing. In a generation or so, it is fair to assume, human beings will be able to tell for themselves what is good for them and will have formed habits which will make unwholesome eating as repulsive as other kinds of unwholesomeness. And further, a woman will not be a good housekeeper unless actual knowledge of food values is a part of her equipment. Meantime—here's Dr. Alsop's healthy help.

A World Good To Live In

MR. OWEN LOVEJOY, at a recent International Kiwanis Convention, framed a fine ideal for the action of any community or any organization that is interested to make the world a better place to live in.

A school for every child in America; adequate appropriations for teachers' salaries; a health service as broad as the community, whose main object shall be to keep people well rather than to heal their diseases; a Juvenile Court that shall be the gate of self-respecting opportunity to every child whose straying feet bring him to it; a system of playgrounds and parks for every city child; abolition of child labor in fields and factories, and a fraternal spirit in the business world which will convince the child of poor parents that you are his friends.

When one stops to think, how utterly incredible and monstrous it is that this ideal isn't already realized.

What the American Woman Thinks

Sisters-Across-the-Sea

By MRS. OLIVER STRACHEY

YOU have asked me to write my impressions of the woman's movement in America, and I am very glad to do so because I have for many years followed the facts published in the *Woman Citizen* with great interest.

My outstanding impression is that the woman's movement in America and the woman's movement in England are following almost identical lines.

In the old suffrage days of course the arguments and the general policy of the societies in the two countries were practically interchangeable, but I have supposed (until I saw that I was wrong) that with enfranchisement new and different problems would arise in the two countries. I do not think that this has taken place. The general tendency of legislation supported by women's societies in England is for welfare, and particularly children's welfare, and for freedom of opportunity for women. We work for Women Police; for the Independent Nationality of Married Women; for Equal Guardianship for Mother and Father; and for proper Laws of Inheritance: and you in America have exactly the same bills on your programs.

The similarity, I think, extends not only to the concrete measures worked for, but also to the spirit in which political problems are approached. I was much struck at the National Convention of the League of Women Voters with the emphasis put on political education and the need for waking up the average woman citizen to her civic responsibilities. We in England are much concerned with the same problem, but I confess that there is a difference here in that you seem to be much more effective and much b e t t e r equipped to carry on political education than we are. I think that a good deal more is done through the regular political parties, and that the amount left to be done by the women's organizations themselves is not perhaps so considerable in England as in the United States.

The problem of the position of women in employment, which is one that specially interests me in my own country, is, I think, a little different in America. In England we are still struggling with a mass of unemployment, and, in consequence, competition for every job is very keen. This tends to make the employment of women unpopular and in particular raises sharp prejudices against the employment of married women. In our civil service women are dismissed on marriage and the same is now true of the teachers employed by a large number of local authorities.

You, I understand, fought and won this battle some time ago, and certainly I was much struck by the large proportion of married women who appeared free to work if they so desired.

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No, Mrs. Strachey isn't an American woman. She is an English guest in the department, but one who has lived in both countries and has attended college in both. When she was here last spring, lecturing in connection with Lord Robert Cecil's mission, we asked her to do—what she does in this article. Mrs. Strachey was once Lady Astor's Political Manager, has "stood" for Parliament, and is now Political Secretary of the League of Nations Union.

In this respect, in fact, I think that you are distinctly further ahead than we and that the women of America have a greater measure of actual freedom to do what they like than is the case in England.

On the other hand, I believe that we are a little further ahead in our political position. It seems much less common in America for women to run for office either in municipal, state or federal positions, and as far as I can judge their positions within the parties are less responsible than is the case with us.

Balancing it out, however, I believe that the position of the woman's movement is about the same in both countries, and certainly the movement itself and the people who compose it are inspired by exactly identical ideals and are working toward exactly the same ends. I feel that this is a comforting thought and an encouraging one. When independent groups of people seeking for the good of their countries find themselves arriving at the same conclusions there seems to be some chance that their conclusions are right, and I feel therefore encouraged to bring back to England a message of new endeavor because of what I have seen of the woman's movement in the United States.

I cannot close this article without a reference to that greatest of all political problems, the problem of the maintenance of Peace. This question is dear to the hearts of women all over the world: it is, for us all, the most urgent and the most vital need of the day. In England, of course, our peace hopes are centered upon the effective development of the League of Nations, and the securing of a large measure of universal disarmament through its means. In America too, I think, peace and disarmament are prominent in the minds of all who make up the American movement. You are not united upon the League, and some of you talk of *A* League, or an Association of Nations to take the place of the thing which actually exists: but however we may differ as to methods, it is true that we are all at one in our aim. The sympathy of women is on the side of peace all over the world. And now that so many of us are enfranchised we ought to be able to achieve and to preserve it. We do at any rate try: and we must go on trying until we have succeeded.

On Her Way in Business

By HELEN WOODWARD

YOU ask me whether a woman suffers any disadvantage in business.

Naturally she does. How could it be otherwise when she is so new and unaccustomed a thing in business?

After all, it is the little matter of sex. There are occasionally more or less pleasant fictions in the business world that this little matter called sex does not exist, that business is business, etc. Business tries to follow along in the footsteps of the church, and sex does not count. When it does this, it foolishly bumps its head. There are men in whose minds there is always a disturbing element when they are dealing with women. They don't want that element in business hours because they are afraid it will obscure their business judgment. Such men are frequently rather rude toward women in office hours. There are women, too, whose minds are similarly preoccupied. Several of my customers once said to me of an attractive woman, "Don't send that woman to me any more. She vamps me every time she comes."

I must make it clear that I consider it immensely important for women to look as well as they can. A touch of skilfully applied rouge may be as important to a woman as a carefully shaved chin to a man, and a good dressmaker is as important to a woman as a good tailor to a man.

But before a woman can get any sort of responsible position in the business world, she must be able to talk to men with her mind completely absorbed in her subject. She must be able to throw her sex in the discard for the time being just as men do all the time in conducting business.

Then there are men—and if I seem always to be talking of men this and men that, it must be remembered that men still do have the running of things—there are men who have the highest opinion of women's abilities—who know that there are women who think straight, but who dare not employ women in many jobs because they know that other men do not agree with this high opinion.

Not long ago the vice president of a financial institution told me that he was having difficulty getting the right kind of men for a certain job. What job? Going around to various small banks in smaller cities and presenting a good proposition to them. "But why don't you take women? They could do the work."

"Of course they could. We could train them more quickly than men, but can you imagine the effect on a board of directors, if a woman appeared before them with a proposition of any kind, coming from a big bank in New York? They would think we were insulting them. It would make us ridiculous." And the strange thing about the matter is that it would have made them ridiculous. These boards, which still think it a gross breach of manners to smoke at a board meeting, would regard a woman in such a case with a tolerant and kindly amusement. They would be charming to her, and turn her proposition down with great politeness.

But if this woman coming to them had somehow made herself a reputation of power and ability in advance, they would listen to her as they would to a man.

Does a woman's physique stand in her way? It does. Unless she is most extraordinary, there are times when she is either positively ill, or merely nervous and wrought up. If the first, she loses valuable time. If the second, she offends people and loses her temper over trifles, gets to be fitful or hysterical or unreasonable. Yet the thing is nearly beyond her power to cure. She needs more rest and more relaxation than most men. Women's husbands and their friends all take it for granted that they can take charge of the household, hire maids, superintend the children's training, even when they are working regularly in offices. Yet in both these cases these women do more exacting and more difficult work than their husbands. And one said to me recently, "I can't ever seem tired when I get home. If I do, John is so mortified to think I have to work."

All women ought to stay at home at least three days a month. There are a number of large financial institutions in New York which make this a rule. And they have found it of inestimable benefit. But while it helps the women very much, it doesn't in the least offset their disadvantage. In certain creative work, such an absence is not necessarily serious. But in executive or routine work, it is a heavy handicap.

We seem to have been asking questions—both of these women accuse us, you see, in their opening sentences. Mrs. Woodward is herself a successful business woman—on the heights in the advertising field—and if you want to know more about her you can turn back to a whole story in the Citizen a couple of years ago.

Women know this, so that many a stenographer has sat pounding a typewriter when her back was ready to break and her head heavy with fever, and taken it all in the day's work. I cannot help registering a little of the pain a woman feels at the thought of the thousands of women who stand at machines or behind counters in such wretchedness as would send a man to bed and a doctor. Men are not intentionally cruel here. Women are such good actors that employers really often do not know.

It has been said to me often that women talk shop more than men—that the successful woman talks of her business more and takes it more seriously than men. This is nonsense. Women vary as do men. I know men who can think and talk of nothing but business. I know such women too.

It is my good fortune to know many business women, with some of whom I have luncheon nearly every day. We rarely talk shop, yet many of us are in business. It is good to know them. We talk the same language, but there is so much to talk about—so much is happening in the world, there are so many new books, such lovely new clothes, such nice children, such beautiful places, such bad scores at golf, such good jokes.

For myself, I never give a thought to my business after I step out of my office. There are perhaps some of my customers who will feel sad as they read this, but I feel that business can only be well done by me in spurts of intense concentration with rests and complete relaxation between. And most of the successful women whom I know, do likewise.

They have all gone through apprenticeships that demanded long, tiresome hours, but even then, they did not find business all absorbing. I do not like any one in my employ to take a course at night in the work they are doing by day. What freshness of thought can be given to work from such a stale mind? But this too intense application to business is not usually one of women's handicaps. Alas, we know only too many stenographers who lean the other way.

The way for women is growing easier. Thirty years ago all I have said above applied to the stenographer. Now the woman stenographer's way is smoothed. There are no obstacles except deficient education to her being a good and well-paid stenographer. She ought to think with amazement and gratitude of the derided and shorthaired first woman stenographer in New York.

But it is the way beyond the stenographer that is hardest, where the handicaps still exist, and where no doubt they will grow less. Within my own experience I can see them rolling away before the professional woman. If it happens that she hasn't exceptional initiative, she'll remain a stenographer till she dies or till she marries.

When you take a young man into your office, you take it for granted that he will want to learn the business or at least that part of it for which he is fitted. You will perhaps make some effort to find out for what part he is fitted. You will tell him things now and then. You will probably not teach him as well as you should, but you will make a bit of an effort. Would it enter your head to do the same thing for your stenographer? She's bright and quick. She might understand that difficult and involved business that takes all your heaviest frowns. Of course it isn't all your fault that your stenographer isn't fitted for your business. Nobody—herself least of all—thought of finding her a business in which she could really advance.

Business, provided it doesn't ruin a woman's health, is tremendously good for her. It sharpens her method of thought. She has to learn to think straight or she will meet ridicule or failure. The polite social assumption that a woman must not be argued with is deadly for the woman in business. Work—make that assumption impossible.

The Woman Voter

(This four-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.)

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The Triumphant Sheppard-Towner Law

THE Sheppard-Towner law is safe. Two suits were brought, one by Massachusetts and the other by a taxpayer, to determine the constitutionality of the law, and both were dismissed by the Supreme Court of the United States in a decision handed down June 4, "for want of jurisdiction without considering the constitutional question."

The decision, which was unanimous, points out that the Supreme Court has no "power *per se* to review and annul acts of Congress on the ground that they are unconstitutional. That question may be considered only when the justification for some direct injury . . . is made to rest on such an act."

The court adds that the person complaining of a law made by Congress "must be able to show not only that the statute" is invalid but that he has sustained, or is immediately in danger of sustaining, some direct injury as the result of its enforcement. "The court declares that Massachusetts has suffered no such injury, pointing out that the powers of the state are not invaded, since the statute imposes no obligation but simply extends an option which the state is free to accept or reject."

Since no state is obliged to accept the provisions of the law, says the court, its rights are not invaded; and as to the "burden imposed on states unequally," there is no burden unless it be taxation, and Congress has the right to impose taxes. If Congress made the law to tempt states to yield by accepting, the court points out that any state can foil Congress "by not yielding."

The court, the decision proceeds, has never passed on a taxpayer's right to bring such a suit. If one taxpayer could do it, every other one could, in regard to every single federal appropriation and "the bare suggestion of such a result with its attendant inconveniences, goes far to sustain the conclusion which we have reached that a suit of this character" (that of Mrs. Harriet Frothingham, the taxpayer, of Boston) "cannot be maintained."

The Government and Politics Institute

FOR more than one reason the Institute of Government and Politics which will begin at Columbia University July 14 and continue till July 27, will be of exceptional quality. Schools of much the same kind, ranging in their curricula from primary instruction to university standards, have been held in many places in many states, but each of these schools was carried on under the auspices of a state or a local League. The institute at Columbia is the first teaching enterprise which a department of the National League has planned and carried out in co-operation, or as Columbia herself says, in "conjunction with," a great university. The Department of Efficiency in Government, which Miss Belle Sherwin, National League first vice-president, heads, is sponsor for the institute.

This institute is, moreover, the first of its kind to which local and state Leagues have offered scholarships. Iowa alone will send two scholarship winners, and a third comes from the same state, as winner of the scholarship offered by a publisher who declares the National League was "sold" to him at the great Des Moines convention mass meeting.

The course was designed primarily for League women and adapted in subject matter to League needs, but is equally valuable to all persons who are interested in good government. League scholarship students will be expected to give out again what Columbia gives them, as teachers of the subjects included in Miss Sherwin's department.

The course as outlined divides itself into four parts. In the first, insistent problems in popular government will be treated in ten lectures on Social Progress and the Constitution; the Direct Primary; Federal Aid to States; State and County Reorganization, and Control Over Foreign Relations. The second part (Efficient Law Making) will consist of eight lectures and two round tables on Selection of Members of the Legislature; Composition of Legislative Bodies; Procedure within Legislatures, and Staff Agencies. "City Government" is the topic of the third part which will deal with various kinds of city government and with municipal problems. For the fourth part of the course (Aids to Efficient Government) two round tables and six lectures have been provided. The rest of the round tables will be under the direction of Professor Raymond Moley, of Barnard College, and will discuss the most effective methods of teaching others to teach. Members of the Columbia faculty, with representatives from the Municipal League, the Institute of Public Administration, and the Proportional Representation League will make up the teaching staff.

At National Headquarters

"THE nearer we are to a generation the more confidence we have in that generation, and it in us."

It was the hottest of Washington June days when Miss Elizabeth Ashe, of San Francisco, visiting headquarters, announced in this wise her belief that workers in her Neighborhood Association on Telegraph Hill—hers because she organized the settlement and has worked in it twenty years—must be contemporaries of the young mothers they serve. Headquarters staff wanted to argue the question, but Miss Ashe reminded headquarters staff coolly (and it was a day when anything cool was a boon) that everybody except a few determined-not-to-see mothers knows that a girl chooses her chum and not her mother for confidante and that she will take the advice of somebody of her own generation before she will the wisdom of forty years.

Miss Ashe is sure of it and is neither shocked by it nor convinced that "something ought to be done about it." Many of the mothers the San Francisco Neighborhood Association (1736 Stockton Street) has dealt with in its thirty-two years of existence—it is one of the very oldest organizations of its kind in the country—are Italian, or Spanish, or of some other early-maturing nation and often no older than sixteen when they need informed advice and the help of the child-welfare center. Miss Ashe thinks the advising somebody ought to be as young as possible. She told her board of

directors so when she came home from France where she managed the nurses of the Red Cross children's bureau for two war years, and there are now young workers in the center, but it is not to be believed that any woman of any age would not prefer Miss Ashe to anybody else of any age.

She reminded headquarters staff of a ripe apple, not only because an apple is rosy of cheek, but because a ripe apple is the most wholesome thing in the world. It would be impossible to be jazz-minded if chemists could only give us the scent of rosy ripe apples, and Miss Ashe suggests all the apple qualities.

It was in her center that Mrs. Park lived when she was in San Francisco, and headquarters staff knows now one reason why Mrs. Park likes to recall her life there. It was after Mrs. Park's time there that Miss Ashe made the great discovery, which Mrs. Park would have delighted in, that one Ford equals one visiting nurse. That is to say, one visiting nurse does the work of two when there is a Ford to use as there is at the San Francisco settlement. The drudgery of making a visit, with heavy bags to carry, is transformed into a lark by a Ford. Children can be carried to Golden Gate Park and dumped down in a supervised playground while the nurse goes on to a visit ("I've never been in an auto before, never once!" they shout delightedly); nurses can visit as far afield as the Presidio; they can take the air on the country road; best of all, perhaps, the sick child who must have hospital treatment need not go in an ambulance, which is the loneliest, the most forsaken vehicle in which living human being ever rides.

All this is not meant to advertise the Ford. A Rolls-Royce would do as well. Miss Ashe advises welfare centers, as a matter of spiritual uplift as well as bodily convenience, to choose two visiting nurses and one automobile instead of three nurses and the street-car when choice must be made.

Miss Ashe recommends, also, the community chest for all cities, and every objection ever made to the idea of raising money for all the charities of a town at once and dispensing it through a manager, was presented to her. She answered each of them. In San Francisco ninety-two organizations for charity went into the chest campaign, and the amount raised, if one recalls it correctly, was $150,000 more than the sum fixed on. Every giver was free to designate the charity to which he wished his gift devoted. There was not a "hold-up" in the drive—and one big drive has taken the place of all the smaller for this-and-that-drives of a year in San Francisco—except that once or twice a bank or commercial enterprise was allowed to know that its neighbor had a one-hundred per cent. record of subscribers. Each institution or organization received the amount agreed upon beforehand. The community chest is the only scientific and satisfactory way, Miss Ashe declares, of providing funds for necessary welfare and charity work, and if you doubt it you can discover how mistaken you are by writing to her. She will explain things with the enthusiasm characteristic of a native Californian and the exactness the Presbyterian Hospital of New York drills into the young women who are graduated, as she was, from its school of nursing.

Miss Josefa Llames, of Manila, came to headquarters on her way back from the Y. W. C. A. conference for college girls in North Carolina to the School of Social Work in New York, because when she returns to the Philippines, a year and a half from now, she wishes to be able to explain the League to the Philippine women who are only just beginning to be interested in voting. All this Miss Llames told headquarters staff in a voice halfway between a flute's and a mourning dove's, her delicately articulated English falling from her pretty mouth like the pearls from the mouth of the princess in the fairy tale. Headquarters staff, instantly feeling cast for the part of the wicked sister and concealing as much as might be, the national misfortune of its voice, put questions to her and heard a delightful story.

Miss Llames, like other Philippine girls of the upper class, received her early education in a convent near her home. Then she wished to attend the high school the Americans had established in the capital of her province and her friends objected. Her parents, however, granted her wish. They were willing to "make an experiment," they said, so to high school she went. After that, she was graduated from a normal school and entered the University of the Philippines, in Manila. Her mother went with her to Manila and stayed with her until she obtained her degree.

In Manila, Miss Llames explains, the Red Cross has absorbed the charities association, because business depression has made local funds impossible to obtain. She presently won the Red Cross scholarship at the School of Social Work in New York.

"Must I go to New York, too?" she quotes her mother as saying when the scholarship was announced, and headquarters staff could picture a courageous little gentlewoman—she could be two feet taller than Miss Josefa without much passing middle height—determined to follow her daughter anywhere if she must. Miss Josefa did not ask the sacrifice. She came to New York alone last January. When she goes home she will do social work and she hopes to win a Master's degree at Columbia University before that time. She will study in the two schools this summer and if her work will allow it, she wishes to attend the League school of Politics and Government, also.

Headquarters staff, seeing her trim American frock and modish hat, asked with apprehension whether she means to dress that way when she goes home, and was reassured. Miss Llames loves her Philippine dresses. Indeed, she wore them at the conference in North Carolina, one wide-sleeved, trained gown of white *pina* cloth, embroidered, and another, cut in the same fashion, which the friendly girls she met called her "peacock dress" because of its gorgeous embroidery. Miss Llames is equally fond of the English she learned in school and university, but of course Spanish is pleasant to speak, too, and everybody in the University must take a course in it because the older folk do not speak the language of the Americans. Neither does Miss Josefa, though she thinks she does, not perceiving the pearls and the wicked sister's differing accent.

Headquarters staff might have heard that lovely voice weeks sooner, for its owner came to Washington to the Conference of Social Work and passed the door every day. Headquarters staff did not even see her then and if it had it would have supposed her some little girl brought along, not a woman of the stamp of Madame De Veyra who charmed everybody at the Pan American Conference last year.

"We are very proud of Madame De Veyra in my home," Miss Josefa said, and headquarters staff knows perfectly well that the Philippine Islands are quite as proud of Miss Josefa Llames.

Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham represented the National League at the conference of the American Legion's Americanization commission, June 14 and 15, when standardization of the various codes for the use of the flag was the business of the gathering. Mrs. Cunningham is a native of a republic which was annexed to the United States at its own request, and in which the code governing the Lone Star Flag and the Stars and Stripes is perfectly understood. Because it was a republic, not a territory, when admitted to the Union, Texas is entitled to fly the Lone Star from its Capitol. It was Mrs. Cunningham, not the decorator, who knew how the two large American flags which League headquarters displayed during the Shriners' convention should be hung.

The Up-and-Coming El Paso League

THE El Paso (Texas) League has its preparations all made to celebrate the Fourth of July with an entertainment which will give Independence Day the added title of Citizenship Day. In the evening, new citizens—newcomers, the newly arrived at one-and-twenty, and the lately naturalized—have been asked to come to Cleveland Square where they will be given a special welcome and listen to

a program arranged by Mrs. R. D. Bowdell, chairman of the League's Americanization committee, in their honor. Last year, when the great day was made additionally memorable in a similar way, more than 2000 people were present to welcome the new citizens.

On May 16, when El Paso celebrated a golden jubilee anniversary, the El Paso League contributed to the historical parade one of the most, if not the most, attractive floats in the procession. Uncle Sam in traditional blue coat and striped trousers, drove it. Greenery, yellow bunting, and quantities of old-fashioned paper nosegays, lace trimmed, covered the sides and wheels, and on the platform of the float was a stairway leading up to a throne on which sat Modern Woman represented by Mrs. O. A. Critchett. At the very bottom of the stairs was a white-robed seated figure, manacled and blindfolded, representing Woman of another day (Mrs. Robert M. Barton). On the stairs facing her stood the women who have brought her up from serfdom to the throne: Lucy Stone (Mrs. Tom Beaston); Sarah M. Grimke (Dr. Ida Bishop); Elizabeth Cady Stanton (Mrs. L. L. Mundy); Susan B. Anthony (Mrs. H. C. Greer); Dr. Anna Howard Shaw (Mrs. Joe Saulsberry), and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt M(rs. Marie Browning), who had a ballot box beside her and held aloft a ballot.

The float was lighted by electric lights, and everybody applauded it as it passed. Mrs. R. H. Carrington was general chairman for the parade float and helped find the delightful old-fashioned gowns—some of them precious heirlooms brought to Texas many years ago—which the elder-day suffragists on the symbolic steps wore.

Mr. Orton and Mr. Morgan

IF the world these days were less full of a number of things, no doubt, "Why did Mr. Morgan and Mr. Orton vote in the negative?" would exercise us as much as "Who struck Billy Patterson?" did our grandfathers. Maude G. Smalley, in the current number of the *Ohio Woman Voter*, gives her annual report as legislative chairman, with details of the work done for every bill the League favored. Everybody in house and senate voted for the Vorys-Garver bill relating to illegitimate children, except a Mr. Morgan. Again, when a bill for the disposal of neglected and dependent children came up, a Mr. Orton voted against it In all the voting the report describes, these are the only instances in which the vote on either side was just one. The acceptance of the Sheppard-Towner Act went through with two votes in the house objecting, and no nays in the senate; equal guardianship passed both houses unanimously; a measure providing for physical education triumphed in the same way; a bill attempting destructive changes in child-labor and school-attendance laws drew out six nays from the house and six from the senate. The minimum wage commission was provided for by a somewhat close vote, but never on any question was there ever a time when one man, one man only, was recorded on his side of a question, except when a Mr. Orton voted nay, and once again when a Mr. Morgan voted nay.

Outsiders can not with propriety express opinion in the matter. It may be that Mr. Orton and Mr. Morgan always vote nay. They may be men who like to have it known that they can say no. It may possibly be that voting nay when everybody else votes aye gives each of them the kind of thrill the leader of a forlorn hope, or a gentleman with his name in the headlines gets. Nobody who has not been to the Ohio State House can ever know. Why did Mr. Morgan vote nay? Why did Mr. Orton vote nay? And is either of them as happy about it as he was before the lists of ayes and noes was given to the Ohio League in convention?

Members of the League everywhere are asked to make note of the fact that all League publications can be obtained at National Headquarters. Pamphlets which are not published there will be ordered by telegraph when immediate delivery is desired.

With Leagues and League Women

THE weekly radio programs of the Ohio League, broadcast from Columbus, began on the twelfth with an address by Miss Juliette Sessions, state president, "What Are Women Doing with the Vote." The subtle letter Miss Olga Jones, editor of the *Ohio Woman Voter*, sent out notifying the 12,000 members of the League that they were to listen in, suggested that they "might occasionally like to have their programs on a Tuesday afternoon and conclude by having an address by a state speaker for whom they would not even have to pay the expense of entertaining." It is not hard to guess whether local Leagues will choose Tuesday afternoon for meetings, hereafter. Tuesday is exactly the right day for meetings, anyway, and there will not be found League women in Ohio to deny it. When Miss Sessions finished her address, they say she asked, "Do you suppose anybody was listening?" There is an uncanny feeling about speaking to an unseen audience, people who have tried it say, but Ohio women are in the habit of listening when Miss Sessions speaks and it is certain that not only "anybodys" but a great many somebodies were harking to her radio-d voice. Mrs. Dora Sandoe Bachman, chairman of the social hygiene committee, spoke on June 26. Miss Jones herself was the speaker on July 3, Miss Maude G. Smalley, chairman of the Legislative committee of the Ohio League, spoke on July 10, and on Wednesday, June 20, Justice Florence Allen's clear voice sent out by radio her great message on outlawing war.

MRS. PARKER MADDUX, president of the San Francisco center, who has said so many happy things about the League, has invented now the term "next-steppers" to describe members of the League.

"Some women," says she, "are 'high-steppers' and can vault almost any hurdle to success, but the average woman is a 'next-stepper' and must see just where she is going."

She believes that League "next-steppers" will make work to popularize the World Court idea their next move, and San Francisco women will study the documents of the protocol of that court, the League of Nations and the plans to outlaw war. Small study classes are to be formed and California women are determined on a successful campaign for clear information on every step toward the League ideal of international friendliness and co-operation.

THE North Carolina League sends out from its Greensboro headquarters, the *Monthly News*, of which the first issue bore the May date. It is a 7x14 sheet folded twice cross-wise, so that seven pages are given for reading matter. The opening article is "What the State Board of Public Welfare Does for North Carolina," by Kate Burr Johnson, Commissioner of Public Welfare, one of the few women in the country to head such a department. Mary O. Cowper contributes a résumé of plans for securing permanent peace, and there is news of the Wake County League, the Macon County League, the Mecklenburg County League, which has four members on the county Democratic executive committee, and interesting and brief papers by Mrs. C. W. Tillett, Jr., and Gertrude Weil. A pecan is not closer packed with meat than the new magazine with things worth reading.

WINTHOP COLLEGE, the state college for women at Rock Hill, South Carolina, is the latest institution to fall into line with a college League. It was organized at the request of the president of the college, by Mrs. Annie Gaines Williams, president of the South Carolina League, and has two hundred and twenty-five members, with Miss Elizabeth McClure at their head. Mrs. Williams wishes to know more about college Leagues, how many there are, what their organization, program, and work are and exactly what they are doing to interest prospective voters in League ideals of citizenship. Her address is Greenwood, South Carolina.

WHEN Mrs. Shockley, the new director of the seventh region, made her first trip through her "territory," one of the places in which she spoke was the home of Mrs. A. A. Widtsoe, one of the interesting women from Salt Lake whom many women will recall talking with at the Des Moines convention. Some of those women will recall, too, a treasure Mrs. Widtsoe had with her—a photograph of women of four generations of her family each of whom voted, for the first time, not in 1920 or in any other one year all together, but in the year when each reached twenty-one. The four women were her daughter, herself, her mother, and her grandmother.

THE *Bulletin* of the Illinois League is publishing a serial "Know Your Own Town" questionnaire. An early installment was given up to questions on history and population, and the May list concerned homes and cost of living. It might be interesting to know how many women anywhere can answer, off-hand, such questions as, "Does any agency teach how to make family budgets?" "Are prices of milk fixed by the government?", "Are there women market commissioners or food inspectors?" and "Do women hold any other positions having to do with living costs?"

IN PORTLAND (Oregon) a special school election was held June 16, at which time a bond issue was voted on, and no Portlander had any real reason to say that she did not know the pros and cons of the bond issue well enough to vote on them. The Portland League held a forum, as its custom is, before election, at which one man presented the arguments for the large bond, while another presented the arguments against its issue. Everybody was not only invited to come but to express views and ask questions.

MISS ELIZABETH HAUSER'S home town League had a dinner meeting on the first of June, with one hundred women and twenty-six men present, and Miss Hauser gave a talk on the Des Moines Convention. When she had finished, she brought out a bushel-basket full of—members reading this aloud will possibly care to pause here and let the hearers guess what. It will take more than three guesses to hit upon the bushel of newspaper clippings about the convention, which Miss Hauser exhibited.

"INTERESTING as any book" a woman who heard it says of the talk Mrs. Harry Hunt, of Niantic, gave to the convention of the Hartford (Connecticut) League at Manchester, in May. Mrs. Hunt has been connected with the State Farm for Women for a number of years and her address, "The Moral Problem in a Small Town," was based on the history of many inmates of the institution. The eight county conventions to bring League women of Connecticut together were expected to have a total attendance of more than a thousand delegates.

WHEN the United League of Rhode Island had its birthday party last month, registration for the course in Americanization work under Mrs. Althea M. Jencks, was begun. When registration ended on May 22, twenty-five League women were enrolled members of a semi-weekly study-class, with the idea of equipping themselves to set their own houses in order, as Mrs. Jencks says, and to make friendly acquaintance with foreign-born house-mothers and daughters, so that Americanization may be carried out successfully but without a trace of patronage or formality. The course is complete in twelve lessons and every woman who registered for it agreed to keep the friendly work going for a year.

THE Indiana League has already made plans to exhibit "Know Your Own County" posters and other educational material at county fairs next fall, and in December will work with the American Legion on Americanization. Next January and February the League will occupy itself with schools of politics and citizenship, with mass meetings on law enforcement, and round table discussions of means of preventing war. Before the next annual convention the League will co-operate with the American Bar Association in teaching the principles of constitutional government.

"I LOOK forward to the day when the rules . . . accepted as universal law will declare all wars of aggression to be criminal violations of the law of nations, . . . the time when the refusal of any nation proposing war, to submit to an impartial court the decision of the question whether facts exist to justify it in war upon defensive grounds, will be deemed a confession of guilt."

This is a bit from the speech Elihu Root made before the International Law Association at Washington, and is printed in the May 25 number of the *Weekly News* (New York League) with "The First Step" by John Foster Dulles, the first step being, of course, a Supreme Court of Nations.

AT its May meeting, in New Albany, with the president, Miss Blanche Rogers, in the chair, the Union County (Mississippi) League discussed the professional juror, planning to ask candidates for supervisor to pledge themselves if elected, to submit the names of men of the highest type for jury service. The Greenwood League of the same state has had no less than four candidates for governor address its meetings, and the Jackson League has had all the candidates for that office come and speak out.

"WOMEN should not be elected just because they are women. . . . Where there are women who can contribute anything sound and progressive to government or public welfare, let us work for their election, but it is idle to demand their election because of their sex. If a suitable woman is elected, neither she nor anyone else should ever assert that she represents the women, organized or unorganized, of her district. She represents all the people."—MARTHA G. THOMAS, *Member Pennsylvania Legislature.*

THE various employers' associations of Oregon have been adopting resolutions addressed to the Industrial Welfare Commission, setting forth their approval of the Oregon Minimum Wage Law, and their intention to observe all its requirements. They mean, also, to pledge all their members not to enter any test case brought against the law. This is the good news Mrs. Millie Trumbull, chairman of the Women in Industry Committee of the Oregon League, sends to the National League, and she is very glad indeed to be able to send it.

MINNEHAHA League (Sioux Falls, South Dakota) has varied the rummage sale idea by selling salesmanship instead of left-overs. In the last week of May, thirty League members acted as saleswomen in one of the city's department stores, receiving a percentage on the sales they made. The plan was first tried last year when in one day the percentages amounted to more than a hundred dollars.

THE New Haven (Connecticut) League has been holding a successful exhibition and sale of products of "cottage industries," which include hooked rugs, landscape rugs from Canada, pottery from Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina, blue and white coverlets, and many other delightful things which are bringing a little of the work of women out of the factory and back into the home where it began.

JULY 16 and 17 have been selected by the authorities of the University of Delaware as the dates for a school of citizenship under the auspices of the Delaware League.

THE Virginia League added to itself four new local Leagues in a month during the spring, one at Portsmouth, one at Craddock, a third at Virginia Beach, and the fourth at South Norfolk.

World News About Women

What Do Your Clothes Cost?

HOW much a woman should spend for clothes in proportion to her income is a vital question. Of course no hard and fast rules can be set, because individual circumstances affect individual cases, but more thought is continually being given to budgeting clothes expenditures. The day may come when courses in retail buying will be offered in the schools to supplement those in retail selling—and the purchaser and the store will both reap the benefit.

A very interesting investigation along this line has just been made by R. H. Macy and Company, New York. They studied the clothes expenditures of hundreds of women, and worked out clothes budgets for the woman spending $200, $300, $500, $750, $1,000, and $1,500 a year. The figures are illuminating. With $200 a year to spend on clothes—the minimum, according to this estimate, on which a business woman can look well—$108.53 should go for outer garments, $36.89 for undergarments, $12.46 for hats, $20.83 for shoes, $9.39 for accessories and $11.90 on miscellaneous items. The same woman finding herself with $1,500 a year for clothes should spend $911.49 for outer garments, $215.39 for undergarments, $102.06 for hats, $74.92 for shoes, $53.80 for accessories and $142.34 for miscellaneous.

The report goes on to say that the young business woman must spend more for her clothes than her married sister—part of her stock in trade being a smart, trim appearance. In the tables drawn up they have explained this by apportioning the total expenditures differently. For instance, with a business woman and a home woman both spending $200 a year for clothes, the first should put out $108.53 for outer garments, the latter only $99.15; with shoes and miscellaneous items the order is reversed.

In Support of the Minimum Wage

FOR some reason, though we announced, we failed to report, the conference on the Minimum Wage Law which was held last month in Washington under the auspices of the National Women's Trade Union League. There were present at that conference, which followed the Supreme Court's decision declaring unconstitutional the Minimum Wage Law in the District of Columbia, representatives of twenty-seven bodies—including trade unions, churches and a number of women's organizations. One of the points particularly stressed was the importance of labor organizations among women as a means to their protection.

A committee of three was appointed at the conference to organize a joint committee which would draw up a program of action to be reported back to the delegates next fall.

The discussions carried on during the conference brought out evidence that the Supreme Court's decision has had immediate consequence. Maids in hotels in the District of Columbia have had their wages reduced—to as little as $8.00 or $9.00 a week, while waitresses in one large hotel were cut to $6.00.

Women Lawyers to Meet

THE Women Lawyers' Association, organized for more than twenty-five years, is expanding. It now has vice-presidents in thirty-two states, and plans perfected for state councils with these vice-presidents serving as chairmen. This will make it an active national organization. On August 28 the first annual meeting of this broader Association will be held in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The speakers are worth listing; they will be: Emelia Bullows, president of the Association, Ellen Spencer Mussey, founder of the Washington College of Law, with whom *Citizen* readers are familiar, Virginia Blythe of Minneapolis, Esther Antinni of Cleveland, Ohio, Lilla Day Monroe of Topeka, Kansas, Marion Weston Cottle of Boston, and Mrs. E. Jean Nelson of Penfield.

Anti-Billboards

"DOWN with the billboard," is the cry of the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs. "The most beautiful highways are being spoiled by huge billboards and the women are going to stop it." A campaign was carried on at Glens Falls, as a result of which over seventy local signs are coming off the boards, thirty boards actually coming down, and seventy new signs are not going out. Inspired by this success, the state Federation is taking up the battle, and calling upon all women to help by bombarding the advertisers with letters expressing the unpopularity of billboards. It is hoped the movement will spread from State Federation to State Federation.

Women Receive Honors

IT was two women who were first in their class at New York University's 1923 graduation. Miss Catherine Chadwick Noyes won first honors in law, and Miss Ella Hediger first honors in the class in medicine.

A New Remedy

DR. LOUISE PEARCE, graduate of Johns Hopkins and for ten years a member of the staff of the Rockefeller Institute, has discovered a remedy for paresis and sleeping sickness. Dr. Pearce has taken this new drug to the Belgian Congo, where for four months she successfully treated the disease.

A Girl Umpire

GIRL basketball coaches, girl sprinters, girl champion swimmers—now girl umpires. Miss Nina Belle Hurst is the first woman umpire to be admitted to the staff of the Southern California Baseball Managers' Association. Requests for her services have flooded the Association since her admission, because—it is said—she is such an excellent arbiter and makes fewer mistakes than the average male umpire.

Never Too Late to Learn

GRANDMOTHERS in college? Certainly. Mrs. Sarah Shoemaker Farley has just been given the degree of Bachelor of Science in Botany, School of Agriculture, Pennsylvania State College. Her two sons are both college graduates, and she counts to her credit twelve grandchildren. Nor did she hold the honors alone: Mrs. Susan A. Porterfield—whose sons are also college graduates—was granted the Bachelor of Arts degree in modern languages by the same college.

Club Help to Motorists

THE Women's City Club of Boston has had a happy thought. Another one. Some time ago it got out a pamphlet "Guide to Shops and Service." Its present inspiration, very attractively carried out, is "Where to Stop Along New England Motor Trails." It is a booklet, with a competent map of New England on the cover, made up of neat little paragraphs of information—a bit of history; a special sightseeing item, and the inns, gift shops and tea rooms passed by the Club's Committee of Censors. It is planned to answer the questions you ask in touring—for a good lobster stew, a perfect cup of tea, or real antiques.

New Offices

MRS. ALONZO RICHARDSON has just been twice honored. She is now president of the Atlanta Woman's Club, succeeding Mrs. Basil Manly Boykin, and also president of the Atlanta Better Films Committee. Mrs. Richardson has ably served as second vice president of the Atlanta Woman's Club, president of the Fifth District Federa-

tion (a subdivision of the Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs), chairman of the Division of Citizenship Training in the General Federation.

Dr. Fannie Fern Andrews

MRS. FANNIE FERN ANDREWS, who has written a number of books on world relations and has a long list of prominent positions to her credit—among them vice president of the League to Enforce Peace, secretary of the American School Citizenship League, and representative of the United States Bureau of Education at Paris during the Peace Conference—received the degree of Ph. D. in International Law and Diplomacy from Radcliffe College at Commencement on June 20. Mrs. Andrews's thesis was on "The Mandatory System after the World War."

Mrs. Andrews is on the program of the World Conference on Education in San Francisco (June 28 to July 6).

Echoes from Rome

WE have to admit that the long-distance telephone betrayed us—and eat our words. We thought Mrs. Catt told us she would write an article about the action of the Rome Suffrage Congress. What she was saying over that uncertain medium was that she would give us some material from the Congress. That material was a full set of the resolutions, for reference, and the publication of details from time to time. We are sorry to have misled our readers, but of course this announcement doesn't mean there will be no more articles by Mrs. Catt.

Perhaps it will be of interest to have in full the resolution on Woman Suffrage which was laid before Premier Mussolini at the conclusion of the great suffrage procession. It heads the list:

"Whereas, women are now enfranchised on equal terms with men in 25 nations with unquestioned advantage to the men, the women and the nations concerned, therefore be it

"Resolved—That we the delegates of 43 nations met in the IX Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance at Rome, Italy, May 11-19, 1923, instruct our official Board to inform all unenfranchised self-governing States of this fact and to urge the enfranchisement of these women in order that "governments of people" may everywhere include *all* the people."

Second was the long resolution on International Relations, summed up last time in Miss Shuler's article, and third was the expression of desire that the League of Nations should secure the adhesion of *all* countries to the League of Nations.

Two other important resolutions show how much more than a Suffrage Congress such a world meeting of women now is. One is—

"Resolved—That the Conference of Enfranchised Women recommend to the Congress that a Committee be appointed by the new Board, the members to include representatives of Great Britain, Germany, Holland, the Scandinavian nations, the U. S. A. and any others directly interested, for the purpose of considering methods of securing more women in the Parliaments of their respective countries."

And one on "Civil Codes" expressed the demand for full equality, felt the world over:

"That the Enfranchised and Unenfranchised Women resolve to unite to secure the repeal of the last vestige of those outworn codes of law that for many centuries have placed women in an interior status."

Besides these and others passed by the general Congress, there were resolutions resulting from the work of four standing committees, reported in the last issue. Speak up if you want the text of any one.

Elizabeth Toombs

WITH deep regret we record the death, on June 14, of Miss Elizabeth O. Toombs, of *Good Housekeeping's* editorial staff. Miss Toombs was a specialist in the activities of modern organized women, and reported them with fine intelligence and sympathy. She was vice chairman of Publicity of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and prominent at Federation conventions, including the Council meeting in Atlanta only last May. Her death is a real loss not only to her magazine and to the Federation, but to the woman movement.

"How Not to See"

(*Continued from page* 10)

one pair of ankles drenched in sea water when passing from boat to ship, one jammed heel, one sprained finger, seven starseeing bumps on my head and an innumerable array of black and blue spots of varying sizes and shades. I have been fortunate. Those contemplating such a trip should take courses in athletics and first aid to the injured.

Trinidad is a veritable Garden of Eden with its breadfruit, cocoanuts, bamboo and papayas, with its wonderful great trees and brilliant luxuriant flowers. Think of cows sedately browsing in mahogany groves, small boys playing with cocoanuts for balls, bouquets of coffee flowers and wild orchids, great orchards of cocoa trees hung full of the fruit, waterfalls, little brooks, brilliant wild flowers, birds of gay plumage and lastly a marvellous tropical botanical garden—this is Trinidad, one of the gems of "the ocean." And here ended our visit to South America. Summer clothing was soon laid away and warm garments long in disuse, wrinkled and mussed, took their places and we were en route to the world we knew. So different from that world is the continent we have seen that it might have been located in Mars—a continent with an adventurous past, where freebooters, Conquistadores and Catholic missionaries were the chief characters; a present wherein an unknown new race shows signs both "going and coming" and a future that may dominate the world.

Washington

(*Continued from page* 8)

the radio stations of Alaska of which there is one at every important town; operates a naval patrol along its coasts, mines coal from its naval coal reserves, and has an immense naval oil reserve over which it exercises jurisdiction.

The Treasury Department has likewise a heterogeneous variety of functions to perform in Alaska, including the collection of its customs, the guarding of its coasts from smuggling, through the Revenue Cutter Service and its Coast Guard Patrol, the collection of Federal taxes, the construction and custody of its public buildings, the supervision of its national banks, the registry of ships, the maintenance of quarantine stations and hospitals, and the protection of its public health.

The Department of Justice maintains courts in four judicial districts with marshals to arrest violators of the Federal and criminal laws and to bring them into courts for trials, its legal machinery including the custody of jails and court houses of the Territory.

The Department of Labor has charge of immigration in Alaska.

The Post Office Department operates the mail service, postal routes and post offices.

The State Department has jurisdiction over the foreign consuls and international boundary surveys.

The Federal Water Power Commission functions upon all water-power rights in Alaska.

The Shipping Board controls steamship rates.

The Interstate Commerce Commission regulates railroad rates.

Every Department of the Government has sent President Harding a detailed report. He, therefore, took on the train a complete budget from which he has outlined the problem as follows:

Whether the complete jurisdiction over the whole of Alaska shall be vested in a single department of the Government.

Whether a colonization and immigration plan shall be immediately put into effect to increase its population and begin the ultimate development of its resources.

Whether there shall be built up a corps of trained men with headquarters in Alaska to search out and report regularly upon the mineral resources of the Territory.

Whether branch lines and spurs to the Alaska Railroad shall be constructed to bring it into fuller usefulness in meeting industrial needs.

Whether there shall be more liberal

appropriations for the building of roads and trails in the interior of Alaska, a regular appropriation of $1,500,000 annually being asked.

Whether the fishing industry, threatened with extinction by reckless exploitation, is to be wholly checked and regulated through the vesting of supreme power to control it in the Department of Commerce instead of the present divided authority permitting the state governments bordering upon the continental coast to exercise jurisdiction.

Whether the Government is to eliminate the dangers of navigation along the coast of Alaska by providing a sufficient number of lights and other warnings to navigators.

Whether steps are to be taken to further protect the seals, which have increased under Government regulation but are being destroyed by whales and other sea animals through lack of proper protection.

Whether all law-enforcing agencies in the territory shall be consolidated under the Department of Justice.

Whether the mining and land laws of Alaska shall be liberalized to meet distinctive and divergent conditions in Alaska and to encourage settlement.

Whether improved facilities for travel and commerce to Alaska shall be put into effect by placing vessels of the United States Shipping Board into the Alaskan Service.

Whether an administrative building or territorial capitol shall be erected by the Government to house the various governmental officials and agencies.

Whether tourists' roads shall be constructed into the National Parks of Alaska, which include Mount McKinley Park and Mount Katmai Park.

Whether a new game law shall be enacted covering the territory of Alaska that will secure conservation of its wild animal life.

Whether an allotment of a percentage of the revenue derived from the Pribilof Islands located in Alaskan waters shall be made to the general fund of the territory.

Governor Bone, who will act as host to President Harding and his party, is just as much prepared for the submission of the problem as the President is to attack it. His budget covers the result of first hand study and actual experience. He has assembled thirteen points which he considers vital in any solution. Categorically they are:

1. A vesting of jurisdiction over the whole of Alaska, excepting the fisheries, in the Interior Department, which "is best equipped to handle territorial problems," and the substitution of a co-ordinated and centralized system of administration for the present bureaucratic system at the earliest possible day.

2. The building of branch lines and spurs to the Alaska Railroad to bring it into fuller usefulness in meeting industrial needs.

3. More liberal appropriations ($1,500,000 annually for ten years) for the building of roads and trails into the interior.

4. A diversion of sufficient Forest Service or Bureau of Roads funds to build a tourist road into Mount McKinley National Park and into the "Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes" or, otherwise, new appropriations for these purposes.

5. The vesting in the Department of Commerce of complete authority over the fisheries, with its Bureau of Fisheries adequately equipped and empowered to make and enforce rules and regulations limiting the catch and number of traps, curtailing fishing areas and closing streams and reducing cannery waste in the public good.

6. Improved facilities for tourist travel, by putting two vessels of the Shipping Board in the Alaskan service, to be operated by existing steamship companies or the Board, making regular trips in the summer season through the inside passage and west to the southern terminus of the Alaska Railroad.

7. An appropriation of $300,000 in addition to the fund of $150,000 now available, for an administrative building or capitol, and provision for the safe housing of the Alaska Historical Library and Museum, now exposed to loss by fire.

8. The consolidation of all law-enforcing agencies in Alaska under the Department of Justice.

9. A game law that will bring authority and supervision over wild life closer home to Alaska and thus insure better conservation.

10. Liberal mining and land laws, framed to meet distinctive and divergent conditions in Alaska, and regulations under such laws that will stimulate enterprise and encourage settlement.

11. A colonization plan to be operative in connection with the Alaska Railroad, with priority rights to lands freely granted to Alaska soldiers of the World War and their dependents.

12. Continued extension of the mail service as roads and trails are built and new water routes are required.

13. Allotment of a fair percentage, at least one-half, of the net revenues derived from the Pribilof Islands to the general fund of the territory.

Alaska was first visited by Russian officers in 1741. About 1874, the first settlement was made by Russians. In 1887, the United States purchased Alaska for seven million two hundred dollars in gold. The territory was under the supervision of the War, Navy and Treasury Department until 1884, when civil government was established. The principal city, Juneau, in 1906 was made the capital. Juneau has a population of 3,058. Alaska's Governor is appointed by the President for a term of four years; the appointment is confirmed by the United States Senate. He has executive power to approve legislation passed by the territorial legislature. Alaska has a Senate of eight members, two from each of four judicial districts. It has a House of Representatives of sixteen members, four from each district. The legislature meets only biennially, and it has a sixty-day session. All the laws passed by the Alaskan legislature must be approved by Congress, and the territory is represented in Congress by a delegate who has no vote.

Alaska is tremendous in size, equal to one-fifth of the whole area of the United States. The 1920 population was 55,036, of whom about twenty-eight thousand were white, twenty-six thousand Indians or natives, and 595 Chinese, Japanese and Negroes. For all of this every department and bureau having to do with Alaska has suggested remedies. No one knows whose plan has found any favor with the President The President is basing his hope of a solution upon his first-hand inspection.

The Bookshelf

"*COUNTRY Club People*" (Doran, 1923) has a cool and comfortable title these hot days. Margaret Culkin Banning wrote it in the clear prose she handles so well. It is the story of people in a northern mid-west city, a big "small town" where every one still remembers each other's history. The new country club is the visible symbol of their prosperity and their social position, and at the same time is the embodiment of the conventions which rule them. The daughter of the club's most pompous promoter revolts against it. Why and how, and her solution of her own problem, form the main theme of the book. Miss Banning's thesis, and her comprehensive comment on modern society, is spoken by one of her characters: "Deviation from the standard won't hurt them as long as they remember there is a standard."

"*His Children's Children*" (Scribner, 1923) is Arthur Train's attempt to portray modern New York Society and to discover its antidote. He sets up an interesting scene plot, in which Peter Kayne, gold miner and railroad pirate of the young West, has become an old man, and sits watching his son handle the family fortune, while his grandchildren manage the family's social position. The contrast, and similarity, between the three generations affords a fascinating point of departure for character and story development. Unfortunately Mr. Train was not content with following his people, but insisted upon leading them into strange situations and unconvincing solutions. The book is good propaganda against materialism.

Cantilever Stores

Cut this out for reference

Akron—11 Orpheum Arcade
Albany—Hewett's Silk Shop, 15 N. Pearl St.
Allentown—907 Hamilton St
Asheville—Pollock's
Atlanta—126 Peachtree Arcade
Atlantic City—2019 Boardwalk (Shelburne)
Augusta, Me.—Quality Shoe Store, 234 Water St.
Austin—Carl H. Mueller
Baltimore—328 North Charles St.
Bangor—John Conners Shoe Co.
Battle Creek—Bahlman's Bootery
Bay City—D. Bendall Co.
Berkeley—The Booterie
Binghamton—Parlor City Shoe Co.
Birmingham—219 North 19th St.
Boise—The Falk Merc. Co.
Bridgeport—W. K. Mollan
Brooklyn—414 Fulton St.
Buffalo—641 Main St.
Burlington, Vt.—Lewis & Blanchard Co.
Butte—Hubert Shoe Co.
Canton, O.—H. M. Horton Co.
Cedar Rapids—The Killian Co.
Charleston, S. C.—J. F. Condon & Sons
Charleston, W. Va.—John Lee Shoe Co.
Charlotte—221 Piedmont Bldg.
Chicago—30 E. Randolph St. (Room 502)
—1059 Leland (near Broadway)
Cincinnati—The McAlpin Co.
Cleveland—Graner-Powers, 1274 Euclid Ave.
Colorado Springs—Wulff Shoe Co.
Columbus, Ga.—Johnson Cook Shoe Co.
Columbus, O.—104 E. Broad St. (at 3rd)
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Decatur—Raupp & Son
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Des Moines—W. L. White Shoe Co.
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Duluth—107 W. First St. (near 1st Ave., W.)
El Paso—Popular Dry Goods Co.
Erie—Weschler Co., 910 State St.
Evanston—North Shore Bootery
Fitchburg—W. C. Goodwin, 342 Main St.
Fort Wayne—Mathias App's Sons
Galveston—Clark W. Thompson Co.
Grand Rapids—Herpolsheimer Co.
Great Falls—Paris Dry Goods Co.
Harrisburg—26 No. 3rd St. (Second floor)
Hartford—86 Pratt St.
Haverhill—McGregor's, 21 Washington Sq.
Holyoke—Thos. S. Childs, 275 High St.
Hot Springs, Ark.—Rosenthal's
Houston—306 Queen Theatre Bldg.
Huntington, W. Va.—McMahon-Diehl
Indianapolis—L. S. Ayres & Co.
Ithaca—Rothschild Bros.
Jackson, Mich.—Palmer Co.
Jacksonville—Golden's Bootery
Jersey City—Bennett's, 411 Central Ave.
Johnstown, Pa.—Zang's
Kalamazoo—The Bell Shoe House
Kansas City, Mo.—300 Altman Bldg.
Knoxville—Spence Shoe Co.
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Lawrence, Mass.—G. H. Woodman
Lexington, Ky.—Denton, Ross, Todd Co.
Lincoln—Mayer Bros. Co.
Little Rock—Poe Shoe Co., 302 Main St.
Long Beach, Calif.—Farmers' Bank Bldg.
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Macon—The Dannenberg Co.
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Mansfield—Brownell Shoe Co.
Memphis—28 No. Second St.
Meridian—Winner, Klein & Co.
Milwaukee—Brouwer Shoe Co.
Minneapolis—25 Eighth St. South
Missoula—Missoula Mercantile Co.
Mobile—Level Best Shoe Store
Montgomery—Campbell Shoe Co.
Nashville—J. A. Meadors & Sons
Newark—897 Broad St. (2nd floor)
New Bedford—Olympia Shoe Shop
New Britain—Sloan Bros.
New Castle, Pa.—229 E. Washington St.
New Haven—153 Court St. (2nd floor)
New Orleans—109 Baronne St. (Room 200)
New York—14 W. 40th St. (opp. Public Library)
Norfolk—Ames & Brownley
Oakland—205 Henshaw Bldg.
Oklahoma City—The Boot Shop
Omaha—1708 Howard St.
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Paterson—10 Park Ave. (at Erie Depot)
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Portland, Ore.—353 Alder St.
Poughkeepsie—Louis Schonberger
Providence—The Boston Store
Reading—Sig. S. Schweriner
Richmond, Va.—Seymour Sycle
Roanoke—I. Bachrach Shoe Co.
Rochester—257 Main St. (2nd floor)
Rockford—D. J. Stewart & Co.
St. Louis—516 Arcade Bldg. (opp. P. O.)
St. Paul—43 E. 5th St. (Frederic Hotel)
St. Petersburg—Schutz
Sacramento—208 Ochsner Bldg., K near 7th
Saginaw—Goeschel-Kuiper Co.
Salt Lake City—Walker Bros. Co.
San Diego—The Marston Co.
San Francisco—Phelan Bldg. (Arcade)
San Jose—Hoff & Kayser
Santa Barbara—Smith's Bootery
Savannah—Globe Shoe Co.
Schenectady—Patton & Hall
Scranton—Lewis & Reilly
Seattle—Baxter & Baxter
Shreveport—Phelps Shoe Co.
Sioux City—The Pelletier Co.
Sioux Falls—The Bee Hive
South Bend—Ellsworth Store
Spokane—The Crescent
Springfield, Ill.—A. W. Klaholt
Springfield, Mass.—Forbes & Wallace
Springfield, O.—Edw. Wren Co.
Stockton—Dunne's Shoe Store, 330 E. Main
Syracuse—121 West Jefferson St.
Tacoma—255 So. 11th St. (Fidelity Trust Bldg.)
Terre Haute—Otto C. Hornung
Toledo—LaSalle & Koch Co.
Topeka—The Pelletier Co.
Trenton—H. M. Voorhees & Bro.
Troy—35 Third St. (2nd floor)
Tulsa—Lyon's Shoe Store
Utica—135 Genesee St. (2nd floor)
Waco—Davis-Smith Booterie
Washington—1319 F Street
Waterbury—Howland Hughes Co.
Wheeling—Geo. R. Taylor Co.
Wichita—Rorabaugh's
Wilkes-Barre—M. F. Murray
Wilkinsburg—Anderson's, 918 Wood St.
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People who saw the play *"John Ferguson"* will find "Mary, Mary, Quite Contrary" (Macmillan, 1923) an amusing surprise. This time St. John Ervine has written the most frivolous of light-minded comedy, full of gay and inconsequential nonsense. It is said to have been a merry success in London.

"A Line o' Gowf or Two" (Knopf, 1923) is a posthumous collection of the verses, epigrams, and comments on golf written by Bert Leston Taylor, whom thousands of column readers knew and loved as "B. L. T." Chick Evans performs a charming introduction in which he, enthusiast and champion, sums up the book and the affection which golfers will have for it: "In his own inimitable style a student of the game has told us about it, and in this little book, the fine fugitive things, the glancing wit, the keen flashes of human nature that illuminated all he said or wrote, have been preserved. And we are very grateful." Incidentally, it contains some gay and caustic ammunition for "golf widows."—M. A.

Home—Fifty Years Forward

(Continued from page 10)

my work here at Pratt Institute; others have nothing whatever to do with the immediate direction of home economics but are part of the general trend of national thought.

"The majority of married women will for a period of their lives spend all their time in home making. To begin with, girls will be trained so that they can support themselves. Upon finishing their training many of them may clinch it with a few years of actual work in their chosen lines. They will marry and for the child-bearing period of their lives they will devote most of their time and thought to home making. Psychologically, economically and physiologically women want the home during the child-bearing period of their lives.

They will do their work and care for their children with some outside help from specialists who are trained in housework, cooking, child care, and other needs, as the case may be. Those who work for them will not be part of the household, as in the old days, nor will they be of a distinct class apart. They will be trained workers, demanding the respect and individuality which professional persons have today.

"In some cities there have been movements to develop domestic service into a profession or craft. Some of them have been failures, just as some of any new movement are sure to be. On the other hand, the successes show we are working toward a real end. Our universal tendency toward education, not for a limited period but all through life, our recognition of trained service, are going to raise domestic service in the eyes of all. Public opinion governs to a large extent the supply of service in this field. I know any number of high-grade, trained young women who would enter domestic work as paid assistants, the moment the old social stigma was removed from such work. Recognition of ability and the dignity of treatment accompanying it are important factors in regulating any profession. The attitude of mind of the employers is changing in all lines of labor and it will reach domestic service. We are doing away with distinctions along the old lines. It may even be that a new distinction is rising for the tendency today is to look down on the parasite."

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Heart to Heart

PREPARE FOR 1924

"THERE can be no doubt," said Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, in one of his recent lectures in England on the building of the American nation, "that many Americans, in common with many in other lands, have lost faith in liberty. That for which men struggled so violently in the eighteenth century appears in the twentieth to carry with it such inequalities and unevenness in accomplishment and in reward as to make it no longer a thing good in itself. The crux of the present-day problem is to preserve the essentials of liberty without the multiplication of injustice."

This is *our* problem then. How can the American people make liberty function with justice?

Not by leaving public affairs in the hands of a professional few, not by being so absorbed in their own small private concerns that they have no thought for problems of common welfare, but only by giving some of their time and effort to their duties of citizenship. That is what we mean when we urge you to be a 100% voter. It is a new kind of pledge we are asking *Citizen* readers to take, to set aside some time in their crowded lives for the business of being a citizen.

Public affairs are *your* concern. The health of your children, their education and future; whether your housekeeping will be easy or be an excessive burden; the success of your husband's business; the amount of money you yourself will have to spend—all these depend to a very large extent on government. *Our common affairs*, that is what government is, and these affairs we have in common are larger every day in proportion to our strictly private affairs. This is the day of big business, and in the same way combinations and cooperation are extending into every department of life and much of it we call government.

To help prepare readers for 100% voting for the presidential year, the *Woman Citizen* has pleasure in announcing that Columbia University is arranging a series of programs on citizenship as directly applied to the national election, arranged especially for women and women's organizations, and that this course will appear in the *Woman Citizen*. It is being prepared by Dr. Schuyler Wallace of the Department of Political Science at Columbia, with the cooperation of Dr. Raymond Moley, whose pamphlet on American Government was published recently by the Department of Citizenship of the National League of Women Voters. The series will begin in September and will continue in every issue for about nine months. The subject

will be treated in a brief and popular manner, and will be especially attractive for club study.

As a 100% voter you can't afford to miss this course. Will you not also tell your leagues and clubs about it? Help us before the presidential campaign begins to spread the influence of 100% voting in every women's organization in every crossroad in the United States.

To how many women have you introduced the last CITIZEN?

Have you obtained one new subscriber since our last issue?

Get a friend to swell the ranks of the 100% voters.—G. F. B.

Your Investments

By ELEANOR KERR

THE American farmer long had difficulty in borrowing on a reasonable basis, and this in spite of the fact that first mortgages on farm lands have been among the principal holdings of life insurance companies, trust companies, banks, estates and big investors, since the early days.

In 1916 the United States Government passed the Federal Farm Loan Act, which provided for the organization of two systems of banks, whose business should be the loaning of money to farmers at fair rates of interest. These two systems are the Federal Land Banks and the Joint Stock Land Banks. Roughly speaking, one Federal Land Bank is organized for each Federal Reserve District, although the boundaries are not exactly the same. No other Federal Land Bank may be organized to operate in the territory of an existing Land Bank. The stock of these banks is owned by National Farm Loan Associations, whose shareholders are usually borrowers from the bank. The banks are managed by officials appointed from Washington.

The Joint Stock Land Banks may operate in any state and one adjoining state, and are entirely owned and managed by private individuals, subject, however, to general government supervision in much the same way as our national banks. There are about seventy of them now in operation.

Both kinds of banks must submit for approval all loans made—that is, mortgages on farm lands—to the Federal Farm Loan Board at Washington, and the issuance of their bonds must also be approved by this Board. Appraisers for both banks are appointed by the Government, and the banks may loan only up to 50 per cent. of the value of the farms, as determined by these appraisers, and to not more than 20 per cent. of the insured permanent improvements. Loans may be made only for approved agricultural purposes, such as purchase of equipment, fertilizers, live stock, construction of buildings, drainage or clearing of farm lands, or to liquidate existing indebtedness.

The bonds issued by both systems of banks are, therefore, secured by property conservatively valued at double, or more, the amount of the bond.

It can be readily appreciated that these banks get the very finest of the mortgages in their section, since the farmer borrows from them at about 6 per cent., his loan runs for a period of years and he pays off a portion of it every six months, so that the whole amount does not come due all at once. This gradual amortization does not release any of the land from the mortgage, but adds to the security of the bondholder.

There is considerable difference in the general efficiency and experience with which the different banks in the systems are managed, but all their bonds are high-grade investments and sell on a basis to yield the investor about 4.6 per cent. to the time at which the bonds may be called by the bank and 5 per cent. from that time until maturity. Since these bonds are also free from Federal, state, and local taxes, they are particularly attractive to those whose incomes bring them into the surtax class.

Bonds of these two systems of banks offer in a new form the oldest and most conservative investment and represent great security, together with a fair degree of marketability and a good income return. Best of all, they also represent a square deal, not only to the investor, but to the farmer, who is the original borrower.

The Efficient Silhouette

By GULIELMA F. ALSOP

College Physician at Barnard

THROUGHOUT the animal kingdom beauty of form has always been the expression of some especial fitness, as one immediately realizes if one thinks of a race horse, or a Jersey cow or a milk-fed chicken. Not till evolution forced us human beings to consider ourselves as advanced animals did we ever grasp the fact that the careful breeding and training and breeding which made the best animals could also in like measure be applied to man with a like successful result.

Most of us will have had some kind of a pet, a dog or a kitten. Suddenly we will notice that the dog's coat looks rough, uneven, patchy, and we say: "I wonder what is wrong with Shep's food? Has he been getting too much meat?"

We immediately know where to look for the fault with animals and are quite willing to give care and attention, first, to acquire sufficient knowledge as to how to feed them and, second, to oversee the carrying out of a diet. If the dog's coat isn't soft and uniform and glossy we don't apply a hair tonic, we change his food.

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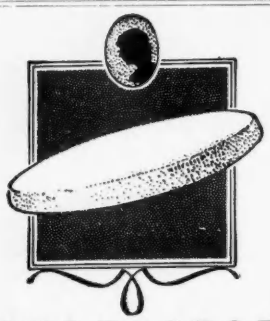

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McCollum of Yale is the great exponent of the latest theories of man's food. He lays enormous stress on the adequate consumption of the leafy vegetables, that is of spinach, cabbage, brussels sprouts, lettuce. These leafy vegetables contain, in the largest amounts, those still mysterious substances, the vitamines. These vitamines are absolutely necessary for the body. Many of the substances needed by the body for the making of all its tissues, its bones, and nerves, and blood, and organs, can be made up in the body itself from simpler substances eaten in the food; but these substances, the vitamines, can not be made by the body but must be eaten. They are necessary to promote growth, to protect against disease and to keep the whole system full of vitality.

A certain little girl, though fed with the best of care, refused to grow or gain weight. Her breakfast and her supper contained cereal. Her evening cereal, with its caloric milk and sugar, was stopped and lettuce salad with French dressing substituted. The little girl gained ten pounds in the next month. The cereal and cream and sugar in itself contained many more calories of heat and energy than the lettuce salad, but the child did not have enough vitamine in her body to be able to use the calories supplied to her. So the extra vitamine she got in her lettuce enabled her to use to its full value all the calories supplied in the rest of her foods.

These modern ideas on diet are founded both on scientific experimentation in laboratories and also upon a vast amount of actual, empirical facts gathered from all the nations of the globe, comparing diets and the health results of the peoples.

A person may be the proper weight and yet because of some lack in the quality of her diet not have sufficient vigor. Vigor comes from, first, the quality of all the tissues of the body and, second, the adequate use of the body.

The following is an outline of a diet for vigor for a woman who neither wishes to gain nor lose weight and who leads an average woman's life.

Breakfast

One or two oranges, or half a grape fruit, or berries or melon. A cereal, preferably oatmeal, with cream and sugar. An egg, coffee and toast as desired.

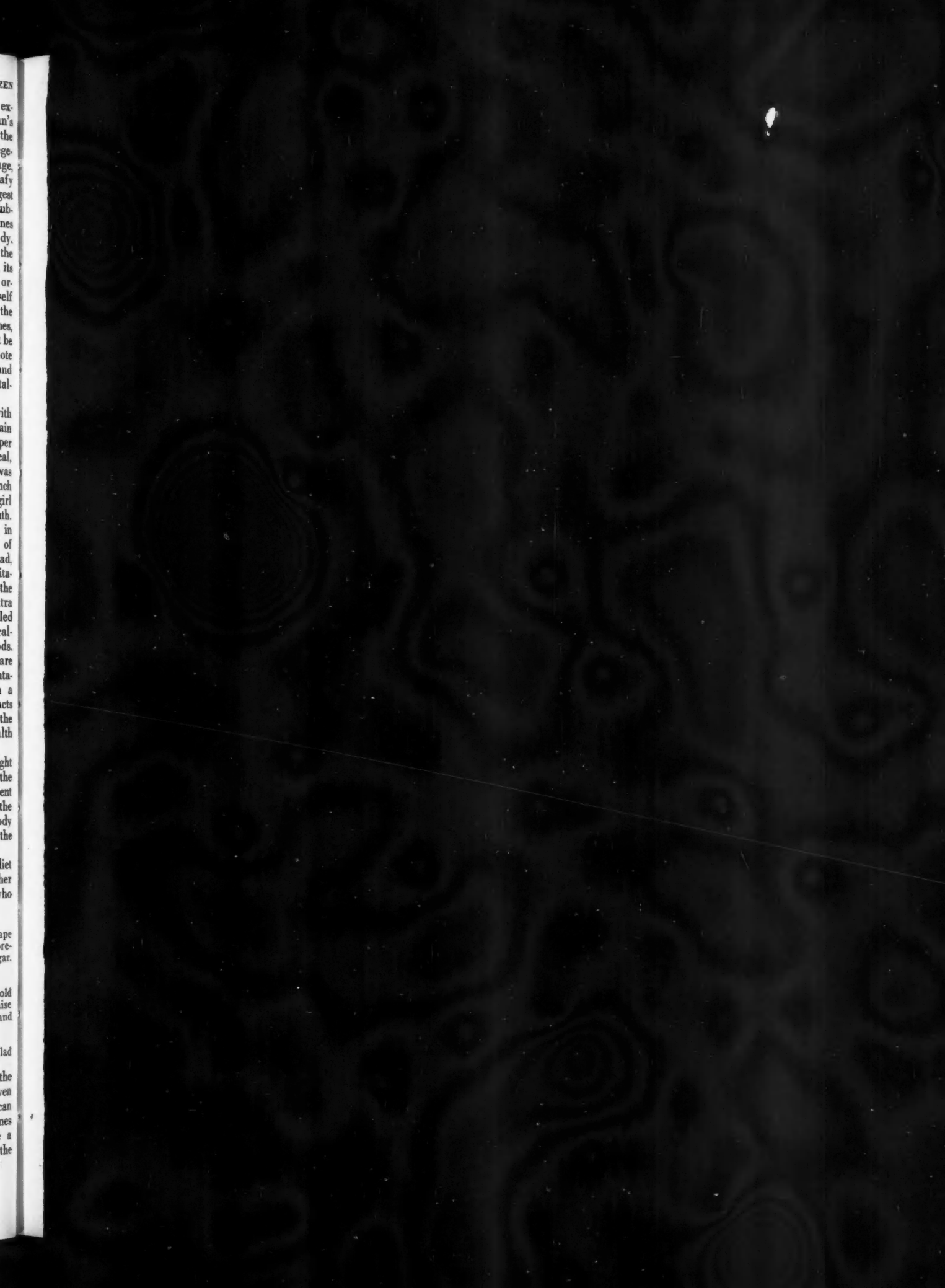
Lunch

A salad of lettuce with fruit or cold vegetables and French or mayonnaise dressing. If desired, brown bread and butter, and a fruit dessert.

Dinner

Meat, two fresh green vegetables, salad and a fruit dessert.

More can be eaten if desired, as the menu is low in calories, but is given as the skeleton upon which more can be built. In short, fruit three times a day, vegetables and salads twice a day, eggs once, milk if desired, are the essentials in an efficient diet.



The Woman Citizen

Volume VII | JULY 14, 1923 | Number 4

News Notes of the Fortnight

France Ratifies?

AT last France seems about to ratify the five-power naval treaty resulting from the Washington Conference. The Chamber of Deputies has ratified, by a vote of 460 to 106, with considerable emphasis on the fact that the treaty will not limit France in the building of auxiliary ships and submarines. It is expected that the Senate will act promptly, and thus complete the ratification, which was finished by the other powers some time ago. If this is done, the final ceremonies for putting the treaty into effect will probably take place next fall, and the plan for scrapping our ships which has been reposing in the Navy Department's files for months will be executed.

The news has been received with great satisfaction in Washington. From a party point of view, it means the capsheaf on a great achievement of this administration. It means actually doing something about disarmament. And it means some relief in the international strain, since it had been assumed that France would hold out indefinitely on this point in order to further her efforts to bring England into line with her Ruhr policies.

The Peace Prize

A hundred-thousand-dollar prize for a peace plan has been offered by Mr. Edward W. Bok, former editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal*. It is to be known as the American Peace Award. The first fifty thousand will be paid for the idea of a practicable plan whereby the United States may co-operate with other nations to achieve and to preserve world peace; the second, when the idea has been *proved* practicable through its adoption by the Senate or by a large popular response. Mr. Bok has turned over securities to cover the award, and has chosen a policy committee of distinguished persons to determine conditions and select the jury of award. Already several hundred plans have been received at the new office, and several national organizations have expressed a willingness to co-operate, including the General Federation of Women's Clubs, The Foreign Policy Association, and the Federal Council of Churches.

Mr. Bok believes that people are thinking far more about international relations than is usually supposed. "My idea, singly and solely," he says, "is to search the American people for an idea whereby the American people can do their part with the other nations to avert another war. The idea may be something entirely new, or it may take the form of modifications of the covenant of the League of Nations. I believe in my heart that some one, somewhere in America, has the idea and will point the way."

Camelia Whitehurst, whose studio is in Baltimore, works to a great extent with oils. She loves to use children for subjects—just glance at our cover—and portrays their innocence and simplicity with such skill that the National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors awarded her a prize in 1923 for her painting of Charlotte Hundley. But this is not the only recognition that has been extended to Miss Whitehurst. She took first prize at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1921, first prize at Memphis, Tennessee, 1921-22, and first prize at New Orleans, 1923. She is also a member of the Fellowship Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.

Miss Whitehurst, we fear, must be shy, for she has refused to let us publish her picture, nor will she tell us any of the little personal touches we like to put in with our artists' notes.

Equality in Divorce

THE House of Lords surpassed expectations in the speed with which it fell in line with the House of Commons on the divorce bill, known as the Matrimonial Causes bill. It passed that measure, which will probably be law by the time these words are read. Where formerly a wife had to prove cruelty as well as infidelity to get a divorce, the husband had only to prove infidelity. Under the new measure the cause will be the same for both—adultery only.

Far from being a liberal divorce law, it is a good step forward in equalizing conditions between the sexes, and a matter for rejoicing among women everywhere.

Republican Committee-women

THE work of choosing the associate women members of the Republican National Committee is going swiftly forward. There is to be one member from each state, chosen by the state chairman and ratified by the National Committee. When the list is complete, we will publish it in full. Those recorded in the newspapers as already chosen are, in addition to Mrs. Battelle, shown on the opposite page: Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird, of East Walpole, for Massachusetts; Mrs. Charles H. Sabin, for New York; Mrs. Barclay Warburton, of Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania; Mrs. Geraldine Livingston Thompson, of Red Bank, for New Jersey; and Mrs. Emma Smith Devoe, of Tacoma, for the state of Washington.

The Pope on the Ruhr

THE Pope has been taking a hand in the Ruhr situation. First he wrote a letter to the Papal Secretary of State in which he made the same common sense suggestion which other leaders have made—that persons of impartial judgment be asked to determine what Germany can pay and that this be the basis of settlement. He also suggested that France might find forms of guarantee the would be less "odious" than territorial occupation.

This letter was greatly resented by Premier Poincaré and the French Senate.

Next, when a German bomb, in a train at Duisberg, killed ten Belgian soldiers, wounded more than forty others and some German workers as well, the Pope wrote a note urging Chancellor Cuno to disavow such violence, and even to end the passive war.

And in the third place the Pope asked the French and Belgian governments not to put obstacles in the way of pacification by new rigorous measures against Germany in reprisal.

His note to Germany was followed by a demand from France and Belgium that sabotage in the Ruhr be repudiated

on pain of a withdrawal of their ambassadors from Berlin. Chancellor Cuno did make a semi-official statement, but as he referred to the sabotage as growing out of the excitement of an oppressed people, it did not satisfy. More rigorous measures have been taken, the occupation has been extended, and General Degoutte's order authorizing the seizure of private stores of coal wherever found has gone into effect. The suffering in the Ruhr, especially that of the children, grows constantly more serious.

The French-English relations show little progress. After long delay the questions addressed to Premier Poincaré by Premier Baldwin, asking him for precise terms, have been answered orally. Premier Baldwin was displeased with an informal, oral answer to a formal written communication, and a formal reply is expected. Correspondents say this is the camouflage behind which Mr. Baldwin is working hard to persuade Premier Poincaré to modify his unvarying demand that the Germans cease passive resistance before any negotiations take place.

Air Rivalry

MEANTIME France and Great Britain are joining in a competitive armament race. France started it, and Great Britain has made a prompt response. With 1,400 airships, France is now spending 211,000,000 francs on aircraft, and is said to plan a total exceeding all the rest of Europe put together. Great Britain is planning to double its air forces by the end of 1925. Premier Baldwin, in outlining the program, had something to say about the desirability of limitation of building by agreement, and France responded. But the building programs, of the two strongest European nations, get the greater emphasis.

Concerning Prohibition

LORD CURZON has said definitely in Parliament that there is no chance that the British Government will consent to the extension of the three-mile limit to twelve. He has also said that the American action in seizing liquor stores from British ships is legal, but a transgression of international custom and courtesy.

Other items concerned with prohibition are:

The Canadian province of Manitoba has voted in favor of a bill allowing Government sale of liquor. When the legislature enacts this bill into law, the Government will appoint a commission of three members to administer the sale of liquors for consumption as beverage in permanent or temporary residences of permit holders. Breweries will be permitted to deliver direct to the homes of purchasers. This overturns the policy of prohibition which has been the law of the province for seven years. The Moderation League is responsible for the measure.

Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania has declared that no one will be appointed to state office under his administration who is unwilling to give his word of honor to support and obey the Constitution, including the Eighteenth Amendment.

Twelve-hour Day—Is It a Promise?

AFTER the disappointing report on the twelve-hour day made this spring, President Harding wrote to the directors of the American Iron and Steel Institute asking their pledge to establish the shorter day as soon as possible. Their letter in answer, dated June 27, declared that because of the "strong sentiment throughout the country in favor of eliminating the twelve-hour day" . . . "and especially because it is in accordance with your own expressed views" they will make every effort to establish the eight and ten-hour day. But again—they say it can't be brought about "until there is a surplus of labor available." Later, the Chairman, Judge Gary, said that 60,000 men are needed to end the twelve-hour day, but reiterated the intention of the steel interests to fulfill its pledge.

We recommend our readers again to Mrs. Bruère's editorial, "What Is Steel For?" in the June 16th *Citizen*.

Very Briefly

THE Florida whipping boss who was indicted for causing the death, by flogging, of Martin Tabert in a convict camp, has been found guilty of second degree murder and sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment.

Henry Ford's flat denial that he would have any interest in a presidential nomination for himself has been somewhat modified. The boom continues, with increasing emphasis on a third-party possibility. And now the supporters of William G. McAdoo are getting under way with a drive for the Democratic nomination.

A Federal judge in Montana has, like Judge Knox in New York, ruled that the section of the Volstead Act limiting physicians' right to prescribe liquor is unconstitutional.

Dr. F. G. Banting, discoverer of radium, has received an annuity of $7,500 from the Canadian Government, and a research professorship in the University of Toronto with a $6,000 salary, for which the provincial government made the appropriation.

The American Farm Bureau Federation has asked President Harding to help farmers keep 200,000 bushels of wheat off the market this year, holding it over, in order to stabilize the prices at from $1.40 to $1.50 a bushel.

Hard-coal miners are seeking a twenty per cent. raise in wages.

Some college items: Yale conferred the honorary degree of doctor of letters on the novelist, Edith Wharton, and an honorary doctor of laws on Mary Emma Woolley, president of Mount Holyoke College—the first women to receive these degrees from Yale. John Drew received an honorary degree at Dartmouth, the first awarded to an actor. Western Reserve, at Cleveland, has a new president, Dr. Robert Ernest Vinson, for ten years president of the University of Texas. Two young men have withdrawn their acceptances of teaching posts at Amherst because of the action of the trustees in dismissing President Meiklejohn. A number of the faculty have been dismissed from the University of Tennessee for teaching evolution or being involved in the issues sprung from a split over evolution.

Roland W. Boyden, who has been "official observer" for the United States with the Reparations Commission since April 1, 1920, has resigned.

One Way to Stop Lynching

LYNCHINGS in the United States during the first six months of 1923 dropped to 11 compared with 33 for the same period in 1922. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which gave out the figures, attributes the decrease to the agitation for a Federal anti-lynching law and to the northward migration of Negroes.

A recent drastic handling of a threatened lynching should not go unrecorded. It was at Savannah, Georgia, last month, where a crowd assembled about the jail in which a young Negro charged with an attack on a white woman, was held. After the sheriff failed to disperse the mob, he had the fire hose turned on, and when the crowd retaliated with bricks, troops were called out and machine gunners placed. Firing in the air, they succeeded in dispersing the mob, though one man was killed by a rifle shot. Troops were kept on guard for some time, and the governor of the state established military rule at Savannah.

The Kansas Court Goes On

GOVERNOR JOHN W. DAVIS of Kansas asked the judges of the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations to decline to draw their salaries, and thus automatically abolish the Court. He proposed that they should keep a clerk installed for necessary business, and that they should sit once a month, taking a fee for that day. His request was of course based on the recent decision of the Supreme Court, in the Wolff Packing Company case, that the Industrial Court has no constitutional right to interfere between employer and employed in fixing wages and working conditions. The judges have declined to accept the decision, but have said the court will continue "at the least possible expense."

At Last

AS we go to press, the papers are carrying two items of important international news. The French Chamber of Deputies has ratified also the Pacific Treaty drawn up at the Washington Conference, and the long-drawn-out Lausanne Conference is coming at last to an end, with peace arranged between the Allies and Turkey.—*July 9.*

The President's

Speaking Tour

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Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

July 5, 1923.

PRESIDENT HARDING now has delivered his important speeches; the less strenuous part of his trip has begun—and the Washington reaction to the whole Presidential pronouncement has set in. It is always safe to assume that the first political reflex at the capital is opposite to that obtaining in other parts of the country. Washington "feels its oats," so to speak; it considers itself the professional end, and instead of reacting in the good old-fashioned way it usually goes to the other extreme psychologically. The President has been greeted throughout the West with great friendliness and cordiality. People have been less interested in his policies than in his person. His hand-shaking has gone farther than his speeches. The candy he has had in his pocket has been symbolical of the whole kindliness of the surrounding atmosphere from back-platform to the small and eager countryside crowds. Unfortunately, the whole Washington reaction can be summed up in "Candy in his pocket," candy for all degrees and kinds of political dilemmas. Candy in his pocket for the World Court, the railroad situation, the farm difficulties and particularly bonbons from the Republican Party to the woman vote.

On the Back Platform

Curiously enough, this was almost without exception a non-partisan reaction. As the reports of the speeches filtered back to Washington day by day, the general comment from all sides was that the President had said the thing which struck middle ground whether or not it satisfied his previous stand.

But Washington has realized that the real Harding has been the man of the back-platforms, not the President-politician who has had to meet political exigencies and act as conciliator among the factions. The real and the happy Mr. and Mrs. Harding have been they who stood surrounded by the country children, handing out sweets, patting them on the head, and making speeches about the flag and all that it ought to mean to American youth. The other role of political finesse, bound up in the troubles of party organization and leadership, the President accepts with the honors, but it is distasteful to him. Fair weather and happy days are his joy; differences with irreconcilables his sorrow. A compilation of the two-or three-minutes talks which he has made under the shadow of a water-tank somewhere along the prairie roads to half a dozen gathered together would be far more heartening reading than an analysis of his formal addresses. Then he said what he wished. His other speeches were cut and dried and looked at from every angle.

These addresses for the trip were ready before the President left Washington. He had gone over them with many Government officials concerned. Some day some one will write of all the machinery of being a President of the United States, for the office has become so great and complex that it is humanly impossible for one man to do what might be conceived the President's own work. He would do nothing else if he wrote all his speeches, and he would write only one or two if he himself had to make the investigations necessary for them. Reports are received from all the Departments of the Government concerned and in the main the President's recommendations in his speeches many times represent not only his personal judgment but the views of the Department head upon whom he relied for information and guidance.

Therefore, it was not surprising when the news of his pronouncement regarding the World Court reached Washington that the reaction was two-fold—that the President would so compromise with himself, and that Secretary Hughes and Secretary Hoover, acknowledged as his advisers on foreign policy, should have acquiesced in his course. There have been few indications from them as to what their real attitude is, and Washington still believes—until it has definite information to the contrary—that the compromise stand on the World Court was the result of advice and influence from Chairman Adams of the Republican National Committee and a few irreconcilable Senators, rather than from Secretary Hughes or Secretary Hoover. A few days before the President left for the West he was visited by Mr. Adams and the above Senators.

The Middle Course

But let us review the President's dilemma:

During the time when President Harding was most emphatic in his espousal of his World Court proposition, the publicity department of the Republican Committee gave out statements easily construed as anti-World Court, although they were considerably discounted because of the recognized freedom and exaggerations which had characterized such publicity for some time. However, it will be remembered, they reached a climax when they asserted that European nations were out to "job" the United States.

Calls were made by excited editors for the resignation of Chairman Adams. It was obvious that somewhere the National Committee was out of tune with the Harding-Hughes-Hoover end of the party. No authorship of the statements was acknowledged and if they were the work of subordinates Chairman Adams stood silent and took the medicine. Before the President left he was faced with this situation. To reorganize the National Committee meant a change at a critical time when it was ready to fire heavy guns in outlining the issues for the next campaign; at a time, too, when what the President said necessarily would form a basis, if not the basis, of the 1924 platform. Such a move, therefore, was most inexpedient.

The only middle ground course then, taking into consideration the committee and the irreconcilables was for the President to back down—that is, the only course from the view-point of political machinery as it is run these days. The President did back down, and during his St. Louis speech he advocated so disconnecting the World Court from its alma mater, the League of Nations, as to make it a proposition for another twenty years' wrangle.

The Washington reaction was striking. Those opposed to the World Court were not at all pleased, because they mistrusted a vacillation which went from one extreme to the other. The pro-League advocates were displeased and insulted. The pro-Court people felt their cause so postponed and weakened as to be almost hopeless. There was a paean of discontent. It has been a long time since the editors of the capital and the correspondents met in more accord than they did over the St. Louis address. If the new proposition won, it was an unpopular decision, and one that was expected to make no headway at all in the United States Senate. In fact, it was considered to have cleared the decks of foreign relations so that the Senate could go ahead with domestic matters which could have more influence and weight in a Presidential campaign. But the gist of the President's recommendations will be moot for some time, and material for study. They are:

"First, that the tribunal be so constituted as to appear and to be, in theory and in practice, in form and in substance, beyond the shadow of doubt, a world court and not a League court.

"Second, that the United States shall occupy a plane of perfect equality with every other power."

Choosing the Judges

This divorce from the League of Nations, the President would accomplish by arranging for the nomination and election of Judges by the Court itself or by the Permanent Court of Arbitration. As he says:

"(1) By empowering the court itself to fill any vacancy arising from the death of a member or retirement for whatever cause, without interposition from any other body; or

"(2) By continuing the existing authority of the Permanent Court of Arbitration to nominate and by transferring the power to elect from the council and assembly of the League to the remaining members of the court of justice.

"The fixing of compensation of the judges, the supervision of expenditures, the apportionment of contributions, etc., could also be transferred from the League to either the Court of Arbitration or a commission designated by the member nations. Thus, incidentally, would be averted the admitted unfairness of the present system, which imposes a tax upon members of the League who are not subscribers to the court.

"The exclusive privilege now held by the League to seek advisory legal guidance from the court might either be abolished, or, more wisely perhaps, be extended to any member or group of member nations. Thus all would be served alike, subject as now to determination by the court itself of the kind of questions upon which it would render judgments.

"The disparity in voting as between a unit nation and an aggregated empire, which now obtains in the assembly of the League, to which many object because of apprehensions which I do not share, would, under this plan, disappear automotically."

Coast to Coast

This speech was actually heard by politicians and others sitting on their porches in Washington as comfortable as they could be in a temperature around 100 degrees. The voice of the President was clear and distinct and so full of tone that it could be heard not only in the room where the radio was set, but across the field to another porch. Furthermore, when the Presidential party reached the Pacific Coast its members talked with ease over the telephone to the folks back home. But these are the things which Washington always separates with a grin from the stern and hard business of party politics. The President can make all the jokes he wants and he will still have to return to the capital and substantiate through his party, the claims he made of Republican achievements. The President has said in the past something to the effect that no administration does it all, that political matters come to fruition after years of development, and this applies pointedly to some of his own claims. His main pride was to recount to his audiences the abolishment of unemployment throughout the country, yet his own explanation is sufficient to show that in the main the employment situation and prosperity is the result of a business cycle following the war, helped or retarded no doubt, but inevitable just the same. He said:

"There was the inevitable business slump. It follows every war. It applies to business in every line—finance, industry, agriculture. And business reflexes are felt by every citizen. No matter how humble or how great. We found in the inevitable reflex of the war-tide threatened financial ability, agricultural distress, and vast unemployment. A survey of unemployment revealed four and a half to five millions of workers without jobs. I leave the appraisal of all relief efforts, legislative, executive, or administrative, to your own judgment. The thing I want to say is that this distressing situation has been wholly reversed, and today employment is calling for men.

"I like to believe that the recovery is based mainly on confidence in the American policy and the fundamental righteousness of our institutions. I like to believe we have recovered because we avoid the paths of destructive experimentation, ignore mad theories, and cling tenaciously to the foundations of business and property rights and human rights, which have made ours the most rapidly and most safely developed representative democracy . . . And we halted the extremists who caught their inspiration in European madness, and proposed to destroy our social order because of temporary ills, rather than cure the ills."

The catalogue of the achievements of the Republican administration as announced by the President at St. Louis undoubtedly will be one for the basis of the campaign. Business prosperity is its key-note, "More business in government and less government in business, lessened extravagance in government, smaller government expenditures, reduction of government personnel, lessening of the taxation load and more equal distribution of taxation"—these were some of his citations. "We inaugurated the budget system of government financing," he said, "and thereby affected reductions in government outlay amounting to billions. Of course, this enormous reduction was made possible mainly because we suspended war activities and ended war commitments, but we drove at the ordinary expenditures in the peace-time business of government and lopped off hundreds of millions at a time, and we have proven to the world, in spite of a gigantic debt and its interest burdens, that here is a government resolved to live within its income."

Home Problems—the Railroads

There was considerable comment in Washington upon the fact that in such a specific recital of party achievements no mention or no elaboration was made of the President's work in the leadership of the disarmament conference. It was said at the capital that this was a further indication of the President's agreement with Chairman Adams and other campaign leaders to lessen the emphasis upon foreign affairs and to talk domestic problems. Whatever the reason, it is noteworthy that the prepared speeches scarcely touched this subject.

Of course, everybody in Washington knows that by the time the President crossed the Kansas line, foreign affairs were of less interest than rainbows to the communities through which he passed. Nevertheless, as he said, he was talking on this trip, not only to the Kansas corn-fields, but to every part of

(*Contiued on page* 27)

Where Are the Women Architects?

Asked--And Answered--by Marjorie Shuter

"WHERE are the women who ought to be architects? What's the trouble with architecture as a profession for women? Why should only one per cent. of the architects in the United States be women?"

It was such a good opportunity to ask all of the questions which have been burning on my lips ever since I discovered that although women make homes, they don't build them—much. That although women manage homes, they don't plan them—much. Seems absurd, doesn't it? And here before me sat one of the best known women architects in the country, Miss Eleanor Manning—Howe and Manning—Lois Howe and Eleanor Manning of Boston. I was prepared for the twinkle in her eye, because when I telephoned her for directions as to how to get to her office, she directed me with a chuckle to come by the "Granary Burying Ground." A Bostonian speaking so of the old burial place in the very heart of the city—of course she would be different.

Then I arrived at her office, a very spare, plain outer office with a bar to keep the public out or to keep clients in, I didn't learn which. And just between the big outer office and the smaller drafting rooms a wee hall. I caught my breath and looked around the hall. The woman who could get all that atmosphere out of waste space in a big office building could do anything with any house.

One side of the wall had been covered with coarse brown canvas, only one side of the wall and not quite all of that. But you had no eye for where the canvas began or ended, for there in its center hung a square of green brocade, a brocade of Oriental twilights and mountain sunrises. Against it sat Miss Manning, and instantly you knew that the brocade was just the shade of the green which tinged the gray of her eyes. Almost you looked for the green again in her waved gray hair and you did find it in her string of green beads. Her brown frock melted into the upholstery of the old mahogany davenport on which she sat. There were fir branches in an old pitcher, tiles in the same vernal shade of green and the rich brown of fruition, and some brass candlesticks along the wall. But the green brocade, soft, subdued, dominated all, like some patrician woman who needs no word to hold sway over her group of family or friends.

"I don't know why there should be so few women architects, except that the door into the profession lies through the draftsman's room and many men architects are opposed to women as draftsmen," she said. "They talk about not being able to smoke as they like or to swear as they like if they have a woman draftsman, but since they have women both as secretaries and clerks, I don't think the reason expresses anything more than traditional prejudice against women. Once inside the profession a woman encounters very little prejudice. I remember at the outset of my career feeling heartbroken because I was not allowed to build a house for a relative. I thought at the time that it was only because I was a woman. Now I think that it was because I was so young. For every person who eliminates a woman as an architect because she is a woman—there is another person who employs her because she is a woman. The two balance.

This Massachusetts house is a sample of what one firm of women architects do.

"There are singularly few women in the profession. Take Boston, for instance. There are other women architects here, but my partner and I are the only woman members among two hundred men in the Boston Society of Architects. There are only four women in the American Institute of Architects. In 1880 there were seventeen women architects; in 1910 there were 302 throughout the whole country. There are a number of colleges which state that they do not even give architectural courses to women, but at least one of these I know registers women in the liberal arts course and then permits them to take all of their work in architecture. Nine state universities, five other universities, five technical schools and two fine arts schools are all that I have been able to discover which do give women an equal opportunity to study architecture with men."

Miss Manning confesses to "a business built up on refrigerator porches and odds and ends." The habit of choosing just one piece of work and devoting every bit of energy and ability to that work for a year may be the best means for some architects, she admits. But for herself she declares that "you never can tell what may come out of a refrigerator porch and perennial clients are pretty good for any business to have." A perennial client being one who orders a partition torn down one year, and a library done over another year, and a kitchen ell built on another year. Miss Manning has a number of these employers who put a certain amount into their homes each year, choosing one thing to be done at a time. Boston and Cape Cod offer a deal of restoration work to the architect. It was a restoration order which brought Miss Manning her most amusing client, a woman who was having a stable made into a house. Every time that they came to a joist the woman said, "Oh, what a good place to hide things. Just board it up and make a cupboard that no one will know about but me." When that house is torn down it is likely to be full of jewels and laces and papers that her client has secreted, laughs Miss Manning.

There is one charming old house down on the Cape where Miss Manning built a doorway. A Harvard architectural student went down to measure the "old" doorway and glowingly described its charms to his friends. Which is clear proof, declares Miss Manning, that authentic Colonial building can be done today and that there is no excuse for the millions of Colonial houses which are springing up all over the country, un-Colonial as to scale, proportion, plan; lacking the feeling of the real house.

"Family remnants" are Miss Manning's special interest. The mother and daughter living alone, the two business women who want a home of their own, those parts of families whose needs are different from the normal groups where cooking is in process a great part of the time, where a family table and children are to be considered in the house plans. Dining rooms are being cut out, bedrooms squeezed up, and the emphasis

placed on one spacious living room with a study where work may be done in the evening. "Closeness to the ground" is the thing to get, declares Miss Manning, and these small, inexpensive homes with apartment-house comforts for busy people will do much to solve the present housing problems of big cities."

Miss Manning confesses to a lifelong desire to be an architect. Her father was a builder and she read architectural magazines before she read most children's books. She had brothers but none of them had the slightest mechanical turn of mind, so that it seemed natural for her to carry on her father's interests. From high school she went to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which since 1876 has admitted women to all of its courses. She worked as a draftsman for four years and then went to Europe for further study. While there the opportunity came to start out in business as Miss Howe's partner.

"The woman who chooses architecture as a profession should be sure that she has a vocation," says Miss Manning. "Architecture is not just making pretty pictures. It means seeing the job through to the end, proving the bills, settling up every detail. To begin with, there must be the creative instinct, appreciation of the beautiful and a mechanical mind. Then there should be good training and as long training as possible. Just as in all the other activities of life, men and women should train together and work together, not in segregated groups. It is well to mix practical experience with the training and to have European travel if possible. Then the woman is ready for a job as draftsman. Here it is that many men and women stick. They become draftsmen but never architects. The difficulty may be in marketing their work, in winning the confidence of others, in getting a reputation for being expensive or careless. It is just as unethical for an architect as for a physician to go out for work. So the first opportunity for the draftsman usually comes through a friend. Once that piece of work is done, it should bring others; for every thing that the architect does should lead to something more. Gradually then the draftsman emerges with an office of her own. The field is full of opportunities for women. It offers a chance for an excellent career and an interesting one to the woman who by instinct and training is equipped for the work."

"Woman Suffrage and Politics"

A Review by Ernest Poole

AUTHOR OF "THE HARBOR" AND "DANGER"

TO any one whose interest in the life of our country is broad and deep, among the many stimulating histories and biographies of the last two decades some of the most significant have been written by women. There have been, just to mention two outstanding examples, books by Miss Jane Addams and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw—each from a different angle and covering different fields of life, but both alike at least in the fact that they will not be soon forgotten. Now we have another—and this one again is different. It has not the philosophical depth and spiritual quality of the volumes by Miss Addams, nor has it the wealth of humor and of human anecdote in the narrative by Dr. Shaw. But its authors, Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, have made no attempt at that. In their very title, "*Woman Suffrage and Politics* (Scribner, 1923), they have fairly given us in advance their purpose to write a broad review of the whole long struggle of American women for the vote.

In the early chapters they go far back to the efforts of the first pioneers. They describe the great disappointment of thousands of such women in the years just after the Civil War, when the vote was given to Negroes and still the women were left out. Then they tell how the struggle deepened and spread, until at last women, rich and poor, in every country of every state, east and west and north and south, had been enrolled in the crusade. In a little over fifty years they conducted nearly a thousand campaigns. "It was," to quote the authors, "a seemingly endless chain of activity. Young suffragists who helped forge the last links, were not born when it began. Old suffragists who forged the first links were dead when it ended."

In a history covering so much ground, of necessity much must be left out. And the reader is often sorry for that. In Iowa, for example, we are told that the Polk County Woman Suffrage Society never missed a monthly meeting from October 1870 to August 1920—and we wish there had been space for more about that valiant little group. And again, the chapter describing the final struggle in Tennessee is so dramatic in itself, and throws such a glare of light upon American politics, that we wish there had been room to give as much detailed description of crises in various other states. But the authors, had they done so, would have needed many volumes. It is wonderful, what they have done in one.

For this book of five hundred pages is no bare chronicle of events, nor is it a mere narrative of the suffrage movement.

"It was politics," the authors declare, "that made America, the cradle of democracy, twenty-seventh instead of first on the list of countries democratic enough to extend the right of self government to both halves of their populations." And supporting this claim they pile up the evidence with a clearness and convincing force that make their book invaluable to anyone who would understand American "practical politics" of the past fifty years.

But the book has a deeper significance. For we read here how a big idea, once it is born in this country of ours, slowly grows, meets obstacles, obstacles by tens of thousands, waits, renews its vitality, gathers force and struggles on—throwing revealing paths of light into all our national habits of thought, of emotion and of sentiment—our narrowness, our blindness but also our clear headedness, our insistence upon "being shown," but, once we are shown that a thing is right, the readiness of millions among us to give and to slave for an idea.

In this book there is much between the lines—for its authors have so filled it with numberless suggestive details that anyone with imagination will be able to do the rest. For hundreds of thousands of women, I think, this book will call up memories—of parades and meetings, large and small, in every part of the U. S. A., of hurried trips to capitals and lobby struggles day and night, of long campaigns of many months, of friendships made in the thick of it all, of lessons learned, of funny things and of poignant tragic things. For outsiders the book will be valuable as a partisan exposition of the suffrage movement—but for the suffragists themselves it will be something more than that. Reading it they will live again one of the finest and most dramatic parts of all American history.

And one hopes there may be a few women left who will feel similar memories rise as they read the earlier pages. For one does not like to think that all the pioneers are dead.

Prohibition Progress

By Eleanor Booth Simmons

Is prohibition doing any good? This is one of the most controversial questions in the world today—almost as controversial as the argument over the theory of prohibition. Naturally, the CITIZEN *does not hope to settle it in the course of one small article. The question we asked Miss Simmons was, what facts are available to support the contention of those who say that prohibition works and is worth having? Of course she couldn't put in this space all she found. And there must be still other facts not available unless one could make a town-to-town survey of the country. It is our hope that the findings here may serve as the nucleus for a collection of similar observations and testimony from communities in all states. Items and figures which support the anti-prohibition view will be welcome also, and we will publish them with reservations as to space, interest and the reliability of sources offered. The personal observations of our readers in their own communities are most to the point.*

I WAS having a belated attack of flu one spring day, and between sneezes was telling my doctor the reasons why I must be up and about immediately.

"—And an article to write on prohibition," I finished the list. The doctor stopped in the act of pouring out a tablespoonful of tonic—excellent tonic with sherry in it, which tasted good, I admit.

"For or against?" she inquired crisply.

"F-f-for," I stuttered. Not that I'm not proud of my stand, but her eye confused me. A doctor appears so formidable when you're in bed.

"I've a great mind," she said slowly, "not to let you get well!"

She proceeded to sum up her case against prohibition. It was, she declared, driving the young generation into abnormal excesses. She practices largely among well-to-do-people—just a few poor ones like me—and she told story after story of booze parties indulged in by the boys and girls, joy rides in automobiles stocked with the stuff from which the youngsters came home in a condition that made their fathers swear and their mothers cry. You've all heard it.

"But isn't this," I pleaded, "just a temporary manifestation of the modern spirit of rebellion? They want to do something unlawful to show their independence, and drinking is the handiest. And this crowd you describe, of what real value is it in the general scheme of things? It is too bad about the flappers, but why don't their parents spank some sense into them? After all, what this country has to think of is the great mass of common folks, workers, and you can't deny that the abolition of the saloon is a good thing for them."

New York City—Anti

Well, she couldn't see any good in this Volstead business for anybody, rich or poor. And her view is the average New York view. A newspaper man I know tells me he estimates that ninety per cent. of the sentiment in Greater New York is anti-prohibition. That is putting it strong, but certainly the antis make ninety per cent. of the noise. Is New York, however, representative of the United States? Let me pit against the physician I quoted another physician who has practiced for many years in Wheeling, West Virginia. His name is Leonard Eskey. He is past seventy, and has long been, and is still, operating surgeon for the National Tube Company, with a wide practice among workers. He was in New York recently, and I asked him about prohibition.

"It's a good thing," he said emphatically. "I was talking about it only the other day with a street-car conductor who's been carrying crowds of mill workers for years. Told me that now he rarely sees a drunken man, whereas in the days before we got this Amendment he was always having trouble with gin-inflamed rowdies. I observe the same thing in my practice. They find it too hard to get it now, and they're learning that they can be happy without it. I own some property in Holloway, Ohio, and when I go over there to collect rents I'm delighted to see the difference in those homes. The women and children are better fed, better dressed, and men I remember as spending their evenings and money at the corner saloon have braced up and made fine fellows of themselves."

A young business man who has been traveling through the West, whose objective was Seattle, Washington, told me that taking the country by and large, big towns and small towns and rural districts, the people believed that prohibition was here to stay, and they were glad of it. The law would be broken, but less and less as time goes on.

"Mustn't take newspaper headlines for scientific surveys," he added. "Day I reached Seattle a bootlegging case had broken on the front pages. Involved two or three men and a case or so of whiskey. Before prohibition there were probably three hundred saloons in Seattle—I've forgotten the exact figures—and the liquor in this bootlegging case was a drop in the bucket compared to the liquor consumed in a week, say, then. But drunkenness within the law isn't news. Done in defiance of the law, it is news."

A great editor said the same thing—"Violation of the law is news; observance of the law is not news"—to Gifford Gordon, an Australian, when the latter asked him why the newspapers of the United States had so much to say about the apparent failure of prohibition and so little about its beneficial results. Mr. Gordon was sent to this country by the Victorian Anti-Liquor League of Melbourne to study the working of the Eighteenth Amendment, and recently published a pamphlet telling what he had learned. He had a season of doubt after landing in New York, he says, but later changed his mind. (Some of the things he found out will be reported presently.) Naturally, this newspaper convention makes it difficult to discover the actual status of prohibition in the country.

Temperance Gaining

Straws show which way the wind blows. Even in New York, with its huge foreign population, its well-known dislike to having its appetites interfered with, and the hectic conditions of life that tend to make men and women crave unnatural stimulants—many tests (at least up to the time of the withdrawal of state enforcement) showed temperance on the gain. Remember this item which appeared in a box in the New York *Tribune* the 26th of last December?

> For the first time in its long and varied history, the blotter in West Side Court failed to show one single intoxication case on Christmas Day. All other courts showed fewer arrests for intoxication than any Christmas in the history of the city, before or after the Volstead law.

When I read that my mind went back

to a Christmas morning about ten years ago, when the first object I saw, on looking out of the window, was a dead-drunk man crumpled up against a post. What made him interesting to me was the fact that he was the only son of a dear old Swedish woman who sewed for me. He was a good lad, who wouldn't have gone out of his way for a drink, but he couldn't pass the saloon on the corner.

And just compare the elections in pre-Volstead days with the elections now. Of course woman suffrage has helped to clean up the polls, but could the women keep drunkenness out of polling-places wholly if a considerable portion of them were next door to saloons, as they were, say, in Newark the day New Jersey voted down equal franchise in that state. I have only to close my eyes to see it all: the darkening streets a half-hour before the polls closed, the long lines of voters, many of them fraudulent, hastily dragged from adjacent saloons to beat the women, and so drunk, in some cases, that they could hardly mark the ballot. But their votes were counted.

Well, there's bootlegging now, in shameful and appalling arrogance, but it doesn't make that sort of civic disgrace, anyhow.

I've a pile of statistics here at my hand, but somehow personal observations seem to mean so much more (to the observer) than figures. I take up a statement from the Granite Trust Company of Quincy, Massachusetts, which details, on the authority of Cora Frances Stoddard, executive secretary of the Scientific Temperance Federation, the great decrease in arrests for drunkenness, in the prison population, in the number of neglected children before the courts, in sex disease, the improvement in school attendance, in the general health, etc., in Massachusetts; but more telling to me is the life of one family as it has unrolled before me for the past nine years. They are squatters, who built their cabin in a vacant lot well within my view. In pre-Volstead days there was a fight down there once a week at least. The men beat their dogs till the S. P. C. A. had to be summoned. And when these things happened, the men were drunk. There was a saloon up on the corner, and the women sometimes drank there, chiefly, they said, to forget their troubles. Well, prohibition came, and while that cabin isn't a heaven now, it certainly is a different place. The men work, the dogs aren't abused, the women are sober and neatly dressed, and the spot that was once a blot on the neighborhood is so no longer.

Yet though statistics are impersonal, they have their value. Lacking the spectacular quality of bootlegging headlines, they nevertheless tell a significant story. I was struck by the report of the Scientific Temperance Federation on the way drink cures have had to go out of business. Miss Stoddard found that of the eighty-four pre-prohibition institutes listed from the group of Keeley, Neal and Gatlin cures, seventy-one are reported as discontinued, four cannot be found. Only seven remain in operation, and one of these is a general hospital. Some of the buildings in which the victims of drink were treated are now rooming houses, some are homes for children. The cases that come to the drink cures that are still running are mainly those of stomach poisoning.

One great factor in the gradual growth of temperance sentiment in this country is the feeling of solid men and women that drinking impairs efficiency, impairs health. Dr. Woods Hutchinson, in the *National Advocate* for September, 1922, testifies that hospital cases of delirium tremens have fallen off eighty to ninety per cent. Out of 457 inquests held last year by the coroner of

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A Business Girl's Club

By Winifred Lancashire Rich

ON the uptown side of East Thirtieth Street, New York City—number 109, to be exact—stands one of New York's brownstone fronts, differing in appearance from numerous brownstone fronts only by an iron balcony and railing. But the iron trim is just a hint at the real distinction, for this building is the main house of a seven-housed club, run in co-operation with the Association to Promote Proper Housing for Girls. And after the door opens, the difference is still more apparent. Instead of the usual dark hall, partitions are down and open spaces, coolness, peacefulness greet you. Rooms peep from all sides through arched doorways, and in the back is the green of a tree. The furnishings are simple—easy chairs, a table with periodicals, a victrola, a desk. At the right a dining-room.

The Girls' Community Club Marshall is four years old. It occupies three houses on the north side of the street (with a hopeful look toward a fourth) and four houses on the south side, directly opposite. Its resident membership is one hundred and twenty girls, and many more enjoy the club privileges by paying a very nominal yearly dues. Of course it has the regular assets of

Bought, managed, and maintained by girls

most clubs—sleeping quarters, food, and sociability. But it has something which distinguishes it (its promoters claim) from the thousands of other girls' clubs throughout the country and makes it one of three. It is self-governing and self-supporting. The girls decide upon their own rules at an annual meeting, and then apply the honor system. Furthermore, it's successful, and for one good psychological reason—because it lacks the institute flavor. With her own latch key in her pocket, and a consciousness of having paid full value for what she's had, any girl can throw back her head and look the world in the face. Her independence is intact.

And again it's successful because it meets problems squarely. Just recently the question of purchasing these houses arose. The leases expire next fall and the possibility existed of losing them. Eighty thousand dollars was necessary to insure safety. Eighty thousand dollars is a lot of money. The club met, and the girls pledged themselves to pay, within ten years, the debt incurred by mortgages (the most feasible method), principal and interest, from the income derived from the club, and to ask for gifts toward a revolving fund, which, when the mortgages have been paid off, will be used to start another club.

It is a great achievement pledged; it is the proof of strength in unity, for when last I inquired some of the leases had already been renewed and some of the houses purchased. And the club, by all signs, is a distinct contribution to the problem of girls' housing.

Jamestown's City Clerk

By Ida B. Cole

DIFFERENCES of opinion raised by men politicians of Jamestown, New York, filled the air when Miss Mary A. Bargar became city clerk —the first woman to hold that position in Chautauqua County.

Could she stand the work? Would her modesty suffer? Even such petty objections as the thick haze of tobacco-smoke-filled rooms were mentioned.

Well, she stood it during her first term, and was reelected with none of these bugaboos materializing. She has at least proved to Jamestown's satisfaction that American men are not too bad for a woman to associate with in public affairs.

Miss Bargar became candidate for the office through a chance remark to a neighbor that she wished a woman would be nominated for city clerk. That same evening her name was suggested at a political meeting, her acceptance given over the wire by her father (she was absent from home when the telephone call came), and her campaign launched.

Her opponent was a favorite representative of the Swedish population, which constitutes nearly fifty per cent. of Jamestown's inhabitants, so naturally it was a heated race. Miss Bargar won, however, breaking all precedent by so doing, as the school board had been the highest goal so far attained by a woman.

When asked her opinion on the values of a woman city clerk, she outlined woman's propensity for detail, her natural patience, and her sympathy and understanding, which she thinks invaluable, for instance, in handling people applying for marriage licenses. Her experience, by the way, has made Miss Bargar sure that uniform marriage laws are absolutely necessary. She has been made very conscious of the differences between her own and adjacent states. For example, in Pennsylvania a woman under twenty-one can not marry without her parents' consent, while in New York the age requirement is only eighteen; in New York, also, cousins may marry, while some other states prevent it. This means a continual crossing of borders to secure licenses, and an interchanging of fees which rightfully belong to the residents' own state.

Miss Bargar strongly stresses the fact that a city clerkship is uncertain because of changing administrations, and therefore not practicable for the wage-dependent woman. As for qualifications for the office, she classifies them something like this: Official competency first, courtesy, dignity, conciseness, and a willingness to ask and take advice.

Ingibjorg H. Bjarnason

Iceland's Woman M. P.

IT seems to be good weather to introduce a lady from Iceland. She is one of the really impressive number of women members of Parliament now in the world, even though our own huge country doesn't furnish its quota. Miss Ingibjorg H. Bjarnason is a senator, when you get down to it, though in the wee scrap of biography she sent us, at our request, she uses no such ambitious title. "Last summer, at a general election," she says, "I was elected for the upper house of our national assembly—the Althing—on a neutral list, a women's list, and am standing thus for the woman's cause in general."

Miss Bjarnason was born in a remote village on the west coast of Iceland; at sixteen went to Copenhagen to study, and became the first Icelandic teacher, "with examination," in gymnastic and dancing. The years were filled with teaching in various schools, until in 1906 she became the mistress of the only high school for girls in the city of Reykjavik—the largest on the Island, where she has been ever since. But there have been many trips abroad—to Switzerland, Germany, Italy—for the study of schools. Indeed so many were the trips that she says, "It has been very fortunate for me that I am a good sailor."

Women got the vote in Iceland in 1915, and they have celebrated the anniversary both by festivities and by the collection of a national hospital fund. Miss Bjarnason has from the first been president of the Hospital Executive Committee, which consists of members from all the women's associations in Reykjavik, the capital.

It is said of Iceland that "since about 1600 the use of arms has been unknown and forbidden." A good example from the far North.

Canadian Women's Work

By Leo Thwaite

THE spirit of adventure is to be found among women as well as men. When the earliest settlers followed their golden dreams across the Canadian prairies, they took with them wives and daughters, mothers and sisters equally anxious to materialize these dreams and to help in the upbuilding of a new country.

But a new day has dawned. The day of pioneering hardships is over, though the pioneering spirit remains. Canadian women today have a wide vision. They realize there are vital problems affecting themselves, their homes and their families which they must solve in conjunction with other women if they are to make the progress they so ardently desire. They must know something of national as well as of local affairs if they are to use wisely the franchise which has been granted them. This knowledge they can acquire through their Women's Institutes.

Most of the patriotic and philanthropic organizations in the Dominion have come from other lands. The Women's Institutes have the unique distinction of being of native birth. The first one was established thirty years ago in the province of Ontario to meet the needs of women in rural communities. These women desired opportunities of meeting with their neighbors every once in a while for social intercourse as well as for the exchange of recipes, dress patterns and other things dear to the domestic woman's heart. Subsequently, there spread across the Dominion a chain of women's clubs run on strictly non-sectarian and non-partisan lines—a chain which later reached across into the British Isles, and now is spreading to the continent. These are exerting an influence for good in Canada that is beyond computation.

One of the most valuable results achieved by the Institutes has been that the busy "home-tied" farm woman has learned that she can profitably co-operate with the state in many vital matters.

Each province has a president, and national union exists, but at a recent national convention the women asked for a Dominion Department with headquarters at Ottawa.

As set out the Women's Institute Act passed by the Alberta Legislature in 1916 the objects are:

The study of home economics (including home nursing, household science, sanitation, food value, sickroom cookery, house furnishing, sewing), child welfare, the prevention of disease, community needs, and industrial and social conditions.

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Editorially Speaking

O! Gentlemen, Gentlemen

ONCE upon a time there was a great war, the most destructive in all the history of the world. When millions of men, "the flower of the manhood" of their many lands, were dead upon battlefields, and when men and women in anguish at home were groaning under loads of taxes and trouble and no end was in sight, men began saying a new thing. They said it in England, in France, in Italy, in Australia, in Canada and in South Africa. They said it in the United States, not one man nor a few men, but thousands of them, and said it earnestly, prayerfully, "This must be the war to end war."

When the war was over a harassed peace conference beset by all the distraught nations of the earth, each wanting something the others did not want, made a peace treaty and with it came a League of Nations whose aim and only reason for existence was to prepare the way to end war. This was the answer to the promise men had been making all the world around.

In the United States, "the League was defeated," in the words of Thomas H. Dickinson, "by a Senate which was overwhelmingly in favor of a League of Nations." Why? It seemed clear from the debate in the Senate and the campaign that followed that the real reason was because it was "Mr. Wilson's League." To be sure Mr. Taft, President Lowell, Mr. Wickersham and many other Republicans brought facts to show that the idea was old and that it could not be "Mr. Wilson's League." It had no effect, and a body blow was struck at the very first serious effort ever made to substitute arbitration for "organized murder," and struck by the nation which had been loudest in its pronouncement that the means must be found to end the atrocity called war.

Now, Mr. Harding proposes that the United States shall enter "the World Court," whereupon the irreconcilables of his own party protest with vigor and from the housetops. Why? Because the Court is a part of the machinery set up to end war by the League of Nations—"Mr. Wilson's League." In this Court nations are expected to arbitrate their differences instead of drafting their young men to kill each other as wild savages do.

The New York *Times* in May took a hasty poll of the Senate and found that despite the "diehards'" attitude the World Court would command the necessary two thirds vote. Excellent. National hope began to revive. The "diehards" were still unreconciled and made life miserable for the President. In the expectation of winning them he said in his St. Louis speech that he saw no reason why the Court could not be cut loose from the League and be made self perpetuating, whereupon the *Times* took another poll and found that Mr. Harding had gained a few Republican votes by his new proposal but had lost practically all the Democratic votes. The two thirds majority had disappeared over night. Why? Because by this procedure the Court becomes "Mr. Harding's Court."

Meanwhile, war rages in Europe, it threatens elsewhere and every nation, bankrupt or otherwise, is madly building airplanes, secretly experimenting with poison gas and more men are actually under arms than when the Great War began. The plea so eloquently spoken when there was need to sell more liberty bonds, or to raise relief funds—"Let us make this a war to end war"—is forgotten. How to quiet world restlessness, soothe the bitterness and bring a real peace are subjects not discussed in the darkly provincialized spirit which has settled down over our land.

Here the exciting question is "the Harding Court" vs. "the Wilson League" and another impasse stops honorable action. Is this partisanship? O, gentlemen, gentlemen, whatever it is, it is not statesmanship, it is not sincerity, it is not worthy of this nation, nor this generation. Women, are you listening; are you understanding? Are you thinking straight or crooked? The real question underneath this discussion is Politics vs. War.

Once men gave up and confessed that they could make no peace and called upon the queens they represented to make it themselves, and a speedy "ladies peace" was effected. Perhaps the "ladies" may be called upon again.—CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

Count the Immigrants Before They Sail

TWELVE dollars a day for a brick-layer (we have just had to pay $14 to a man to get a needed porch floor laid) must be a potent lure for a man who has found bread difficult to buy because of depreciated currency.

Is it any wonder that when the new quota for immigrants for July became available, the first day of the month, 11,500 immigrants of all nationalities were at the gates for entry, and that the ships bearing them raced for Ellis Island in order that they might not run the risk of having to carry their living freight back to Europe? The Greek quota for the month was exhausted the first day, and any hapless Greek who was on a slow boat and who may have arrived the following day or later in the month will have to be sent back.

Improvement of the immigration law is one of the first subjects for the reconvening of Congress. It seems apparent that the country does not want the gates flung wide, but it does want the least possible burden of trouble and suffering placed on the would-be immigrant. This means that the selection must be made in the country of the immigrant. It is an obvious cruelty to allow a person to tear up his roots at home, to get his passport viséd at a United States Consulate, to come to our very doors, and then to have them slammed in his face, and be sent back on a long journey to a home which no longer exists.

There seems to be no good reason why the United States Consular service could not be extended to do much of the work which is now done at Ellis Island, and by close cooperation with the immigration service it could even give certificates of entry which would assure admission into the United States. It would be quite possible to obviate the suffering now caused so often by the immigrant's crossing the Atlantic and being refused admission because the quota for his country is filled.

Admit More English-Speakers

IT is to be hoped that Congress will adopt the proportion of nationalities as it existed in 1890, as the basis for its new immigration law. This would decrease still more the number of Southern Europeans permitted to enter the United States, while it would open the door wider to those of the Northern countries.

Why not exempt England, and all English-speaking nations, from the restrictions of the immigration law, as Canada is exempt? The intention behind the law is to shut out unassimilable immigrants. English-speaking peoples do not come in that class. The English quota for the year was exhausted some time before the year was up, and able-bodied workmen

and skilled mechanics who could not get work at home and wanted to come to the United States, were unable to do so. Such workers are much needed here. The building trades, farms and gardens have been suffering for want of men, while Great Britain has long lists of unemployed.

It would add to the prosperity of the world if immigration to the United States were made more liberal for all English-speaking peoples.

Missionaries of Race Prejudice

WE seem to be thrusting our color prejudice on the French. There has been no color line in France: the law provides for equality, and custom endorses it, all the way up and down the social scale. But there have been many Americans in French cafés since the war, and lately there have been instances of respectable French Negroes being thrown out in deference to free-spending American clients. Parliament will perhaps discuss the question. France has dark colonies, whose love will soon be lost if France follows our example. She has a tradition and an ideal that are being threatened. Meantime, the rule of doing in Rome as the Romans do would in this instance be an exceedingly good one for Americans to follow.

The Radio—Aid to Politics

IN one particular President Harding's trip across the country differs from all other such trips. He has been able, as he has himself said, to talk to the whole country at once. Radio, yes. To the diffusing powers of the telegraph and the newspaper, it adds another great force—adds hundreds of thousands to the number who receive a given message. Last year political speeches were barred from the radio, but that of course can not last. Imagine, then, how different the next campaign will be, with political information and arguments available without stirring from home or even troubling to read. Women can go on sewing, and men can go on doing whatever they do in place of whittling. And the thing must be progressive, since it is only reasonable to suppose that the radio will become cheaper and simpler. There is no doubt whatever that the voice affects the arguments—favorably or otherwise; that it gives at least part of the personality effect one gets from the actual presence of the speaker. It must be welcomed as a new means of making sure the people know the issues of a campaign, a means of securing a more intelligent vote.

Southern Women's Better Films Work

WOMEN'S work to improve the movies is spreading. All through the Southeastern states there is a chain of Better Films Committees, which is doing fine constructive work that furnishes a good example for other sections. (Not that all sections need it—just for instance, there is the Better Films Committee of the Illinois Council of the Mother and Parent-Teacher Associations, under Mrs. Hilda D. Merriam's chairmanship, which we have noted before.) The Atlanta Committee, whose president was Mrs. B. M. Boykin, recently succeeded by Mrs. Alonzo Richardson, began it, but the organization grew rapidly—so that the *Better Films Bulletin* shows items of progress not only in cities but in small towns as well, throughout the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Tennessee and Texas. The basic idea of this organization is to push good pictures instead of denouncing bad ones, and one of the best things it has done is to foster children's matinees.

Some of the pioneers discovered that thirty-six per cent. of the plays in general programs were intended for children, and thirteen per cent. of the audiences were children. They began to see the advantage of all-children programs—the removal of danger to their minds and morals; the heightened opportunity to mold their taste—to give them pictures really suitable to their development and interests. Another idea they developed was that once a week is often enough for children to go to the movies. So the Saturday children's matinee became an institution, and in Atlanta at any rate the number attending regular moving-picture performances has been reduced 75 per cent. since these juvenile matinees began. Spartanburg, South Carolina, holds the matinee blue ribbon—juvenile matinees every Saturday morning for seventeen months, and an attendance record of 859 paid admissions at one performance out of a population of 22,000 people.

This is real community work. It is an activity in which women can carry the mother point of view out of their homes, to make the world safer and better for all children.

A Cruel Court-room Practice

AN injustice so common that it seldom excites comment was perpetrated recently against a woman in a New York criminal court. She was being tried for the murder of her lover. For months the case had occupied the front pages of the daily papers. The jury had been out a long time and had sent word that they were ready to announce their verdict. Before permitting their return, the presiding judge ordered the court-room *cleared of all women*, and the woman on trial received the verdict of guilty and the death sentence, alone, surrounded only by men. The court-room was filled with men, the judge of course was a man, and the jury was composed exclusively of men.

We are not suggesting that the sentence should have been lighter because of her sex, or that women on the jury would have been any more lenient than were the men. On the contrary, jury women have shown themselves even less sentimental than men. If the order had been to clear the court-room of *all* curious spectators, one would applaud it, but what was the logic in shutting out all the women and obliging the woman prisoner to face her tragic fate surrounded only by men?

Also, what becomes of the guarantee of a trial by a jury of one's peers, when a person of one sex is tried by a jury composed exclusively of the other?

Where Chivalry Falls Down

A representative of the National League of Women Voters and an official of the Immigration Board were talking about the use of women on the different committees that are engaged in classifying Federal employees, in the process of carrying into effect the Lehlbach-Sterling bill.

"No, we don't have women employees on the Immigration Board," said the official, "because that kind of work is not fit for women. Women should be protected from the rougher aspects of life, and horrible evils are unearthed in the investigations of the lives of these immigrants."

"Do you have men stenographers to take down such proceedings?" the League woman inquired mildly.

"Well, no," he admitted, "we generally have to use girl stenographers."

And there you are. Maybe you can protect one group of women, but you can't protect them all—women are all woven into the business of life, and can not be detached. And the sooner men learn that women do not want protection from doing their civic duties or from choosing their own jobs, anyhow—the better it will be.

The League's investigation into the representation of women on the boards that are classifying employees yielded results, according to Miss Belle Sherwin, that were "encouraging though not wholly satisfactory." Only three departments are without women representatives. Naturally women are logically needed in this work, since it is to establish the principle of equal pay for equal work regardless of sex, and will affect the salaries and opportunities of about 34,000 women in the District of Columbia and of a perhaps larger number not separately classified in the field services.

What the American Woman Thinks

Overheard in the Elysian Fields

By Mary Gray Peck

SOCRATES walked with good cheer along a beaten road in Elysium. Diogenes, coming in the opposite direction, met him.

"Stay, O Diogenes!" said Socrates, "I have somewhat to say to you."

Diogenes set down his lantern and stood with his hands on his hips, sourly. "I concede nothing to start with," said he. "I defy you to construct an argument out of my answers to your questions, as is your wont. I am no mushy Plato, neither!"

"Good!" chuckled Socrates. "Pick up your lantern out of the road and turn aside with me to sit awhile upon this ledge."

Diogenes was secretly glad at the prospect of a witty encounter, but he assumed an air at once contemptuous and impudent.

"O Diogenes," began Socrates, "I have been conversing with newly come barbarians from America."

"And found them more ignorant than their grandfathers, who could read Prometheus and Antigone," sneered Diogenes.

"In some things," conceded Socrates in high good humor. "But in others they are wiser. One thing they told me proved it. You remember those two great political parties they have in the United States?"

"Quite well," replied Diogenes with a malicious smile. "Nobody can tell the distinction between them, for they dare not adopt any principles lest they affront some of their members and so lose them."

"They tell me that these parties are breaking up into groups each of which stands for certain definite aims, and that there is a growing determination to use new measures against old ills."

"Humph!" grunted Diogenes. "Multiplying parties but makes it easier for the demagogue. Doubtless you recall how in Attica we had as many parties as there were citizens, while as for trying new measures, I will back old Athens against the universe!"

"But our Athenian parties were devoted to men rather than to principles," objected Socrates. "I, for example, was for that brilliant and beautiful but wicked young man, Alcibiades, while you, O Diogenes, boosted Aristides the Just."

Diogenes' pale eyes flashed and his ragged beard curled with ire. "I boost Aristides? Well do you know that I bought my lantern the day that old geezer was made archon!"

Socrates' sides heaved, but he would not give Diogenes the satisfaction of making him laugh, and the latter continued bitterly:-

"And I marvel at you that a shade of your enlightenment should still waste words hopefully with those who come from earth, and from outlandish corners of it at that. From bad to worse has the world gone since we left it. Barbarians have ruled it for two thousand years, and it looks like Helots. Smoke, grinding wheels, sweating men with dinner pails, fat women crowding the eating places! Faugh! A brutal, sentimental, monkey-minded animal is man, and the best news I have heard from the earth is that he won't be dissuaded from exterminating his kind."

Who says the Citizen never publishes fiction? Here at any rate is something on fiction lines—a dramatic dialogue which challenges you to remember how certain Greeks loved puns.

Socrates plucked a sprig of asphodel and chewed it cheerfully. "For twenty-three hundred years, O Diogenes, have I heard you get off this old stuff."

"But can you deny that the world is tumbling into chaos?"

"If it is and must, then let it tumble. It has taken that awful plunge before not once nor twice. But I am told it may be stayed upon the brink. The Scythians and Hyperboreans have established a new type of commonwealth. I am told that it has put an end to many evils, and that spreading throughout the world it may bring again the Golden Age."

Diogenes threw up his hands. "O Ancient Night, what hear I? Socrates, also, among the Bolsheviki! Of Plato the wool gatherer I might have believed it, but of Socrates—"

Socrates burst out laughing. "I see that still it gives you the falling sickness, O Diogenes, to hear mention of a new idea. As for me, I ever longed to see new things attempted. For in their very failure, men learned much. And if perchance they prevailed, we saw new glories coming into the morning skies."

Diogenes shrugged his shoulders. "You ought to know, for your inveterate love for new ideas cost you enough, in your day. But as for the Bolsheviki and their new government which you were speaking of, as Aristophanes was saying to Karl Marx when I left them but now in talk down the road, 'It is the same old gag.'"

"And what said Marx?" asked Socrates with interest.

"He said, 'Tja, aber ich rejoice myself dasz dieses gag ein Socialismus ist.'"

"And what said you, O Diogenes?" inquired Socrates, leaning forward.

"I?" said Diogenes with affected indifference. "I could not well understand his barbarous German dialect, since we have all taken up speaking English here. '*Socialis-mus*' was a cloudy term to me."

"Nonsense! You know well it is the German word for Socialism," scoffed Socrates.

"Is it?" asked Diogenes innocently. "It is a pity I did not meet you before I met Marx, for to make his meaning clear to myself, I asked this I now see most unfortunate question:—'O industrious shade of an inferior but still philosophical people, did you say social *miss*, *mess* or *muss*, or were you trying to say 'em all three at once?'"

So saying, Diogenes picked up his lantern, watching Socrates out of the tail of his eye, and with a carefully concealed grin sauntered on his way.

When Socrates got his breath and wiped his eyes, he heard in the distance faint peals of mirth. Two shades were approaching, one holding his sides, doubling up, pausing now and then to slap the other on the back and shout anew with laughter, the other looking crosser at each slap—Aristophanes and Karl Marx.

Help Wanted—Why

By Marjorie M. Brown

THERE ought to be no doubt in the mind of any thinking person that the problem of domestic help is one of the gravest questions that faces American life today. We have heard it said in one way and another, and with rather tragic reiteration, that the American home is disappearing and it is strange that in all the discussion of the

menace to the home so little has been said about the absence of domestic labor as one of the fundamental causes.

In the past a woman was not the intellectual factor in her home, in the life of her children or in her community that she is today. She has used her leisure to cultivate herself and she rightly demands that she shall continue to have a reasonable amount of such leisure. It is important to the development of the family. Granted that she shall retain her present intellectual status, the only solution is a suitable amount of domestic assistance if the family life is to remain a unit.

There are many of us who are fully capable of doing without assistance from the standpoint of our ability to handle our work. But even with the assistance of all the labor-saving devices of modern invention, the fact remains that the actual work in a household involves an enormous amount of time and a modern mother cannot be the proper guide and companion to her children, the proper head of her household, and at the same time a proper member of a community if she is engaged in the actual labor of housework unassisted.

This, then, is the paramount reason for doing all that we can to preserve the domestic assistant at any cost.

But I am firmly of the opinion that in view of the very nature of the work, the woman who is head of the household must do a certain amount of the work herself—and of course by this I do not mean families that can afford an unlimited amount of assistance. I am speaking of the average comfortably well-off family, which usually consists of two or three children and can afford to maintain one helper. In such a family the work should be crowded up into a small number of hours, the women working together, not necessarily at the same work, but at the same time, so that the mother and her assistant may both have the amount of leisure to which every individual is entitled.

In home labor I should hate to see the eight-hour day become a fixture; some part of the home efficiency is bound to suffer by such a plan. But I do know that the actual business of housekeeping may, with an assistant, be reduced to far less than eight hours a day of actual work, with free time morning, afternoon and evening. Everything possible should be done to systematize the work to the end that there shall be considerable spaces of time in every day which shall be long enough to be really available for personal use both for the mother and for the helper. Nor should there be any restriction upon the helper to prevent her from using her free time in any way she may desire.

If this were done the injustice of long hours would be eliminated, and I see no reason even under this plan why wages should not be regulated by actual hours worked, nor why overtime work should not be paid for as such.

Part time work is also a perfectly feasible consideration. I have known it to work well where a woman who maintained a home herself came into another home for a certain number of hours a day, and I have seriously thought that the delicatessen idea should be enlarged to the point of central kitchens from which good food is dispensed to private homes.

Still another point of view on the housework problem—one that applies particularly to the woman in comfortable circumstances, who wants to do her work in her community as well as her home. The writer, Mrs. Hugh Brown, from whose paper we have taken extracts, is president of the Third District, Nevada Federation of Women's Clubs.

I have never been reconciled to that word "servant." I don't think that it has any application to domestic work, and it has done more to keep women out of this form of labor than anything else except the dreadful living quarters to which women in domestic work have been condemned. Not that I object to the idea of service, but I do object to the social stigma that seems to attach to this word as applied to domestic service. Labor is honorable or dishonorable according to the way it is performed or the use to which it is put, but no kind of labor is beneath any one and no labor should be so highly respected as that associated with the maintenance of a home.

Then why should we not bid for the kind of woman who will be a fit member of a household? Women have not paid enough attention to the kind of woman they receive into their homes. Thank heaven the day of the "hired girl"—that miserable slattern combination of incompetence and irresponsibility—is past! May she never return! But it should be the concern of every earnest American woman for the protection of her home and her own ability to develop herself and her children, that she shall be replaced by a domestic worker who will be not only worthy of the high position that such a place in our homes deserves, but who will be treated with the courtesy, consideration, and respect to which her character entitles her. Under proper conditions domestic work is pleasant, and safe and honorable. It is the duty of every woman today to make the conditions of her home attractive to a fine class of women.

But of course this is not all one-sided. If we prepare for a finer type of woman as a domestic worker, we have a right to expect that she shall be trained. The old idea that *any* one can do housework is an absurdity. Housekeeping is a business, and should be run like an office with efficiency and care. No one can do anything worth while without training. Therefore we have a right to demand schools that will turn out women who have been systematically prepared for the work. First make the position attractive by respectful treatment, decent living quarters, as much leisure as possible compatible with the work, and a better class of women will undertake this form of training.

It is perfectly logical that this will demand higher wages, but here again women have been blind to their own best interests. The woman who has ever had a really trained helper knows that the expenditure brings back full value received. Proper allowance should be made for it in the family budget. It is much wiser in the sum total of living to do without expensive clothes or trips or amusements than to do without capable domestic assistance.

The Traveling Bureau

By Ruth Comfort Mitchell

All day she sits behind a bright brass rail
Planning proud journeyings in terms that bring
Far places near,—high-colored words that sing—
"The Ta'j-Mahal at Agra" . . . "Kashmir's Vale" . . .
Spanning wide spaces with her clear detail,
"Seville or Fiesole in spring,—
Thro' the Fjords in June—" her words take wing:
She is the minstrel of the great Out Trail!

At half-past five she puts her maps away,
Pins on a gray, meek hat and braves the sleet,
A timid eye on traffic. Dully gray
The house that harbors her in a gray street,
The close, sequestered, colorless retreat
Where she was born; where she will always stay.

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The Woman Voter

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Modern China

Recent events in China make the following summary of a last year's round table of special interest to the general League reader as well as to the League women who will attend the Williamstown Institute this month.

THE Institute of International Politics at Williamstown devoted one entire round table to problems of modern China, under the leadership of Dr. Stanley K. Hornbeck, of Washington, D. C. Dr. Hornbeck was one of the first Rhodes scholars at Oxford, has been an instructor in Chinese government colleges, and a professor at the University of Wisconsin; served as a technical expert on Far Eastern questions at the Peace Conference at Paris, accompanied General Harbord on the American Military Mission to Armenia, was a technical expert on the staff of the American delegation at the Arms Conference, and is at present a specialist in the Office of the Economic Adviser at the State Department. In the work of the round table he was assisted by Dr. Harold M. Vinacke, of Miami University, and had special contributions from Professor Ernest D. Burton of the University of Chicago, Dr. Edward H. Hume of the Yale Mission in China, Mr. Edwin L. Neville of the State Department, Colonel W. K. Naylor, of the Army War College, Professor James Q. Dealey, of Brown University, and Professor Emeritus James F. Colby, of Dartmouth University.

The work of the round table began with a discussion of materials, followed by an outline of the geography of the Far East, in which emphasis was laid upon China's isolation until modern times, with an explanation of the reasons and some of the results. An account was given of features of Chinese civilization, which is remarkable for its indigenous character, its age and its stability. The Chinese race is characterized by sturdiness of character, industry, adaptability, and the habit of individualism. Chinese governmental organization has been extremely simple.

Four sessions were devoted to the development of contact between the Occident and the Orient during the past four hundred years, with a view to establishing the background for the understanding of the present international situation in and with respect to China. The acquisition of portions of Chinese territory, leases, and spheres of interest, by foreign powers was explained; the points of coincidence and of divergence between the policies of the various foreign powers were indicated; and the origin and development of the "open door" policy, championed particularly by the United States, were featured.

As Russian and Japanese relations with China were dealt with in another round table, only one session was devoted, under the leadership of Mr. Neville, to an account of Japan's foreign policy relating to China. The points were made that the Chino-Japanese War was the great turning point in the modern history of the Far East; that Russian political penetration of the Far East had brought on the Russo-Japanese War; that the end of that war found Japan the heir not only to Russian rights in South Manchuria, but to the Russian policy which had brought those rights into being; that Japan was thereafter confronted by a dilemma, whether to stay on the Continent and develop a sphere of interest, or to withdraw and leave Manchuria, a standing invitation to the Russians to continue in the policy which they had previously pursued; that this situation was attributable particularly to the weakness of China; that Japan had decided to make terms with Russia and to develop a sphere of interest; that in this decision and in the Chinese Revolution we have the key to the China policy of the Japanese Government as it was elaborated and carried out between 1905 and 1921.

Professor Dealey and Dr. Vinacke gave an account of the constitutional and political development of China in modern times. It was pointed out that the decentralized government of the Manchus had proved acceptable until the impact of the Occident. The opening of the country to foreign trade and influence necessitated a change. But not until after the Russo-Japanese War did the Manchu Government address itself to the problem. It was then too late. None of the constitutions elaborated in China since the Revolution has been made effective in practice. Since the death of President Yuan Shihkai, there has been no strong figure able to maintain the authority of the central government. Lack of education handicaps the efforts of the Chinese to create a government on republican lines. Although Chinese society has a democratic basis, the Chinese have not had experience with the machinery and the spirit of representative and responsible legislatures. It may be expected that the evolution of a stable government will be slow.

Her Resources

The problems of education, of financial re-adjustment and of developing transportation and communications systems are of primary importance. Impatience over the slow progress made is natural, but a rapid economic development, a sudden industrialization of the population of 400,000,000, a sudden acquisition by the Chinese of a strong patriotic sense under a strong military leadership, would make China a greater source of uneasiness to the world than she is in her present state of feebleness and slow movement.

Economically, China is well endowed with the fundamental raw materials: iron, coal, and cotton; and she has unequalled potential man-power and abundant agricultural resources. The lack of effective means of transportation and communication accounts in no small measure for the absence, until recently, of a national consciousness. Mobile capital is lacking, but the economic wealth of the country is considerable. By Western standards, China is not heavily in debt. The Chinese people are not heavily taxed. The government has never collected large revenues. The difficulty in Chinese public finance lies in administration. The problems of reconstruction can be met only by complete fiscal reform and the application of substantial amounts of capital. In recent years, attempts have been made to provide for the supplying, under proper safeguards, of large loans. The International Consortium, formed in 1918, has not so far advanced any money to China, but its existence has prevented the making of irresponsible loans. The Chinese Consortium, organized

in 1920, has already made several advances to the Chinese Government.

The development of modern banking methods and the organization of modern Chinese banks into a group to supply funds for public purposes are hopeful signs. China's credit is low in the world's money markets, chiefly because the administration of the finances has become so chaotic. China has failed to pay interest and principal due on several of her obligations—particularly debts due in the United States. However, this has involved, up to date, only some 10 per cent. of her outstanding obligations. Estimated on the basis of fundamental considerations, the assets of the country and the character of the people, China should be considered a good financial risk.

The Chinese Revolution was a product of the impact of Occidental influence, with its comparatively complicated economic and political methods, upon the *laissez faire* system and practices of the Chinese state, together with the recurrence within China of a general situation comparable to that which had several times before resulted in the overthrow of dynasties and the placing of a new personnel at the head of the state. This time, not only the dynasty but the institution of monarchy was swept away. Nothing substantial has been put in its place.

Colonel Naylor gave an account of Chinese military forces, past and present, and of the military problem. The Chinese are good military material. China could not easily be penetrated far by foreign military forces. She needs a standing army of possibly 250,000 men. Toward organizing an adequate and effective course, there needs to be developed a truly national spirit, the armies of the Tuchuns should be disbanded, the army be placed under one central authority and civil authorities made superior to the military.

The Real Issues

The present political situation in China can be understood only when it is realized that there are certain definable issues. There is a struggle first between the proponents of centralization and those of decentralization of the governmental organization; there is an issue, second, of presidential as against parliamentary government; third, between what may be called idealism and what seems practical common sense; fourth, the issue of accepting or rejecting Japanese leadership; while the fifth phase of the contest is that of factional or personal struggles.

In the eyes of the constitutionalists, the restoration of General Li to the presidency re-established the legality of the Peking Government. Li accepted the presidency on condition that the Tuchuns recognize the civil authority and agree to gradual reduction of their forces.

The Chinese, along with a good many other people, expected a political millennium to follow the Great War. At Paris, they asked for a great many things which had no direct relation to the conclusion of peace between the Allies and the Central Powers. The one question of prime importance dealt with in regard to China was that of Shantung, which was disposed of in a manner altogether unsatisfactory to the Chinese.

Among the many questions which China had wished to have considered, there was that of extra-territoriality. Professor Colby gave the round table an historical and anayltical account of this question, explaining the origin of the system in its application in China and the procedure which has developed in connection with it. He discussed its defects and possible remedies. No remedy, he felt, can be put into effect until China shall have emerged from her present disorganized condition and shown a capacity satisfactorily to administer her own laws. China needs a considerable period of preparation before she can hopefully advocate an alteration of the present system. Although attention was given to this question at the Washington Conference, the Chinese Government has itself requested that the investigation provided for be postponed.

Professor Burton gave an account of the educational situation. He emphasized the need of reaching a greater proportion of the population; of emphasizing in the curriculum political science, economics, engineering, agriculture, and training in teaching. Education in China must be made means for the development of moral character and of public spirit. There has been a conspicuous lack in modern China of leaders with strong moral convictions. Some such leaders seem now to be developing. Toward establishing an adequate educational system, the sympathetic assistance of foreigners is needed. The Occident has exported to China its discredited industrial system, and there rests upon the Occident an obligation to help China avoid the evils of industrialism.

Doctor Hume gave an account of the student movement in China. In the present awakening, it is not alone the youth of China who are participating. The so-called "student movement" came to a head in 1919 when news of the Shantung decision came from Paris. The agitation which started among the students in Peking spread throughout the country. Business men co-operated in demanding a housecleaning. This led to the dismissal of certain corrupt officials. The effect on the national life is apparent in a noticeable opposition to the traditional reverence for authority, indifference to religion, and antipathy to foreign influences, from a standpoint of control: also, on the positive side, in a change in the mental attitude of the people, promotion of mass education, diffusion of the information, a slow development of new standards, and adoption of western ideas.

At the concluding session of the round table, the point was made that no revolution, except the Russian, has involved so large an area, and none so great a population or such complexity of problems, as has the Chinese. The remarkable thing about the decade since 1911 has been not the failures but the progress. Political reconstruction of China may be expected to take a generation or more. It can scarcely be expected to come at the hands of a "strong man." Neither the attitude of the Chinese toward each other nor the international situation favors the emergence of a dominant, dictatorial leader. Such success as the Chinese have had in effective administration, has been chiefly in local units. Nevertheless, for the maintenance of national integrity and for the conduct of foreign relations, effective central authority seems absolutely necessary. The tendency since the revolution has been toward provincial autonomy. In this movement there have been grave dangers from the standpoint of international relations. With this in mind, it may be considered that the work of the Washington Conference is of very great importance to China. That work has thrown a protecting instrument around and over China, in the form of the Nine-Powers Treaty, which gives China more assurance than existed previously, that she may proceed, without undue apprehension of foreign aggression, to the solution of her domestic problems.

Washington Conference Policy in China

The China policy of the United States is founded upon traditional advocacy of two principles; equality of commercial opportunity and maintenance of the territorial integrity and political independence of the Chinese state. Very important in the work of the Washington Conference was the refutation of the principle of "spheres of interest" in application to China. A further feature of American policy has been that of co-operation. The "open door" policy had never, until 1921, received formal recognition in a major international agreement. At the Washington Conference it was adopted and given definition in the Nine-Powers Treaty, to which China, with Japan and the Occidental powers, was a party.

The Conference also accepted the Chinese definition of China's territories, which included Manchuria and the dependencies; initiated a provision for a Board of Reference to deal with certain matters that might be in dispute; made provision for the revision of China's customs tariff, for the

abolition of the foreign post-offices, and for the investigation of the extra-territorial system. It also passed resolutions recommending the withdrawal of foreign armed forces from China, the reduction of military expenditures by the Chinese, the recognition of certain principles in regard to the maintenance of radio stations in China, and procedure with regard to the Chinese Eastern Railway. It reached an agreement providing for publication of treaties and contracts between China and other powers or persons.

The termination of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, provided for in the Four-Powers Treaty, will be a matter of considerable satisfaction to the Chinese. With the passing of the Lansing-Ishii agreement, it will further simplify the situation internationally. The adoption of the Naval Treaty may be expected to reduce the possibility of war in the Far East. The Shantung Treaty, arrived at between the Japanese and the Chinese, will diminish friction. The British Government has announced its intentions to give up its lease of Weihaiwei, and the French have agreed to discuss the relinquishment of their lease of Kwangchow Bay.

The Washington Conference brought about a general international commitment to the principles, in application to China, of the American open door policy.

League Program Is Sound

TO many members of the League who were not at the Des Moines convention, and to many men interested in our general program, the newspaper reports of the resolutions on the subject of world peace were a distinct disappointment. These persons felt that after the unequivocal declaration in favor of outlawing war passed at the Baltimore convention, the Des Moines pronouncement in favor of the participation of the United States in the world court, as "a first step towards the outlawry of war," indicated a lack of understanding either of the proposal to outlaw war, or of the powers of the world court, or both. This was the more disconcerting because those of us who stayed at home and read Secretary Hoover's speech in the newspapers noted that he made it quite plain that the court is without affirmative jurisdiction. Participation in a court of this kind could not be a step towards the outlawry of war. Naturally the resolution on the court was one which received most notice in the press because the President's proposal was still very new and because of Mr. Hoover's presence at Des Moines as its advocate.

To the persons who wrote me expressing their concern I could only say that I assumed the resolution meant that official participation in the League Court by the United States would lead to a better all-round understanding and perhaps provide the opportunity for extending information on the subject of outlawry; and that the Baltimore resolutions had not been repudiated.

In the midst of this correspondence came the plan of work and program for 1923-24, so expeditiously printed and distributed by Miss Sherwin's office, and to my joy, I found, under the recommendations of the Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War, one providing for the initiation and support of measures "to develop a code of international procedure by which war shall be declared a crime and outlawed as such." The press had neglected to give us this information. To those of us who had worked on the League's first special committee for the limitation of armament by international agreement it was a matter of no small satisfaction to know that the Baltimore resolutions had become an adopted standard of the League program.

Because there are many League members and multitudes of sympathetically interested outsiders who do not see our plan of work, it has seemed to me worth while, indeed, essential to a just appraisal of League policy, to call especial attention to this matter through these pages. To such persons I feel impelled to say, "Cheer up! The League only *seemed* to be making a detour; it was on the main track all the time."

That track leads—where? Certainly to the support of the resolution to outlaw war, presented to the Senate, February 14, 1923, by Senator Borah, in my opinion. And whether or not you agree that this particular resolution merits League support, you cannot but agree that in any study of international co-operation it must be seriously considered. If the text of that resolution has appeared in the *Woman Citizen*, I have missed it. It has not appeared in the *Woman Voter* and so it is given herewith:

WHEREAS, War is the greatest existing menace to society and has become so expensive and destructive that it not only causes the stupendous burdens of taxation now afflicting our people but threatens to engulf and destroy civilization; and

WHEREAS, Civilization has been marked in its upward trend out of barbarism into its present condition by the development of law and courts to supplant methods of violence and force; and

WHEREAS, The genius of civilization has discovered but two methods of compelling the settlement of human disputes, namely, law and war, and therefore in any plan for the compulsory settlement of international controversies we must choose between war on the one hand and the process of law on the other, and

WHEREAS, War between nations has always been and still is a lawful institution; so that any nation may, with or without cause, declare war against any other nation and be strictly within its rights; and

WHEREAS, Revolutionary wars, or wars of liberation, are illegal and criminal, to wit, high treason, whereas under existing international law, wars of aggression between nations are perfectly lawful; and

WHEREAS, The overwhelming sentiment of civilized people everywhere is against the cruel and destructive institution of war; and

WHEREAS, All alliances, leagues or plans which rely upon force as the ultimate power for the enforcement of peace carry the seed either of their own destruction or of military dominancy to the utter subversion of liberty and justice; and

WHEREAS, We must recognize the fact that resolutions, or treaties, outlawing certain methods of killing will not be effective so long as war itself remains lawful, and that in international relations we must have not rules and regulations of war but organic laws against war; and

WHEREAS, In our Constitutional Convention of 1787 it was successfully contended by Madison and Hamilton that the use of force when applied to people collectively—that is, to states or nations—was unsound in principle and would be tantamount to a declaration of war; and

WHEREAS, We have in our Federal Supreme Court a practical and effective model for a real international court, as it has specific jurisdiction to hear and decide controversies between our sovereign states; and

WHEREAS, Our Supreme Court has exercised this jurisdiction without resort to force for 135 years, during which time scores of controversies have been judicially and peaceably settled that might otherwise have led to war between the states, and thus furnishes a practical exemplar for the compulsory and pacific settlement of international controversies; and

WHEREAS, An international arrangement of such judicial character would not shackle the independence or impair the sovereignty of any nation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the view of the Senate of the United States that war between nations should be outlawed as an institution or means for the settlement of international controversies, by making it a public crime under the law of nations, and that every nation should be encouraged by solemn agreement or treaty to bind itself to indict and punish its own international war breeders or instigators and war profiteers, under powers similar to those conferred upon our Congress under Article I., Section 8, of our Federal Constitution, which clothes the Congress with the power to define and punish offenses against the law of nations; and be it further

Resolved, That a code of international law of peace, based upon equality and justice between nations, amplified and expanded and adapted and brought down to date, should be created and adopted;

Second, That a judicial substitute for war should be created (or, if existing in part, adapted and adjusted) in the form or nature of an international court, modeled on our Federal Supreme Court in its jurisdiction over controversies between our sovereign states, such court to possess affirmative jurisdiction to hear and decide all purely international controversies as defined by the code, or arising under treaties, and to have the same power for the enforcement of its decrees as our Federal Supreme Court, namely the respect of all enlightened nations for judgments, resting upon open and fair investigation and impartial decisions and the compelling power of enlightened public opinion.

There are many people who are "for" anything proposed by Senator Borah simply because he does propose it. There are many, very many, others who are against anything Borah proposes and for the same reason. May I commend to these "parties of the second part" Mr. Elihu Root's endorsement of the Borah resolution? Speaking to the American Society

of International Law, on April 26, Mr. Root said: "I wish to express my warm agreement with what Senator Borah has recently said about outlawry of war. 'War cannot be outlawed by proclamation or by resolution, or by mere agreement, or by mere force. War can be outlawed only by arraying the moral force of the civilized world in support of definite rules of conduct which exclude war, and by giving to that moral force institutions through which that force may be applied to specific cases of attempted violation. One of those necessary institutions is a court by whose judgment the great multitude who desire the peace of justice may know what is just.' "—ELIZABETH J. HAUSER.

At Washington Headquarters

SOME weeks ago, Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, executive secretary, sent to every state president a sheet of paper with questions on it and spaces in which the replies (the names of chairmen of all standing committees) were to be set down. The filled-out questionnaire was then to be returned to headquarters as soon as might be. It is doubtless generally known that records are carefully kept at headquarters and that all information is most scientifically filed. Mrs. Cunningham called her sheet of paper an "information questionnaire" and headquarters staff has referred to it ever since as "the I. Q." and is determined to regard it as the thing the letters stand for among people who investigate the minds of school-children and others.

Headquarters staff began with the assumption that the states most prompt in replying are highest in the energy scale, but this satisfying theory was upset at the very beginning when the first reply came from Massachusetts and the second from Minnesota, for in spite of the insistence of a staff member, whose forebears lie in the Granary Burying Ground, that Massachusetts naturally would be first, a statistically-minded colleague pointed out that it takes longer to send to Minnesota and get the first possible reply than it does to send to Massachusetts.

Nobody had thought to keep the envelopes, so it will never be known which state League was actually most prompt. The rest of the states, however, are being listed in the order in which returned questionnaires have been received, and such factors as distance, number of persons on hand to help, and climatic conditions have been properly estimated and each state given its just handicap. Mrs. Cunningham is determined to collect full information about state chairmen everywhere, and headquarters staff will keep the tally. The names of dilatory states will never be made public, but in each of them there will be those who will be kept awake of nights by their consciences or will dream fitfully of figures and lists and competitions, disclosing to any psycho-analyst whom they may consult about those dreadful dreams and the loud pleas for mercy that attend them, that there is a terrible anxiety complex due wholly to the fear of being listed as last to reply.

And speaking of states, Kentucky was first to telegraph to headquarters that its League had secured twenty new sustaining members in the campaign Miss Ludington is directing, and that each new member gives one hundred dollars to help the League work on.

With Leagues and League Officers

WHEN a delegation of nine, headed by Miss Ruth Morgan, head of the Department of International Cooperation to Prevent War, presented to the President of the United States the National League's resolutions urging that this country enter the Permanent Court of International Justice, correspondents waiting outside the President's office were not given a verbatim account of the interview when the nine came out. They received only a general account, and Miss Ludington had asked the President's wishes in regard to what was to be said at that time. After a proper interval, however, Mrs. William G. Hibbard, director of the fourth region, who was a member of the delegation, has written the Kentucky League that the President said he had already read the resolutions and knew them very well.

"Moreover," he added, "I should like to take this occasion to say that while I do not know who directed them, I consider that they show a fine understanding of the situation and astute statesmanship."

It was Miss Ludington who immediately gave the credit for the direction of the resolutions to Mrs. Maud Wood Park, and said that Miss Ruth Morgan should share the credit. Mr. Harding went on to say that the World Court must not be a party issue, for it is primarily, in his opinion, a matter of American citizenship.

THE Maryland League intends to campaign for registration of voters, before the next election, in conjunction with the state Republican Federation and the Democratic City Club, both organizations of women. A joint committee from the three organizations will arrange for a preliminary survey of three typical city precincts. There will be a house-to-house canvass to find out why the women still unregistered have not put their names down. An executive committee will study the results of that survey and make plans for such a campaign as will leave no woman with the faintest reason for not coming out and doing her duty. For the month preceding registration "minute women," trained to speak to the point, will make short speeches in cinema theatres and elsewhere on registration. Some say that women don't register because they are indifferent; some say they feel politics lacks the qualities of certain soaps and baking powders. It is not absolutely pure. Others insist that men object to women voting, and still others hint that women feel too ignorant to vote. Whatever the objection is, the Maryland League is determined to get at the root of it and then pull up that root.

IN East Orange (New Jersey) the League of the Oranges met lately with the county committeewomen of both the Republican and Democratic parties of their community to discuss the best way to secure good candidates for offices and increase registration and voting. The *Civic Pilot*, still the only woman's magazine published in the state, calls the gathering an "experience meeting." Women leaders from East Orange, South Orange, Orange, West Orange, Livingston, and St. Cloud told how work to get out the vote has been done in their districts, and one woman reported that "gasoline does it." Fetching and carrying in motor cars helps tremendously and every leader apparently felt that continuous, not spasmodic work is the secret of success. "Electioneering all the year round," the *Pilot* tersely puts it.

CONNECTICUT women must have been surprised when the *Woman Voter's Bulletin* told them that until the last session of their state legislature there was actually a law on the statute books permitting the warden of the state prison to whip prisoners.

"Now that Florida is ridding herself of the scandal of her prison camps," the *Bulletin* remarks, "it is high time for Connecticut to remove the beam in her own eye."

THE Alabama League at its state convention at Montgomery, adopted resolutions asking for immediate steps toward the abolition of the state convict-leasing system, and for free textbooks for rural schools. The League declared itself in favor of longer school terms and of better school buildings. Other subjects of which the League view was embodied in resolutions are, payment of poll tax, registration, and the appointment of a home demonstration agent in every Alabama county. The League plans to publish a popular digest of Alabama election laws, which the attorney general will be asked to approve before it is circulated. Mrs. Charles Bricken, of Montgomery, is president for the coming year.

World News About Women

Cuba's Congress of Women

CUBA held its first National Congress of Women in Havana last April. It was the outcome of long-continued efforts in smaller groups, and its success was a tribute to the organizing skill and patience of its promoters. The president of its executive committee is Señora Pilar Morton de Menendez. The meetings were held in Havana's largest auditorium, the National Theater. Every province sent a delegate, and some thirty women's organizations were represented. The list of these gives a fair idea of the wide range of activities which interest Cuban women.

During its seven days of discussion the Congress touched upon a wide variety of subjects, from the contribution of women to arts and sciences, their place in Cuban struggles for independence, their right to suffrage, their legal position, to the beautifying of cities, the value of plants and animals, and many more aspects of life in Cuba. The discussion which seems to have aroused most interest was that on the subject of illegitimacy, and the legal disparity between the rights of legitimate and illegitimate children.

The final session was given over chiefly to passing resolutions, the first of which called for an intensive campaign for suffrage. Other resolutions demanded reforms in teaching, in civil and penal laws, in laws for the protection of children; a more active fight against drugs and the white slave traffic, and protection of working women.

In summing up the work of the Congress, *El Figaro*, which reports it in full, says that Cuba has long known the charm and beauty of her women, but that this national gathering has demonstrated their talent and their power.

"Count the Cost"

MADELINE LAMBERT of Newton, Iowa, has written "a symbolical play in three acts" called "Count the Cost," which should be of interest to organizations which from time to time produce plays or pageants. It is the story of the winning of freedom in America, from the war of 1776 to the conclusion of the suffrage fight. The principal characters are a young American man, symbolic of the country, a girl typifying Justice, Benjamin Franklin, Abraham Lincoln, William Lloyd Garrison, Susan B. Anthony—and in the final scene a business man and his family who develop the indifference shown by Americans to their hard-won freedom—indifference to their rights and obligations at the primary and the polls.

"Count the Cost" was written for the citizenship classes in the Newton high school.

Calendar

An American Historical Revue and Motion Picture Industrial Exposition, commemorating the Monroe Doctrine Centennial, July 2 to August 4, Los Angeles. A Woman's Division has only recently been organized.

Institute of Government and Politics conducted by the National League of Women Voters in co-operation with Columbia University, New York City, July 16-27. Fee $22.00—special terms for applicants who will undertake some piece of work for a state or local League during the year 1923-24. Application should be made to Miss Helen M. Rocca, Division of Training for Citizenship, 811 Superior Avenue, N. E., Cleveland, Ohio.

National Woman's Party Conference at Seneca Falls, New York, July 20-21. It will celebrate the first Equal Rights Convention, and discuss a blanket equality amendment to the Constitution.

Third International Congress of Working Women, Schonbrun Castle, Vienna, August 14-21. Regular delegates are expected from fifteen countries, with visitors from others.

Second Annual Woman's Activities Exhibit, New York City, September 24-29.

Lady Astor's Bill

LADY ASTOR'S bill to prevent young people under eighteen from being served with intoxicating liquor in England's public houses has had a long journey, which is not yet ended. The present bill is slightly weakened from the original phrasing. However, the prospects are brighter, for Prime Minister Baldwin has said he understood the measure in its present form was an agreed bill, and hoped it would pass through its remaining stages in the time allotted to private members' bills. He added: "If not, the government will be prepared to give it facilities."

Child Labor in Wyoming—No

DR. GRACE RAYMOND HEBARD —the *Citizen's* contributing editor from Wyoming—has added another fine achievement to her already long list. It is the drawing up and passage of a child labor bill in the legislature of Wyoming. This bill not only brings Wyoming up to the age, hour and night work standards of the invalidated federal laws, but goes beyond; it requires a physician's statement of physical fitness before a work permit is issued. And although the law carries the usual farm work and domestic service exemption, it does not permit employment during school hours. Of course Dr. Hebard, who, by the way, is Professor of Political Economy and Sociology at the University of Wyoming, didn't do it all by herself. The State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Educational department of the state, the Summer School for Teachers, the Rotarians and the legislators all helped. The *American Child* for May tells the story.

Wyoming, generally speaking, considered child labor legislation superfluous, for the simple reason that it thought there was no child labor. While Dr. Hebard was arguing for the policy that locking the doors before the horse is stolen is best, an illuminating accident occurred. In a Wyoming city a bread-factory child was injured. It was found that this one child, anyhow, was working from six to ten hours a day, at a wage of ten cents a week plus cookies and cake frosting. A suit, under the Federal Child Labor Law, was brought against the employer for the injury—and before it came to trial the Supreme Court declared that law unconstitutional. Here was the opportunity. Using the facilities at hand Dr. Hebard had her senior class at the University draw up a bill, and then presented the matter to the organizations already mentioned, all of which supported and endorsed it. Next it was taken up and introduced in the state legislature. Only two members of the Senate opposed it. In the House it was almost buried, but was rescued at the last moment, and passed. The signature of the Governor completed the action, and the bill is now a Wyoming law.

Montclair's Board of Education

THE Town Board of Education of Montclair, New Jersey, has two women members—Miss Mary W. Carter and Mrs. Frank Kidde. One of them—Miss Carter—has only recently been elected president of the board. She has been teacher in Montclair High for a number of years, is a graduate of Wellesley, and is at present chairman of the scholarship committee of the College Women's club of Montclair.

Miss Wilson Enters Business

MISS MARGARET WILSON, daughter of former President Wilson, has started upon a business career. She has associated herself with an advertising agency in New York, and is reported to have landed a contract the first day. Miss Wilson, who has always been an energetic civic welfare

worker, was attracted to advertising because "with large scale production the keynote of American business, advertising is an integral part of industry."

Mrs. Boykin in Insurance

MRS. B. M. BOYKIN, former president of both the Atlanta Woman's Club and Atlanta's Better Films Committee, is now associated with the Fidelity Mutual Life Insurance Company. A new department, with all the agents women, has been created to work through Georgia and Tennessee under her direction. We repeat here Mrs. Boykin's reason for changing her activities—as quoted in an Atlanta paper. "As my second term as president of the Atlanta Woman's Club drew to a close, the thought constantly presented itself to me, that I could render no better service to my sex than to help create for them an opportunity whereby they could secure the proper training for the introduction to a larger world of business affairs."

New Fields for Women

A BIG new field is opening to women—and especially to college women. This field is the whole gamut of department store operation—from salesgirl to personnel department.

In a recent *News-Bulletin*, Mary H. Tolman, manager of the Vocational Bureau of Skilled Workers, New York, has written an interesting article on this subject. She says: "Most store organizations can be divided into four branches: the merchandise division, which has to do with the selection, purchasing and storing of goods; the advertising division, which concerns itself with attracting customers to the store; the control division, covering the financial departments of the business; and the administration division, which acts to maintain and improve the store personnel and property.

"A few women hold the exalted post of merchandising manager. A large New York store has recently appointed a college woman as 'fashion advisor' in such a capacity."

A merchandise manager, it seems, must work in very close co-operation with the buyers—and it is in this field of buyer that women are most successful. A salary of $12,000 is not unusual in this position, but there have been few college girls in the field, for it has required many years of experience in the ranks.

Among the shoppers, also, few college girls can be found. Training is not necessary—in fact the work itself is a course of training—but it demands interest in and a knowledge of merchandise, and good powers of observation.

In the advertising, control and personnel departments the college girl comes into her own. Copy writing is a splendid field and with the necessary qualifications of keenness and brevity of expression an inexperienced college girl can find a position. Then there is the art department to tempt trained girls.

For those trained in figures, the control division offers opportunities as statistician, correspondent or adjuster.

Under the personnel division are the supervision of salesmanship and textiles, the planning and carrying out of recreation for employees, experts for all manner of special classes, in fact a limitless field.

"All in all," says Miss Tolman in summing up, "there is no field of work open to women which offers so many kinds of opportunities and so large a financial reward as this."

A Republican Woman Chosen

AT the recent Republican state convention in Kentucky, Miss May Long, of Greenville, was nominated for Secretary of State. More later.

A New Appointment

MRS. MARGARET McALLEENAN of New York, has just been appointed a member of the New York Board of Education. Mrs. McAlleenan, who has never held a public post before, succeeds Mrs. Emma L. Murray, and is the only woman member of the Board. The office carries no salary, and is for a term of seven years.

Against Child Labor

AN appeal has been made to the Municipal Council of the International Settlement of Shanghai by various foreign women's organizations of Shanghai—notably the American Woman's Club and the British Women's Association—to improve working conditions of children employed in mills and factories. Also to put an end to night labor for children under twelve years.

The Working Women's Clubhouse

TRADE UNION women are adding to the proof that a woman's club can be self-supporting. Their club, the Working Women's Clubhouse, at 247 Lexington Avenue, was opened in December, 1922. During the first six months the club has paid its own expenses.

Unions, shop committees, women's organizations and other groups have rented space for meetings, for parties and for banquets, all of which has helped with maintenance expenses. Dances, parties of all kinds, and banquets are weekly events at the clubhouse, serving the double purpose of furnishing a place for wage-earning women to have social good times and to support their club by having their good times there.

Now comes the problem of the dining-room, which has faced many a club before this. The cafeteria—French blue and white, with food at low prices—has been in operation almost six months. The League of Women Voters and such organizations have held their district dinners there, which has added to the prestige and to the balance sheet, with the result that the cafeteria is beginning to be self-supporting also. In the effort to make it wholly so, the Club has just opened a Dutch tiled garden, to double the space, and is inviting men and women to give it a trial.

Indiana Scores

THE bulletin of the Indiana League of Women Voters says that Mrs. Carina C. Warrington is the second woman in Indiana to be admitted to practice before the United States Supreme Court. Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt, assistant United States attorney-general, moved that Mrs. Warrington be admitted. Mrs. Warrington was Fort Wayne's first woman attorney; she has served as state probation officer, and as director in the Indiana League.

Our Readers Say—

We have written to the writer of the following letter for permission to print it with her name. As we haven't heard yet, and want to publish the letter now, here it is without the name. (We'll print it next time.) But we can tell that the comment comes from Iowa.

IT is with great surprise that I have read the Third Prize Winner's story on solving the housework problem, and I am taking the liberty of disproving some of the remarkable achievements listed in said article.

Commencing Monday—with an electric washing machine and mangle it is physically impossible for *one* person to complete in a day the average amount of laundry a family of four people require. As for doing other work when the washing machine is in operation, it is always necessary to rinse, blue, wring and hang out the preceding batch, and there is always some laundry work that must be carefully done by hand, so that entirely eliminates woodwork washing and window washing which in the average modern house is almost a half-day's work.

Tasty, well-cooked food should not be prepared six or seven days in advance even with an adequate ice supply.

As for hanging cooking utensils on the wall uncovered where dust can accumulate, that would seem extra work to me, necessitating another rinsing or washing. Cupboards for dishes without doors would seem an open invitation

for ants, mice and other variety of bugs. I also would assume that the writer has perhaps several daughters who frequently lend helping hands, thus simplifying the amount of work two hands must do. In such a case I can not see the necessity of removing the pantry doors—they could easily be left open during the preparation of the meals, the result being more sanitary.

I am very much afraid the average housewife will not be greatly benefited by this contribution.

This is a very rare line of comment in the CITIZEN *office:*

I FEEL you are wrong on the subject of Prohibition. I am ashamed of the Government when I see and read of the disgraceful law-breaking, lying and hypocrisy that those fanatics have brought us to. Reasonable people would have left light wines and beer and gradually weaned the people from the strong drink—but what can be expected from fanatics? They are unbalanced.—P. W. E.

Here are some "farm facts" that picture a big American problem—and tell a very human little story:

I wrote you some time ago to discontinue my subscription. But it is still coming and the more I see of it the harder it is to give it up. In a recent number I see you want facts regarding farming conditions. Twelve years ago my husband started farming on his own hook. A year after I gave up my vocation of nursing and we were married. I did not expect my husband to farm very long as he had a good education and many chances of getting into other business. But we wanted to see what success we would have on the farm. The first years we did well at Minnesota farming. Then we decided to get out where we could have a home of our own. Out here in western North Dakota, although we have diversified farming, our main crop is wheat, and supposed to be the best wheat in the country if not the world. But at the price we are getting, it's a failure. If we only could get over a dollar a bushel for wheat we could manage somehow. My husband is considered a good farmer. I work as hard as I want any woman to do. This summer I shall take over the milking of six cows, feed calves and chickens and keep my house clean—also keep myself clean and neat, as that helps to keep the standards of the farmer in society.

Mrs. I. O. Doely, Arnegaard, North Dakota.

Is this true?

DON'T assume that women know so much and talk so far above their comprehension. Numbers of women don't understand political language, and the *Citizen* is too "learned" for beginners.

This is Mrs. Nichols, but the puppies have nothing to do with the story.

Spreader of Content

WHEN one hears the words, "President of the Board of the Saranac Lake General Hospital," one naturally pictures a man. But the picture is wrong, for the president is a woman—one of the very few women hospital heads ever on record. One more instance of barriers coming down for women. Deeply interested in the hospital during the service of her husband, Dr. Joseph Longworth Nichols, as president, on his death Mrs. Nichols was persuaded to take his place, and she has well proved her capabilities.

The post is not wholly administrative. Like many a college president, Mrs. Nichols finds chief emphasis must go to raising money, since the hospital has no endowment, and no financial management. And at that highly important (and too often slandered) business she has a gift. Her combination of organization ability, social capacity, and fertility of ideas insures success—whether the medium be a garden party, for which she will turn her own house upside down, or a rummage sale.

Mrs. Nichols is a worth-while person to know about for more than her generous and enthusiatic hospital service. A gay society girl of Baltimore before her marriage, upon settling at Saranac with her husband she became interested in the various philanthropic activities. Then came the war, and she served with the A. E. F. in France, as manager, social entertainer and general content spreader of a large Y. M. C. A. officers' club at Neuwied on the Rhine.

After her return she threw herself into the Red Cross activities for the tuberculous soldiers quarantined in Saranac. Wherever she could find a service to render, she rendered it, and every day saw her driving her car through the ice and snow, bent on some Red Cross errand. About two years ago she was chosen to fill the vacancy left by her husband; so she is still managing and spreading content.

Why Men and Women are So

A LETTER

By Samuel W. Reyburn

Some time ago we began asking a number of employers their opinions of men versus women employees — their comparative competence, initiative, their attitude toward criticism, etc. Later we hope to give you a summary of the answers, but meantime a letter which came as an indirect response to the questionnaire is worthy of separate publication. Mr. Reyburn is president of Lord & Taylor, New York.

IN my opinion, difference in environment in the home, in the school, in the church and in the state accounts for most of the differences between the mental and emotional attitudes of men and women toward vocation. Naturally the physiological differences between male and female makes for some difference in the attitude of men and women toward industry and economic problems. A close observer of men and women working together at practically the same tasks may frequently see evidence of this.

It is agreed that there are two primary instincts—self-preservation and self-reproduction. It is also generally accepted that in man the self-preservation, or may we call it the "work and fight" instinct, has always had more expression and has been, therefore, the stronger side of man. While in woman the self-reproduction, or may we call it the "love and conserve" instinct, has had more expression and has been, therefore, the stronger side of woman. This difference in development has made a difference in attitude toward work—toward life in all its many phases.

So you find that man, even in the care of his wife and children, has something of personal vanity, and that vanity if injured may lead him, in the selfish preservation of his own personal rights, to fail to give fair consideration to his wife and children. The woman, on the other hand, does not seem to have any standard of conduct which she would not abandon for her children, and in most cases, for the father of her children. Her instinct to love and to conserve is so much stronger, that the instinct of self-preservation is practically lost sight of.

Do not these primary instincts influence all of our attitudes; are they not the bases of all our reactions? For instance, where a woman has a deep respect or affection for another person, whether a man or a woman, she is more likely to be partial or jealous, in other words, have an emotional rather than a rational reaction when deeply stirred, than the man, who never has lost sight of self and more clearly realizes the

penalty he may suffer by being regarded as impartial and unfair.

I have never read anything on this subject and my conclusions may have already been proven or refuted by students of this interesting subject.

The Bookshelf

By M. A.

SUMMER reading is proverbially light and airy, warranted to heat no brain nor weight no slumbers. But a continuous diet of froth, all summer long, is apt to set up a hungry ache for nourishment. Here are four real books to be sandwiched in between layers of meringue. They group themselves together through a certain fine quality of high imagination.

"*Men Like Gods*," is Mr. H. G. Wells' Utopia in fiction form. It is a long time since a real Utopia has been built. Reforms, certainly, schemes for remolding the world "a little nearer to the heart's desire" in plenty, but out and out, completely-furnished, all-accessories-provided Utopias are very rare. And Mr. Wells' is such a thoroughly satisfactory one, the kind you'd like to have come true. H. G. Wells is responsible for many sins, but with all his careless writing, his verbosity, his undigested enthusiasms, there is such a sincerity about him, such an earnestness, that he bears somehow the authentic mark of seer and prophet.

The best hammock book of the four is Elinor Wylie's "*Black Armour*." It is a slim black volume of verses of great beauty and strange imagery. Perhaps an intricate willow chair in a formal garden would be more appropriate than a hammock, but wherever you read them, you will want to spend long spaces between poems, dreaming them out, watching their color, and playing with their symbols.

Poetry of a very different kind tells the story of "*Roman Bartholow*." This is Edward Arlington Robinson's latest "dramatic narrative in verse." And because it does combine those two literary forms, dramatic narrative, and verse, it's more fun to read it through three times, once for each, and once for both. For the same reason, the book calls for a double criticism. As a dramatic narrative, Mr. Robinson's poem tells the story of Mr. Roman Bartholow and his wife Gabrielle, how a great sickness of soul came upon him because of her, how his "saviour friend" cured him, and completed her estrangement. A familiar story in its outline, yet strange in its characters as well as in its telling. Mr. Robinson is so much the master of compressed suggestion that there are times when one resents too calm a climax, too little stress in a vital scene. As poetry, however, one cannot criticise. The compressed beauty of his phrases, the sonorous quality of his words, the rhythm of his lines, and the depth of his thought combine to make a poem too big for careless reading. To be fully appreciated it needs to be read aloud with affection, and stopped frequently by clear discussion.

John Middleton Murry's "*Countries of the Mind*," is a group of quiet, crystal-clear essays on phases of Shakespeare and Beaudelaire, Walter de la Mare and John Clare, and other literary folk. Beauty and nobility pervade them. Their prose flows like an ordered stream whose pebbles are polished and whose edges are clipped. Yet it is not artificiality, but the whole careful character of the man when he speaks of the "symphonic movement of an ideal criticism." The essays represent a careful scholarship, an aristocracy of thought which seems remote and refreshing, a breath of thin, keen air in our modern rush and thick hurry.

Men Like Gods, Macmillan, New York, 1923. $2.00.
Black Armour, Doran, New York, 1923. $1.75.
Roman Bartholow, Macmillan, New York, 1923. $1.75.
Countries of the Mind, Dutton, New York, 1923. $4.00.

Any state League of Women Voters that would like to include its official Bulletin in a special combination price with the Woman Citizen, please write for details to Mrs. Raymond Brown, 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

Hot Weather Health

By GULIELMA F. ALSOP
College Physician at Barnard

SOME of us are always well and some of us are always well except that we "can't stand the heat." With most of us this fiction is the subconscious desire for the green woods and a breeze instead of the office and the pavements. But there are some people who will always be uncomfortable in the heat, and they are usually fat people. Just as many pounds overweight as a person is, just so many extra pounds of covering is she carrying during the hot weather. Naturally, when dressed in forty pounds of extra flesh and fat, with the thermometer at 90 degrees, she will feel slightly depressed and apoplectic. A fat person must get thin to stand the heat with comfort.

The matter of clothes is important. Twenty per cent. of our food makes energy, that is, carries us through the work and activities of the day, and the other eighty per cent. makes heat. The real use of clothes is to keep in the heat which our bodies make, to enclose us in a warm envelope of heated air. When we wish to be cool, we would, in a state of nature, dispense with clothing altogether. But when, as a concession to convention, we must wear clothes in hot weather, we should wear thin, loose, porous clothes through which an errant breeze may blow, thus carrying away from our bodies the envelope of heat which our bodies manufacture moment by moment. As light-colored clothes absorb fewer heat rays from the sun than dark, they make the best colors for summer clothes.

Besides depending upon the kind of clothes we wear, our comfort in summer depends upon the amount of evaporation of moisture from our skins. The person who sweats freely is always much cooler than the person who does not. Sufficient water—from eight to fourteen glasses a day—is necessary for free perspiration in the summer. The person who sits on the porch and fans and rocks always feels the heat more than the person out in the sun playing golf. This comes from several causes, of which the psychic is perhaps as important as any other. The person sitting on the porch is usually focusing her attention on her own bodily sensations, while the person out playing in the sun is sharply focused on that golf ball. Under no circumstances, least of all in the heat, can our bodies stand conscious thought and attention concentrated on them.

But there are actual physical causes making the porch rocker less comfortable than the golfer. The golfer is perspiring freely and actively every minute. The person on the porch is "keeping cool," sitting still and lessening as far as possible the perspiration which by its evaporation will cool off the skin.

Secondly, the person who believes in keeping always still and in the shade in summer reaches autumn pale and tired and flabby. She is afraid to exercise in the sun. The lack of exercise, whether summer or winter, produces always the same result of lassitude and fatigue and a feeling of weakness and exhaustion. In the summer as in the winter, we never get strong by rest but always by exercise. An experiment was made in India to disprove the statement that Englishmen could not do manual work in the sun in summer. A squad of Englishmen was picked and divided into two gangs. Each gang was set to digging a ditch in the sun for eight hours a day. The first gang was given no water to drink. They all developed headaches, nausea, had a slight rise of temperature, and were more or less prostrated by the end of the day. By the side of each man in the second gang was placed a pail of water and a dipper. They were encouraged to drink as much as they wanted. They drank from two to eight gallons apiece. Every one of that gang was as fit at the end of the day as at the beginning, with an entire absence of headaches, nausea, rise in temperature.

No woman need fear vigorous exer-

cise in the sun provided she takes a large amount of water and perspires freely. Such exercise is just as tonic as in the winter.

One does not need nearly the same amount of calories in summer food as in winter food, on account of the lessened need of heat production. The winter's diet can be modified by reducing the amount of meat, of sweets, and all other carbohydrates or fuel formers. The quantities of vegetables and fruits and salads should be increased. All the summer fruits, especially the berries, contain large amounts of vitamines. Our summer diet, with its fresh vegetables and fruits gives us a much better chance at good nutrition than our winter diet.

A person with no disease need fear no "acidity" from a liberal and free use of fruits and vegetables. The only check needed in the consumption of fruit is the action of the intestines, which should not be allowed to become loose or too frequent; otherwise the more fruit the better.

It is the American custom to drink a large amount of iced drinks, which is often a frequent cause of indigestion. Cooled drinks are all right and so are hot drinks. A cup of hot tea is really more cooling on account of the perspiration it induces than a glass of iced tea, though it's hard to believe.

In America our summers give us the chance for open windows and an approximate out-of-door living. The whole mass of respiratory disease is banished till the closed window season approaches. By all counts summer is a healthier time than winter, a chance for building up and recuperation. If taken rightly, hot weather health is of a happier and better quality than cold weather health.

Your Investments

Speaking of Real Estate

By ELEANOR KERR

REAL estate is a fundamental investment, and has always particularly appealed to those with thrifty instincts.

Generally speaking, to own one's own home is a good investment, whether it is remunerative or not. The feeling of stability and background which it gives is of tremendous value to any one and, as we all know, makes for better citizenship and a more stable community.

At the present time many persons are making a great deal of money from their real-estate holdings. It is not, however, a particularly good period to purchase for permanent investment, since, in the general belief, real-estate values of all types—city, suburban and farming—are highly inflated. Values are not likely to return to the levels of ten years ago, to be sure, but it is probable that as new building overtakes the existing demand there will be a decided drop. In country districts this has already happened, compared with the high levels of three and four years ago.

"Women are financially inferior,"—particularly when it comes to investments, Nina Wilcox Putnam admits, in her share of an amusing two-sided discussion of "The Weaker Sex—Which?" in the July AMERICAN. *We have no personal brags to make—far from it; but we will mention that the number of women who like and value these little articles by Miss Kerr would be enough to start an argument, anyhow.*

But whenever one has the means is a good time to buy or build a home, although, of course, some years are better than others. As with any form of savings and investment, the great thing is to get started.

For those wishing to save to buy a home, many plans are offered. Banks will often partly finance the purchase of houses and ground, while most of the states have Building and Loan Associations, operating under special laws, through which money may be borrowed to build a home, to be paid off over a period of years in the form of rent.

Practically all first-mortgage bonds are really a mortgage on real estate of one type or another, but as they are sold on the business and earning prospect of the corporations issuing them, they can hardly be considered a real-estate investment.

There are, however, several types of mortgages directly based on real estate; usually the obligations of a company whose business is the handling of real estate and whose bonds are secured by the deposit of first mortgages on homes, stores, apartment houses, office buildings, hotels, etc. Where these bonds are first mortgages on the *ground* on which the buildings stand, as well as on the structure itself, and where the entire bond issues and mortgage are not for more than about 60 per cent. of the property's normal value, such bonds form an excellent and secure investment. They frequently have no wide market, but the issuing company is usually willing to buy them back at a fair price.

At present bonds based on real estate should be very carefully scrutinized, since the values in cities are away above normal and above those likely to obtain as the property grows older. The life of a modern office building, or an apartment house, is short in terms of desirability, as styles and types change rapidly, and rents drop on older buildings as new types are built. Also the maintenance of old buildings is exceedingly high.

These factors should all be taken into consideration when investigating a real-estate bond.

In such bonds, almost more than any other security, the standing reliability and judgment of the company selling them is of special importance. Organizations of this sort are large advertisers, as a rule, but it is best to deal only with those whose advertisements appear in the high-grade publications, which maintain a strict censorship of their advertisers, and are decidedly particular as to the reliability of all that appears in their columns.

Properly secured real-estate bonds are a high-grade, conservative investment, and, since they usually come in small denominations, are a popular form of investment for those whose savings are made in units of not more than one hundred dollars.

WOMAN'S MEDICAL COLLEGE OF PENNSYLVANIA

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Entrance requirements: two years of college work, including certain credits in science and language. Full laboratory and clinical advantages; dispensaries, clinics, bedside instruction, out-patient obstetrical service. Special eight months' course for laboratory technicians. Four months' preliminary didactic and laboratory course for nurses. The Anna Howard Shaw Memorial Department of Preventive Medicine is now being organized.

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Washington

(*Continued from page 8*)

the United States through the marvelous radio and extraordinary facilities on the train for reporting by telegraph to the farthest corners of the country. What the Middle West was sincerely interested in was the President's railroad speech delivered at Kansas City on June 22. Railroads will be the major subject of the coming session of Congress and it was known that the President had talked the matter over with that past master of railroad legislation, Senator Cummins of Iowa, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee of the upper house.

Boiled down, the President's recommendations for solving the railroad problem amounted to the following: The present Transportation Act, known as the Esch-Cummins Law, recommended the consolidation of railroads into larger systems for economy of operation, financing, etc. This was not mandatory. It somewhat corresponded to the experience in Great Britain where the law required a consolidation into four great railway systems. The British program has been a success, and the President now suggests that the American law be amended to make the consolidation compulsory. He recited the difficulties and struggles of the small, weak railroads serving farming communities, where the whole industry depended upon the one road. It was to protect these communities and these roads, as well as to strengthen the resources of the larger roads, that the President asked for a consolidation law. He avoided the problem of government operation as a distasteful subject.

"At an awful cost we learned the extravagances and mounting burden of government operation," he said. "Yet there are to-day very insistent advocates of government ownership. Frankly, I do not share their views. Our political system has not reached a state of development when we can insure proper administration."

At Helena, Montana, the President made an address on Social Justice, Women and Labor. The reaction at the capital was calm and unperturbed. The President had said nothing to disturb the atmosphere. It was a gentle speech about women in the home, women in the school-house, and women advancing in industry whether men wanted them or not. There was a Washington politician once who was running a tennis tournament. He insisted upon having a special prize for women contestants because, he said, they never would get anywhere near the top. The problems women are interested in to-day are those about which the President spoke at St. Louis, Kansas City and the rest of the points west.

During his absence, the Republican National Committee—of course, with his approval—has opened its doors to women, but everybody knows in Washington that if the President personally were left to himself, the sum and substance of his policy would be this part of his Helena speech:

"Frankly, I am one of those old-fashioned people who would be glad if the way could be found to maintain the traditional relations of father, mother, children and home."

Heart to Heart

Double It!

THE *Citizen* has a problem in housekeeping it would like to confide to its readers. This is it:

A certain number of people are necessary to make a magazine. The *Citizen* has an editorial department, a subscription department, clerks and stenographers, all the staff requisite to get out a magazine and handle its business, and it has office space. All this is necessary for the present magazine with its 13,000 subscribers, but the same staff, with very little addition, could also handle double as many subscriptions with very little extra expense. In other words, approximately the same plant we have now could care for a magazine family twice the present size.

Does this not point to the necessity of doubling our subscription list?

To render its finest service also the *Citizen* needs a much larger audience, because by the economical use of its necessary overhead it would be able to devote more money to research and to editorial work.

Doubling the subscription list is a very expensive job for us, but it could be done by you who take the *Citizen* with very little trouble and at small expense.

If each one of you would send in the name of a new subscriber, it would go a long way toward insuring the future of your magazine. A doubled subscription list at this time would quite put the *Citizen* on its feet. We do not ask that you should make a present of this subscription, but you know the kind of woman who would like the *Citizen*. You could show her your magazine and secure her subscription without great effort.

To double the centers of intelligent voting, was the task we set ourselves at the beginning of last month. Next year the presidential election occurs, when for the very first time all the women of the country can vote. At that time the entire policy of the nation, both in domestic and foreign affairs, will come up for discussion and decision.

"What wonderful opportunities for education women have these days," wrote a subscriber recently in renewing her subscription. "There is no excuse for ignorant voting when we have a magazine like the *Citizen*". To help women know facts, to present both sides of debatable questions as fairly as possible, and to inspire greater interest and urge to action will be the earnest endeavor of the *Citizen* during the entire year.

Won't you help by securing that extra subscription now, during this month, and add one more to our roll call of

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Canadian Women's Work

(*Continued from page* 13)

The establishment of Institutes as social and educational centers in the community, and as a means of welcoming new settlers.

The encouragement of agriculture among women and the improvement of agricultural conditions.

The holding of demonstrations, lectures, short course schools, exhibitions, competitions, meetings, conventions and such other attractions as may from time to time be deemed useful for the promotion of the foregoing objects.

Organized with so broad a scope, the work of the organization could not fail to be far-reaching. During the summer months, the provincial Department of Agriculture sends out to such Institutes as apply for them women who give short courses in cooking and nursing, sewing and laundry work. These courses extend in some cases over two or three days, in others over a week. The cookery demonstrations and lectures include bread-making by the short method, the nature of yeasts and the properties and characteristics of flours, various methods of home canning and bottling fruits and vegetables, as well as information on their raising. Economy in food is encouraged by a knowledge of the best methods of using and preserving it.

The nursing course teaches among other things simple home remedies in case of sickness, the arrangement and care of a sick room, invalid cookery, the bathing and dressing of a baby, the general care of infants, emergency treatments of various kinds, and first aid.

Along educational lines, the traveling libraries sent out by the Women's Institutes Branch of the provincial Department of Agriculture are of real benefit to the communities which apply for them. These contain books on history, biography, travel, civics, art, industry and agriculture as well as novels, and may be kept for two months, and then renewed if so desired. In addition a clippings bureau has been established. This consists of a collection of articles taken from current magazines and filed ready to be sent to Institute members in search of material for papers on topics of interest to women.

The keynote of the community work done by the Institutes is "get acquainted" and this work, along constructive lines, is responsible for many improvements in the present-day farm woman's life. Nowhere is this more apparent than in new towns and farming communities in the rapidly settling districts along the transcontinental lines of the Canadian National Railways in the three prairie provinces.

New Institutes are easily founded—a petition signed by a minimum of eight women, sixteen or older, and addressed to the Minister of Agriculture, is the method. A minimum of twenty-five cents a year is required as dues from each member.

The Women's Institutes are the only organization in the Dominion which bring together the women on the farm and the women in town and city. The great need of Canada today is not a woman's party, but a woman's platform founded on true principles of democracy, with equal privileges and opportunities for all. Through the medium of the National Federation of Women's Institutes, in which is included every provincial organization, all Canadian women may help to lift their ideals above the clash and clatter of party politics and make their Institutes a real factor in the upbuilding of the nation.

Prohibition

(*Continued from page* 12)

Franklin County, Ohio, the report of the county clerk shows that but four were superinduced by alcohol, much less, he adds, than in the days when the streets of Columbus were "lined with saloons." As to alcoholic insanity, Dr. John Harvey Kellogg, head of the Battle Creek Sanitarium, wrote Mr. Gordon that "the hospital wards formerly devoted to the care of men suffering from delirium tremens and acute insanity due to liquor are practically empty."

Tuberculosis: Figures from various parts of the country, notably from the New York Anti-Tuberculosis Society, place prohibition first among the causes of a marked decrease in the White Plague. "It leaves more money for food, clothing, and shelter," they say. In line with the above is the statement of Haven Emerson, M. D., lecturer on preventable disease at Columbia University, that an analysis of the drop in the tuberculosis death rate for the past two years had convinced him that one factor was the ability of the wage-earner to maintain a better standard of living, chiefly because he "doesn't spend five or ten per cent. of his money on drink now."

The antis argue that pneumonia cannot be properly treated without whisky, and as is known, the ruling against the medical use of liquor has in New York state been declared unconstitutional. But the comment of Dr. Alexander Lambert of New York, long connected with the great hospitals of that city, still has force. "When we had all the alcohol we desired in life, there was a large group of alcoholic pneumonia patients in Bellevue, and the death rate was sixty-six per cent. for them, and twenty-two per cent. for the non-alcoholic pneumonia cases. Prohibition has changed the type of hospital patients. One doesn't see the chronically soaked alcoholic victim in our wards now."

The Salvation Army, department of rescue and slum work in New York, finds that "applications for relief are reduced at least fifty per cent . . . Families more prosperous . . . Fewer deaths of children . . . No infants smothered in bed by drunken parents now . . . Drink cases nearly eliminated in New York . . . The Rescue Home used to be headquarters for drink cases, but now an intoxicated woman is a rarity . . . There is less immorality. The baser forms of immorality cannot be sustained without the stimulus of liquor."

The Charity Organization Society of New York reports that commitments to institutions for intoxication, which in 1915 numbered 11,840, were in 1921 reduced to 2,050.

WE ARE HERE-WHY?

A STUDY OF LIFE'S MEANING

By Edna Wadsworth Moody

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—*Elwood Worcester, D.D., Rector Emmanuel Church, Boston*

"'We Are Here—Why?' provides an approach to religion for those who are without it."
—*Ellwood Hendrick Sc.D.*

"Like William James, Mrs. Moody is wondrously clear, dispassionate and reverent."—*Henry C. Warnack.*

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Two organizations, the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, of New York, and the Boston Family Welfare Society, have lately made surveys of the effects of prohibition. They find that almost as many families sought aid in 1921 as in 1917, but they also found that in seventeen large cities the number of dependent families where drink was a factor had decreased about seventy-five per cent. For example, the St. Louis Provident Association had 412 drink-ridden families on its books in 1917, and but 23 in 1921. Pawtucket, Rhode Island, Associated Charities was aiding seventeen such families in 1917, and in 1921 there wasn't one needing help. In Boston the figures dropped from 984 in 1917 to seventy-three in 1921. And so on.

Savings banks officials, too, are inclined to speak well of the Amendment. A typical opinion is that of Thomas F. Wallace, treasurer of the Farmers and Mechanics Savings Bank of Minneapolis. "Where the Federal Act has been honestly enforced," he says, "it is an important factor in providing a reserve fund for the workingman to provide against periods of unemployment."

Of great importance is the testimony on prohibition from courts and judges. Judge William N. Gemmill, judge of the municipal Court of Chicago, told the Australian seeker after truth that there had been a decrease in the number of persons arrested in America for drunkenness of more than 600,000 a year. He has recently published the results of an inquiry he conducted by correspondence with fifty cities of the country. He collected records of the number of arrests for all offenses for the years 1917 to 1922, and has compiled a table giving the results for 1917, a typical pre-prohibition year, and for 1920, 1921 and 1922. The total population of the cities reported is 25,000,000, or nearly a fourth of the population of the country.

In only four cases were the arrests for drunkenness for 1920 greater than in 1917—Cleveland, Detroit, Little Rock and Omaha—while in most instances the drop under prohibition was striking. Though the trend was upward in the next two years in the number of arrests, even so there were in 1922 only seven cities which exceeded the 1917 figure. And for some there were special factors. In Des Moines, where the number of arrests for drunkenness was between two and three hundred greater in 1922 than in 1917, Judge Gemmill was told that while formerly only the helpless drunks were brought in, now the ruling applied to all who showed the slightest sign of intoxication.

In listing arrests for the other causes only 1917 and 1922 were used. This column shows sixteen out of the fifty states with a higher record of arrests in the later year. In some cases these were due to an increase of traffic violations. Of course these figures, unlike the "drunkenness" column, can have no final value either way, because of the numerous factors entering.

Whether prohibition or some other cause is at the back of it, there has been a great decrease in the number of prisoners in the Bridewell in Chicago. In 1917 that jail housed 17,758 unfortunates, and in 1921 the commitments were 9,653. A drop of 788 in the daily average of prisoners. Various leaders tell a like story. The president of the Bessemer Coal, Iron and Steel Company of Birmingham, Alabama, H. L. Badham, says the moonshine now disposed of in the mining camps is not a drop in the bucket compared to former conditions; that local trains on pay-days are now able to make their runs without guards to protect passengers from drunks, which formerly they could not do. Also the workman's children are far better fed and dressed.

S. S. Kresge of Detroit, head of a chain of five- and ten-cent stores, reported that after the Volstead Act went into effect "drunkenness was greatly decreased . . . business conditions were

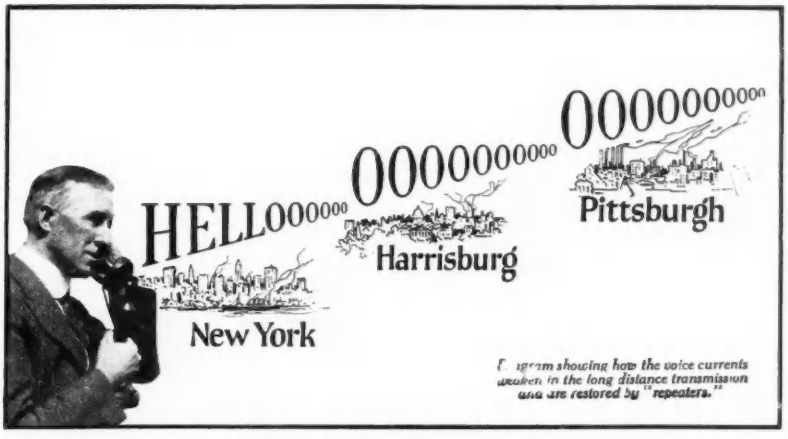

Diagram showing how the voice currents weaken in the long distance transmission and are restored by "repeaters."

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Not only is the Bell System daily conducting research within its own nation-wide organization, but it is studying the discoveries of the whole world of science for their possible application to telephone service. Only by such eternal vigilance has the United States been given the best and cheapest telephone service in the world.

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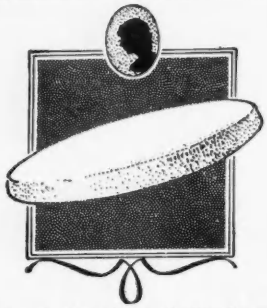

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better . . . savings accounts increased . . . many business men who formerly opposed prohibition now favor it because it is good business." Bird W. Spencer, president of the People's Bank and Trust Company, Passaic, New Jersey, asserted that an increase of $1,500,000 in the savings deposits of that city was due to the fact that "much money formerly spent in saloons is now deposited in banks."

Samuel Gompers has opposed the Volstead Act, but James Duncan, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, in Seattle, believes that much of labor's objection to prohibition comes from men of foreign birth who resent being deprived of wine and beer, and that if the Amendment were put to a vote to-day it would have an enthusiastic "yes" from those who work with their hands. The canvass made by the *Literary Digest* showed 345 labor leaders for prohibition, 143 against, and 31 doubtful.

Nevertheless the poor man has a case against—not prohibition, but its violation by the rich man who patronizes the bootlegger. Of the atrocity of these violations there can be no doubt. The poor man is unfairly treated, but it is an unfairness to his advantage.

But, "Ah," some people say (a considerable chorus it is too), "We quite agree that the saloon was a curse, and that hard liquor is poison. But light wines and beer, now, are different. Give the workingman his wine and beer, they won't harm him." Won't they? Yet the British Board of Liquor Traffic reported in 1916 that forty per cent. of the men and women arrested for drunkenness had met their downfall on beer. In Germany, which is the fountainhead of beer, there are twenty-two institutions for the cure of inebriation. Massachusetts in 1915 found that one out of every seven men and women "jugged" for intoxication did it on beer or wine. France, a wine-consuming country, has found it necessary to tighten up its laws against intoxication. Records of forty-three American insurance companies show that the total abstainer has a much better chance of long life than he who drinks beer.

Yet many excellent persons are urging that the restrictions against intoxicating liquors be amended to admit of the sale and consumption of light wines and beer.

IN a later issue we will report the World Education Conference held last week in Oakland. All accounts indicate that it was an interesting and important meeting, and an organization to be known as the Federation of Educational Associations was formed. Miss Olive M. Jones, New York principal, was elected president of the National Education Association.

The Woman Citizen

Volume VIII **JULY 28, 1923** **Number 5**

News Notes of the Fortnight

ON the ninth anniversary of the world war's beginning cities in at least thirty-six states are preparing to observe the day—July 28 or 29—in demonstrating the will to replace war with law. Many national organizations affiliated with the National Council for the Prevention of War are co-operating, and other groups as well, which are eager to promote world peace. Among the larger national organizations behind the plan are the League of Women Voters; the American Farm Bureau; the Women's Christian Temperance Union; the American Association of University Women, etc.—thirty-five in all. All through the country these organizations will hold meetings, to inspire people to make a drive for some peace plan, with most emphasis on the World Court. At the same time there will be similar demonstrations in eighteen other countries. Many plans, many methods, one will—"it must not happen again!"

Without following the program of any organization, the *Citizen* has taken this as an occasion to devote an issue to the discussion of outstanding plans for world peace. You will find represented here the World Court, the League of Nations, Outlawry of War, the Pacifist viewpoint.

The *Citizen* is strongly in favor of international co-operation; its platform has a plank in favor of a League of Nations, and the *Citizen* has often in the past spoken for *the* League, though never from a partisan standpoint; while it happens that its contributing editors who have chosen to write on League topics—Mrs. Mead, Mrs. Laidlaw, Mrs. Tuttle, Miss Wambaugh, Miss McDowell—have been its proponents. Every once in a while some one has reminded us that the opposition point of view has not been adequately presented. So, in the conviction that above everything else the subject of international relations needs open and full and many-sided discussion, we present here expressions of the three dominant points of view about the League: Advocacy of it as the best means to end war—Opposition to it from the standpoint of the traditional isolation policies of the country—Opposition to it from the point of view of liberals who wanted a League but whose hopes were disappointed by the League that is. We print the three articles here for your study and for your responses. Neither you nor we will let the discussion stop here!

The American Peace Award

GREAT interest has been shown in the $100,000 prize offered by Edward W. Bok, for the best practicable plan by which this country may co-operate with other nations to secure world peace. A co-operating council has been formed of representatives of leading organizations, and letters commending the idea and the action have been sent in—for instance, from Secretary Hughes, Mrs. Catt, Mr. Frank Vanderlip, who spoke a word for the League of Nations as a practicable plan, Mrs. Raymond Robins, Henry Morgenthau. All agree on the tremendous values of a plan which will stimulate discussion.

The conditions of award have just been announced, and will be widely printed before the date of this magazine. To sum up, the competition is open to every United States citizen, whether by birth or naturalization, and to organizations. Manuscripts, typewritten, must not be over five thousand words, and must be accompanied by a five hundred word summary. They must bear no marks of identification, and the name and address of the competitor must be attached in a plain sealed envelope. All plans must be received at the offices of the American Peace Award—342 Madison Ave., New York, by midnight on November 15 next.

The Jury of Award will be announced shortly after September first, and it is expected that a plan will be selected in time for presentation to the Senate early in 1924. There is the possibility of small subsidiary awards in case the Jury of Award makes a composite of the best plan and of details from other plans.

The scope of the competition as set forth in the conditions is worth repeating:

"The winning plan must provide a practicable means whereby the United States can take its place and do its share toward preserving world peace, while not making compulsory the participation of the United States in European wars if any such are, in the future, found unpreventable. The plan may be based upon the present covenant of the League of Nations or may be entirely apart from that instrument."

Concerning Mining and Farming

WILL there be an extra session of Congress? Senator Brookhart, of Iowa, is making a drive for one in order to deal with the low price of wheat, which has been hovering around a dollar, and has even dropped below. A second reason for an extra session is urged by Representative Treadway of Massachusetts, who predicts for the New England States the same shortage of coal next winter as last, unless Congress does something promptly. Mr. Treadway is in favor of Government supervision of prices and distribution.

Which suggests the preliminary report of the United States Coal Commission, made public early this month. In brief, its recommendations were for regulation of the anthracite coal industry, with full authority for the President to take over the mines, transportation, distribution and marketing of hard coal in "national emergencies" in case of strikes or lockouts. The Commission bases its position on the fact that the anthracite industry is a limited natural monopoly and that the dependence of the northeastern states on it "affects it with a public interest." Though opposed to Government ownership, the Commission is strongly in favor of full publicity for all the affairs of the industry.

On the falling wheat situation the opinion of Senator Ladd of North Dakota is of value. He lays the blame on speculators, engaged in a fight to overcome the law passed in the last Congress against gambling in wheat futures. He says that this law, though not satisfactory to the farmers, had a few teeth in it, and that it annoys the speculators. They had been fighting such legislation for thirty years, and now, according to Senator Ladd, are out to discipline the farmer and the farm bloc, and to prove that regulation has meant disaster.

Their method has been to drive down the prices of wheat by heavy short-selling, with propaganda used to persuade the buyer that he would buy lower.

The Karelian Case

THE third session of the Permanent Court of International Justice opened at the Hague June 18. A new judge from China was installed and also a temporary judge from Germany, called to sit in a case involving the right of passage through the Kiel Canal.

A new sort of question was raised by the first case to come before this session. It is the case of Eastern Karelia, and was brought to the attention of the League Council by Finland, a member of the Court, with a request for an advisory opinion. Finland's claim was that Russia had not observed a treaty which bound her to give a certain measure of autonomy to Eastern Karelia. Russia being a non-member, the Council directed that she should be consulted about her intentions. The reply was a flat refusal to take any part in the examination of the question by the League or the Permanent Court.

The question for the judges then was whether there can be a case without a defendant, and the Court has decided that it can have no jurisdiction between a member and a non-member.

Magnus Johnson

THE farmer's situation was reflected in the recent senatorial election in Minnesota to fill the place left vacant by the death of Senator Knute Nelson. Magnus Johnson, Farmer-Labor candidate, and well advertised as a real dirt farmer, was elected by 35,000 over the Republican candidate, Governor Preus. And that in spite of the fact that Governor Preus, though known as a regular Republican, pointedly ignored the Administration in his campaign and went back on the tariff. The victory is variously interpreted, as a sign of the growing power of a third party movement, as a blind protest against low prices, and as a more conscious protest against the failure of certain desired farm legislation in the last Congress.

Anyhow the Senate is to have two Farmer-Labor men—Henrik Shipstead, also from Minnesota, being the other.

Mr. Johnson, widely known as Magnus, is a native of Sweden, thirty years in this country. He still speaks with the typical accent, has a loud booming voice, and is indifferent to collars. He has been a member of the state legislature, and came within 15,000 votes of winning the governorship last year. His Senatorial platform included repeal of the Esch-Cummins railroad law, regulation of big business, nationalization of the nation's water power, downward revision of the tariff, national farm marketing legislation, and a revision of the Federal Reserve system "in the interest of the people."

Villa

THE famous Mexican bandit is dead. Francisco (Pancho) Villa, who escaped so many times by such narrow margins, was ambushed last week and with a number of his followers shot to death. At first the assassination was assumed to be a piece of revenge on the part of one Herrera, whose father and brother had been among the Villa victims; but there is a suspicion that the killing may have had a political motive. A stiff contest is on for the presidential election which takes place next year, and it was known that Villa expected to take an influential part.

The Affair in the Philippines

THERE may be factors in the recent sensation in the Philippines that do not appear in the outline of facts, but here is the outline:

The Secret Service chief, Ray Conley, was dismissed on charges of bribery. He was tried three times before a Filipino judge, and acquitted, but the verdict of acquittal was worded in such a way as to indicate that though there was not evidence to convict, there was doubt of the agent's innocence. General Wood, who believed in him, ordered his reinstatement, without consultation with the Filipino official who was his immediate superior. Conley afterward resigned, and his resignation was accepted. General Wood's action was resented by Filipino officials as an encroachment on their rights, and the outcome was that the Council of State and the whole Cabinet resigned, with Manuel Quezon at their head. Quezon, who was one of the joint chairmen of the Independence Mission to the United States last year, says that this action is not an attack on the Harding administration nor on General Wood personally, but a defense of the rights already granted the Filipino people by the United States.

Cabled accounts of the affair from both sides have been received at Washington and it is understood that a parliamentary mission will wait on the President, when he returns from Alaska, to set forth the Filipino side of the case.

Individuality marks Theresa F. Bernstein's work, the critics agree. Freedom of method, freedom of thought, freedom of action has been her history. Painting from the time she was eleven, she won scholarships sufficient to defray all art-training expenses. At fifteen she broke away from instruction, because of its setness and conformity to standard. She has worked out her problems by herself and painted what she felt. Crowds attract her, and most of her canvases are of street scenes, golf scenes—mass humanity scenes. Even in her landscapes she uses bold, free strokes. (See our cover.)

American trained, she is considered a representative American artist, and is being hopefully watched by art critics.

Suspense Over the Ruhr

AS this is written the terms of the British draft reply to Germany on reparations have not been published. It is carefully made clear that it is a draft and not a final form, and therefore subject to much modification by suggestions from Paris, Brussels, Rome, Tokio, or Washington, to all of which it has been sent. It is the British ambition to have the note signed by all.

This note is the result of many conferences not only between the representatives of conflicting points of view in the British Government, but unofficially between England and France, England and Germany—England trying to find some compromise between the German refusal to cease passive resistance without promise of reduction of French troops to "invisibility," and the French determination to yield nothing until the Germans cease passive resistance.

According to the unofficial despatches, the note contains an assent in principle to the German request for a body of international experts to determine what Germany can pay, a willingness to consider the guarantees offered by the Germans in their last note, and it is supposed that it contains a definite proposal for relaxation of the French grip on the Ruhr.

Very Briefly

THE French Senate ratified, without reservations, both the Five-Power Naval treaty and the Pacific treaty resulting from the Washington Conference. The last O. K. is in.

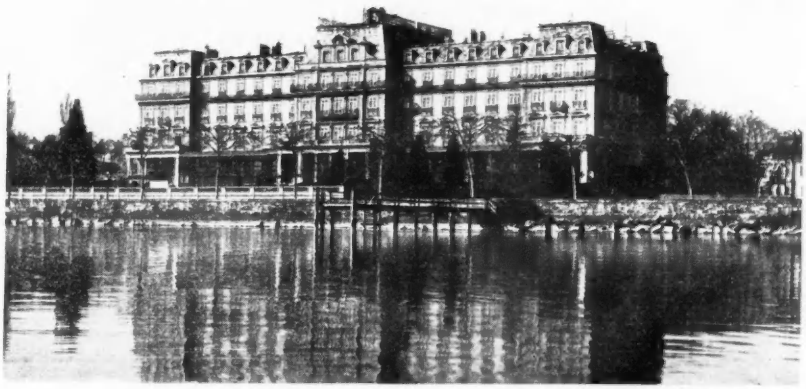
Signing of the peace treaty between the Turks and the Allies has at last been achieved, after eight months' negotiation.

Premier Mussolini issued an order greatly limiting freedom of the press in Italy; he followed that with a sweeping prohibition of gambling.

President Harding has completed his Alaskan trip, and is about to announce his conclusions. *July* 24, 1923.

The League of Nations—Yes

By Lucia Ames Mead



Courtesy of Swiss Federal Railroad.

The "Capitol of The World"—headquarters of the League of Nations, in Geneva, Switzerland. Once the National Hotel, this is the central building, but with all included the League headquarters stretch for a quarter of a mile along the lake. The library occupies the ballroom of this building.

A new situation confronts the American voter. In 1920, had we entered the League of Nations, we should have been compelled to sign the whole of the long, complicated and vindictive Versailles treaty. Many who believed in the Covenant of the League, which was its first section, hesitated about doing so, as it bound us to the whole treaty. Today, if the United States should enter the League of Nations, as it has signed a separate treaty with Germany, it would enter just as every neutral nation—like Holland—has entered without signing this treaty. This fact should be generally known, but I am told that it is not.

The question of reparations and of most of those other dangerous and vexing questions which were the problems of the war settlement are in the hands of the Supreme Council of the Allies; they do not come before the Council of the League, of which we, on entering, would become the eleventh member, and the fifth of the permanent members. Three years ago the question of the occupation of Shantung by Japan troubled the consciences of many who did not wish by entrance into the League to seem to condone that. Today Japan has kept her word and completely evacuated Shantung, largely owing to the long patient discussions which Secretary Hughes conducted in Washington at the Armament Conference. Two difficulties are removed; and moreover the partisan fury which blinded the eyes of so many voters is giving way to a calmer and more judicial spirit.

The World's One Hope

The time is over ripe for the reconsideration of the whole issue of our cooperating effectively with the only existing agency that promotes world organization and has the machinery for carrying on international business. The League of Nations is the one hopeful agency to promote peace among embittered, confused and impoverished nations. Colonel House quotes General Smuts as saying: "The sands are running out and, unless some strong hand can even now clutch Europe and rescue her from the slope down which she is slipping, the catastrophe of the peace may yet become far greater than that of the great war." The nations, especially the little new nations, are preparing for war in larger numbers and in more expensive ways than was true when they were constituent members of larger countries.

That YES *means not only approval of the League of Nations, at work in the world, but yet to the entrance of the United States into the League. Neither Mrs. Mead, who has been identified with the movement from its beginning, nor the* CITIZEN, *believes the issue is "dead." Elsewhere in this number you will find other opinions, and in later issues you will find opinions on those opinions.*

The one hope, the one outstanding gain, is that fifty-two nations have pledged themselves to a "cooling-off period" of nine months before one of them lifts a finger against another. *No such advanced step as this has ever been taken before in all history.* The critics and cynics can find nothing like it. Each nation must either have its case against another arbitrated or else it must send it to the Council of the League for investigation. Six months are allowed for this and for publication to the world of this result. Three more months must be allowed calmly to consider this and learn world opinion. Is it likely that after that the nation against whom the verdict has gone will dare attack the other? If this does not end war, it comes very near it, so far as the fifty-two nations are concerned.

But alas, Russia with her great army, faithless Turkey, Germany and suspicious America are out. Not until these all assemble under one roof and all take the same pledge will fear of another and far more terrible world war subside. Only when thus all act together can the world be organized.

Why are we not in the League of Nations? Primarily because, though we can go to war on a majority vote, the unfortunate provision in our Constitution which requires a two-thirds vote of the Senate, permits a minority to thwart the will of the majority. We had a majority vote for our entrance; but we did not quite get two-thirds. Senator Newberry said when he resigned that he thanked God his one vote had kept us out.

The Country Didn't Vote No

President Lowell has recently emphasized the point that the assumption that the 7,000,000 majority votes for President Harding meant these votes condemned our entrance into the League, has no foundation whatever in fact. Not only did racial and personal matters and domestic matters largely account for the landslide, but the thirty-one distinguished Republicans — Mr. Hoover, Mr. Taft, Mr. Hughes, and President Lowell among them—urged voters to vote for Mr. Harding as the surest way to get us into the League or some Association of Nations. Every one of them believed in the League either with or without reservations. Doubtless millions of votes by people who did not care for the personality of Governor Cox, but who wanted us to go into the League, were fixed by the pronouncement of the thirty-one.

In the nature of the case, Mr. Hard-

ing can not set up a new, effective association of nations. He might possibly get the nations now outside the League to join in a smaller union. But do we want to flock with Turkey and Russia and Mexico rather than with our friends, the Allies? Would not this create simply another balance of power? How could he expect fifty-two nations to dissolve their union precedent to joining some unformed union, when they have become deeply involved in solemn pledges for mandates, treaties, commissions of various kinds, and have solidly established themselves with a working force of hundreds of experts at a definite headquarters, where they are working with incalculably more speed and efficiency than was ever known before? When President Harding called the Armament Conference it took him four or five months to convene nine nations. When they ended their very valuable work, there was no machinery left with which to go on further. We may have useful conferences called from time to time, but these can never take the place of world organization.

No Super-government

Organization is demanded by a world which is bound together by the wireless. Once it was impossible. Now it is a necessity for self-preservation. The irreconcilables who want us to go back to stage-coach days of foreign policy try to buttress up their arguments with quotations from advice given us in those days at the birth of the industrial revolution. The phrase "entangling alliances" has been held up as a warning with sinister effect. No nation will get far with an entangling alliance if it can withdraw when it wills. In 1861, ten states tried to secede and our supergovernment at Washington thundered "No". We fought four long and bitter years to preserve the Union. But if a member of the League desires to withdraw, it has only to give two years' notice and pay its dues. There is no supergovernment at Geneva.

After the election, the Federal Council of Churches, which represents 22,000,000 church members in 29 denominations, gave this pronouncement at its quadrennial meeting in December, 1920:

"The supreme hope for the future is in the League of Nations. This is the one worth-while, definite thing which has come out of the war. The call of our nation to enter the League and help make it a really effective instrument for righting wrongs and adjusting national difficulties, is the greatest moral call which has ever come to the Church in all its history. The peace of the world and the hope of humanity rest upon the proper strengthening and functioning of the League".

None of the constituent bodies in the Council has withdrawn from this statement, but rather affirmed it. The Christian Church is today for our entrance into the League with whatever reservations the Senate may require. The new Association, the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, from its headquarters at 15 West 37th St., New York City, is creating organizations all over the country to reopen the whole question. A response is coming from all classes of people, who have watched with shame the result of America's aloofness and haughty failure for a time even to recognize the existence of the great creation which had come to pass.

The analogy between the suspicion of our time with that which prevailed when the Constitution was launched is very instructive. It is worth while remembering that four of our thirteen colonies at first refused to ratify it. When finally a Congress was called, the first meeting had no quorum. When it was finally started, ten amendments had to be added at once. The Supreme Court, the great creation of the Constitution, was so suspected at first that two years elapsed before it was trusted with a contested case.

The Permanent Court of International Justice, which is the joint product of the Hague Tribunal panel of judges and the League of Nations, did not have to wait for its first case and has been busy for a year. Little by little it will gain the confidence of the nations and a larger and larger number will pledge themselves to send disputes to it for adjudication, as some have already done.

The League has not turned out to be so powerful or formidable as many either hoped or feared it would be. Some features which exist on paper have worked out differently from what was expected. Our Constitution provided for an electoral college. The framers did not trust a popular vote. We have kept the electoral college on paper but we have circumvented it and have a popular vote for the real decision. How the League will finally work out, only history can tell; but much will depend upon whether the richest and most influential country in the world assumes its proper responsibility.

The Six Votes Bogey

Three years ago we heard the constant question, "Do you want England to have six votes and we have only one?" Since Ireland has asked for admittance into the League and will probably become the fifty-third member in September next, this question is not so often asked. In the Council of the League, now numbering ten members and capable of enlargement, the whole British Empire, numbering over 400,000,000, has only one vote. The United States if it entered would, with its 110,000,000 citizens, have *per capita* four times as much weight as British subjects.

Moreover, grown-up, married daughters who have set up housekeeping for themselves have their own ideas and are not running back to mother to ask what they shall think and do. Australia by no means always agrees with Canada's ways. One voted for conscription, the other voted against it. There is no reason why important nations of 8,000,000 people like Canada should not have a vote in the Assembly as well as little nations like Haiti, and the Hejaz.

Votes in the Assembly are for very few subjects anyway: the admission of new members; the election of judges once in nine years, the election of the temporary members to the Council, and amendments. The prime function of the Assembly is discussion. This bringing together every year of delegates from fifty-two nations to hear the reports of commissions and to survey the whole international field is of incalculable importance. Suspicion, prejudice and misjudgment disappear more rapidly under the international atmosphere of Geneva than in any other place on earth.

A Record of Achievement

Miss McDowell and Mrs. Tuttle have already in the *Woman Citizen* dealt with some of the achievements of the League. Briefly summed up, the principal are, perhaps in order of importance:

1. An almost certain preservation of peace between all members that keep their pledges.
2. The establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice on a basis which satisfies, as never before, the small nations—a court which with growing confidence is bound to grow in power.
3. The prevention of four dangerous disputes from ending in war.
4. The rehabilitation of bankrupt Austria.
5. Drastic and extensive measures to prevent the spread of menacing typhus.
6. The repatriation of 400,000 wretched prisoners of war.
7. The invalidation of secret treaties and the registration of all treaties.
8. An International Labor organization which includes Germany and which is getting bad conditions of labor gradually corrected.
9. A commission to deal with opium which is adopting the American point of view.
10. A commission working to prevent traffic in women.
11. General agreement for stopping traffic in arms, but frustrated by America's refusal to sign the convention.
12. Mandatories over backward people which prevent confiscation and require supervision and annual reports to the League.

This bald summary gives no idea of

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A Republican Looks at the League

By Harriet Taylor Upton

MY assignment from the *Woman Citizen* is to contribute an article "From Republican Viewpoint on Why We Should Not Enter League of Nations"—so read the telegram.

I think the assignment is superfluous. I agree with President Harding that the issue of the League of Nations "is as dead as slavery." The voters of the United States decided in 1920 that this country should stay out of the League of Nations. There was no other issue in 1920 but the League of Nations. It had been before the American Senate and the American people for more than a year prior to the national conventions which nominated the candidate and formulated the platforms. President Wilson had collapsed in 1919 while on a tour of the country to support the League of Nations.

Following the national conventions of 1920 there was no doubt in the mind of either candidate as to where he stood upon the issue, or where his opponent stood. Candidate Harding repeatedly stated he was for staying out of the League of Nations, while his opponent was in favor of going in. Candidate Cox said exactly the same thing, reversed.

The speakers on both sides discussed scarcely anything but the League of Nations. Seventy-five per cent. of the political literature of both parties was printed upon that subject. It was as dominant an issue in the campaign as the issue of free silver in 1896 or "imperialism" in 1900. It is an insult to the intelligence of women to tell them they did not know what they were voting for in 1920.

"There Is No Peace"

Politically, there is no more reason why there should be an attempt to resurrect the dead issue of the League of Nations than there is for an attempt to resurrect the dead issue of free silver or "imperialism." Those who desire to open the grave and drag out the corpse for a second post-mortem base their desire upon the need for world peace.

None is more in favor of world peace than the writer. In that she differs not a whit from all women or from all Americans, whether men or women. It is neither fair nor truthful to charge that those who oppose the United States' entering the League of Nations are against world peace and are obstructing the consummation of world peace.

Here is the Republican side of the controversial question of the League of Nations, with its implications about world peace. Mrs. Upton, as Vice Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee, is well qualified to speak, and certainly does speak vigorously.

Our readers' comments on this, as on the other articles in this issue, are cordially invited.

There has been no evidence presented that justifies the assertion that a resurrection of the issue of the League of Nations, even though it resulted in a reversal of the decision of 1920, would advance the cause of world peace one step. Those who make the assertion furnish no proof.

No one assumes for a moment that there is anything approximating world peace. All agree that Europe is in a turmoil, and has been since the armistice. Opinions among advocates of the League of Nations widely differ as to the reason for Europe's war-like condition. Some insist there can be no peace in Europe until the Versailles Treaty is torn up and a new treaty written, which will eliminate a great many provisions of the Versailles Treaty. Other leaders in the League of Nations insist there can be no peace in Europe until the terms of the Versailles Treaty are enforced to the limit of the letter.

Where does the League of Nations stand upon these problems which fundamentally are the cause of the continued war in Europe? It stands aloof. It has not attempted to solve any of these underlying questions, although within its membership are the nations directly involved in these issues and they are bound under the terms of the League to take their disputes to the League for amicable adjustment. It is argued that this attitude of the League is due to the fact that the membership of the League is too directly concerned in the problems involved, too partisan to reach peaceful adjustment of the situation.

This statement is not justified by the facts. There are a great number of nations in the League of Nations which were not participants in the world war —Holland, Spain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and the South American countries. From this group of nations there certainly could be a commission appointed to consider Europe's troubles. If the League desires some neutral power or powers to act as arbiter, why not select these?

The answer is known to all who are familiar with the European situation and the desires of the European powers. None of these neutral nations has a surplus of either money or men. They are not rich. None of them is a creditor to any extent of the European powers that were engaged in war. The only neutral nation which can furnish to Europe untold sums of money and tremendous military forces is the United States. Hence the desire upon the part of European powers to get the United States into the League of Nations "by hook or crook."

Once in, we are committed to stand by whatever decision the League makes. America is a nation which stands by its promises. It is a nation which honors its signature to any agreement. Therefore, once we were in the League of Nations and were called upon by the League to perform certain duties which would involve expenditures of great sums of money, cancellation of our debts, furnishing armed forces to police some section of the globe, we would be obligated to do so, or stand before the world as a nation which regarded its written pledges as scraps of paper.

The Advantage of Neutrality

There is absolutely no other reason why the European countries want this country in the League of Nations. Their claim that they want us in because we are a great neutral whose advice Europe would eagerly follow, does not stand the test of truth or logic. We are neutral because we are outside the League. Any advantage due to this neutrality would be lost if we joined.

As to the argument that Europe would follow our advice, it is sufficient to say that we have been advising Europe disinterestedly ever since the war, and up to date our admonitions have been disregarded and our suggestions have been spurned. If Europe will not listen to our advice as a disinterested neutral, there is no reason to believe that she would listen to it in event we became a part of the League of Nations, and thereby became a partisan in the political affairs of Europe.

Is Europe an armed camp today? It is not because the United States threatens her peace. The program of disarmament has proceeded farther in this country than in any other nation in the world. We have fewer men under

arms today than any first or second class power. We menace no one. We have no desires to possess any European territory or any other territory belonging to European nations. We have set the world an example in peace and disarmament. We have asked Europe to follow it. If she does not, it is due to her disposition to maintain herself on an armed basis—a disposition that is the legacy of seven hundred years of territorial greed and political intrigue, a taint in European blood. Her disposition could not be changed by our joining the League, nor the taint in the blood thereby removed. The only effect of our getting into the League would be making us a party to these quarrels and involving us in armed conflicts over territory. This is not peace.

Is Europe bankrupt? If so, it is not because of the policy of the United States. We have not pressed any European nation for any of the $11,000,000,000 which is owed us, although if Europe does not repay this money our wage earners and farmers must pay it in the form of increased taxes. No nation of continental Europe, with the exception of little Finland, has made any effort to set aside any part of its budget for the purpose of paying off the debts it owes America.

No nation can claim that because of the debt it owes this country it has been financially pinched or embarrassed. Moreover, since the armistice was signed, the United States has contributed directly over $2,000,000,000 to the reconstruction of those nations which were afflicted by the war. Europe is not bankrupt to that degree that she is unable to maintain large standing armies, wage a dozen wars, invest hundreds of millions of dollars in enterprises in various quarters of the globe in order to secure for herself valuable concessions, rebuild her destroyed areas, keep up her merchant marine and perform other services which it is not possible for a bankrupt people to perform.

Where there is need for the United States to give aid, and where that need is legitimate, aid is given. A striking example is furnished by the efforts being made to rehabilitate Austria. The League of Nations outlined a fiscal and economic program which Austria bound herself to follow. In return for this promise, the League of Nations undertook to finance Austria. It was necessary, for this, that the United States should contribute. The United States did contribute, subscribing in twenty-four hours the money necessary to put Austria upon her feet financially. This shows that it is not necessary for this country to be a part of the League of Nations in order to aid the legitimate rehabilitation of Europe.

The difference between her doing her share outside the League of Nations and inside the League of Nations is vital. In the first instance, she does her share voluntarily because there are good, sound reasons for her action. But as a member of the League of Nations she would be assessed her quota, and she would be compelled to pay her quota under duress and not as an independent nation, or else repudiate it and stand convicted as a breaker of treaties.

Those who reiterate "We must help Europe" ignore the fact that the United States now, outside the League of Nations, has done more to help Europe than any nation inside the League, and that we have been able to do this because we are outside the League. They ignore the fact that the United States, outside the League of Nations, is doing everything she could do as a member of the League of Nations, except to furnish money under duress to be expended as the League directed and not as the United States desired, and furnish a standing army to police Europe or any quarter of the globe which the League of Nations desired policed. Neither of

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The Pacifist's Point of View

By Sarah N. Cleghorn

Maude Royden said last winter that in the cause of peace thoroughgoing pacifists and advocates of step-by-step methods should unite. In the present observance of a day for the promotion of peace this is the case. To present the pacifist point of view here we have chosen a woman whose sincere and courageous idealism are well known.

"DID you see," asked Margery, "where Tatie bit my thumb?"

"See my dress," cried Katie. "Margery tore my dress! I bit her thumb—I'll bite it aden, if she does it aden."

"Do you think you ought to bite Margery, even if she did tear your dress?"

"'Course I ought to! Why wouldn't I? My mother and father hit *me* when I'm bad."

This conversation, in which I took part, first showed me the intimate connection between all other punishment and war. Most pacifists, I must admit, discovered the connection long before I did, and had concluded that war is simply the apotheosis of punishment; and that all kinds of punishment are variations of war. For it is natural that an attempt, by one party, to create unpleasant conditions for the other party, should be met by an endeavor to frustrate that attempt; this necessitates a more strenuous attempt to apply the unpleasant conditions, which of course is met by a more strenuous endeavor to frustrate it; and in this hostility, this mutual wounding, this excoriation of human relations, wherever it occurs, the pacifist beholds a state of war.

"As long," says Roger Baldwin, "as you shut up your children in dark closets for being naughty, so long you will have the prison brutalities which you deplore."

"What! Never to punish a child in a temper!" protests Heywood Broun. "Why, being in a temper is the only thing that excuses you for punishing him at all!"

Now when we punish, we try by hurting, disappointing or mortifying our subject, to burn his badness deep into his mind. We tie a tin can to the tail of his crime, and drive it under his windows. We do something—be it little or much—to damage his personality in his own eyes and to make that one companion from whom he can never escape, an unpleasant companion to him. We do, in short, as that conscientious old spelling teacher did, when she adjured her pupil:

"Remember now, not to spell friend F-R-E-I-N-D. F-R-E-I-N-D! F-R-E-I-N-D! Never forget that you mustn't spell it F-R-E-I-N-D."

Pacificists, consequently, are not looking for anything that can broadly be called a "substitute" for war. They are not trying to find a daintier and milder method of accomplishing what war accomplishes—the forced behavior of the beaten as the beater wants him to behave. What they want is a method that will accomplish the very opposite of what war accomplishes—a state of fearless freewill, *self*-discipline, and mutual encouragement. Everything that will contribute a penny toward such a state is good in their eyes.

And every one of them can find a thousand occasions a week for practicing pacifism and beginning to abolish war. Every time a child, even when naughty, is respected in his freedom, tranquillity and self-esteem; every time a slight or injury is met by a refusal to retaliate, even in a negative way; every time a ruffled friend is reminded to consider the other party's comfort and pride on an equal footing with his

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The present session of the Permanent Court of International Justice, at the Peace Palace at the Hague. John Bassett Moore, the only American, was chosen by another country.

The World Court--Next Step

By Carrie Chapman Catt

THE Court of International Justice is a realization of the dreams of great men. After every war, big or little,the pains and penalties so far outweigh the gains and glory that serious-minded men reflect upon the futility of it all. Inside civilized governments courts of law decide disputes between citizens. Robert Ingersoll once said that the substitute of courts for clubs as a method of settling quarrels marked the turn from barbarism to civilization. Men have asked each other for generations whether we may rightfully call ourselves civilized until the same sane and sensible method is substituted for war.

The idea of a World Court is so old and has been advocated by so many that its originator will never be known. Although as a theory it had many friends, little was done to establish the idea in practice until in 1899 when the Czar of Russia, most autocratic of all the autocrats, astounded the world by calling a Peace Congress at the Hague to discuss methods of avoiding war. Few nations had confidence in his sincerity and they appointed their delegates half-heartedly. Before the end, however, earnest conferences were held and had it not been for the continual obstruction of Prussia, an association of nations might have eventuated and the Great War might have been avoided.

A Beginning at the Hague

The only result was the Hague Tribunal. This court is constituted for the convenience of nations desiring to refer their troubles to arbitration. It does not sit continuously. There is a panel of one hundred and thirty-five names from which the necessary judges to constitute an arbitration board may be chosen when needed. It has served the desires of nations several times, but it has no authority to make law, invite its interpretation nor to enforce its findings. That a more authoritative Court would one day replace it, has been the hope of all believers in the possibility of attaining permanent peace.

The Covenant of the League of Nations, set up by the Peace Conference after the Great War, "to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war" provided that each member nation should agree to submit any dispute with another member, "either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council and in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council". Each member nation agrees further "to carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered" and further "that they will not resort to war against another member which complies therewith". The possibility of a dishonorable nation violating its oath was foreseen and the Covenant further provides that "in the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the Council shall propose what steps shall be taken to give effect thereto".

To League members arbitration is compulsory and the League may submit questions for arbitration and enforce decisions. The World Court or Court of International Justice is the machinery created by the League of Nations to take care of this phase of the business of achieving international peace.

The Council invited a group of internationally eminent jurists to draft the plan and Hon. Elihu Root was conspicuous among those who accepted. On December 13, 1920, the plan was unanimously approved by the Assembly of the League. The agreement was signed by the representatives of forty-six states and afterward submitted for ratification to their home governments. At least forty governments have so far ratified the agreement.

The President's First Proposal

The judges, eleven regular and four deputies, are elected for a term of nine years by a majority vote of the League's Assembly and Council. The Court sits each year, beginning June 15th. Judge John Bassett Moore, an American, was elected to a permanent Judgeship and accepted.

On May 12, 1923, the League of Nations declared the Court open to the world and on February 24, 1923, President Harding in a special message to the Senate recommended that the United States join in the Court agreement with four reservations:

(1) Adherence should not involve us in any legal relation to the League of Nations or assumption of any obligations under the Covenant.

(2) We should be permitted to share in the election of judges.

(3) We should pay a fair share of the expenses of the Court as determined and appropriated by Congress.

(4) The statute creating the Court should not be changed without our consent.

These reservations were reported to be recommendations of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Root. A new question and a new issue was at once raised, much favor-

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The World Court--As Dreamed in 1866

By Sally Fanny Gleaton

WHO first had the dream of a world court and an international code? Doubtless no one can ever answer that. But the name of the man who first formally suggested an international code is known, and it is the name of an American.

In 1866 at Manchester, England, at a meeting of the British Association for the Promotion of Social Science, Mr. David Dudley Field proposed the appointment of a committee to prepare outlines of an international code which should be offered to all the countries represented for their adoption. The first cable, invention of David Dudley Field's brother Cyrus, had just united two continents, and under the inspiration of that event, Mr. Field prophetically saw how the world was to be drawn together.

The suggestion was welcomed with enthusiasm, the committee appointed, but—it dropped the work, discouraged by distance. David Dudley Field, however, did not lose heart or hope, and at the next year's meeting he gave an address on the Community of Nations, showing the stupid futility of war to solve problems. It was at this meeting that he said: "that peace might be an inheritance forever, it should be assured by recognition of the Community of Nations, which are indeed but separate members of one great family. This is modern civilization. For the ends of the earth are coming together—it may almost be said that there are no more 'foreign countries.'"

With no visionary dreams of a prompt millennium, Mr. Field believed that it was possible for nations to adjust all their relations to one another on such a broad plan of fairness and mutual benefit that they would no longer dream of conquest as the height of their ambition.

Lord Russell, the High Chief Justice of England, certainly an authority, thought that Mr. Field attempted the impossible in his plan of the code. But Mr. Field saw no more difficulty in framing an international than a national code. And a world court looked as feasible, for he said in 1872, before that same British Association: "There can hardly be a sufficient reason why Holland, Portugal, Switzerland, Denmark and Greece should not submit their differences to arbitration or to a permanent court, as well as New York and Pennsylvania."

So he pushed ahead with his "Draft Outlines of an International Code." With experts ransacking libraries and exploring every source of information, there was accumulated a mass of material that would have dismayed a man of less courage than Mr. Field. But the greatness of the undertaking only stimulated him. All the hours he could snatch from his professional engagements—his mornings and his midnights, were given to international law.

The result was a volume that quite appals the ordinary reader. Its last third is given up to war, and here the author shows not only his legal knowledge but his heart. He did not deny that war might sometimes come—like a convulsion of nature, a storm or an earthquake. But for the most part he saw the causes as pride, hatred, ambition, in which victory does not prove the victor right—or bring lasting peace. So, to stop war before it begins, he made three suggestions: 1. simultaneous reduction of armaments; 2. in case of disagreement, the aggrieved to give formal complaint, and the other to answer formally, within a given time; 3. in the event of failure, the two to appoint a Joint High Commission or, even that failing, a Tribunal of Arbitration, made of representatives from other nations that should be friendly to both.

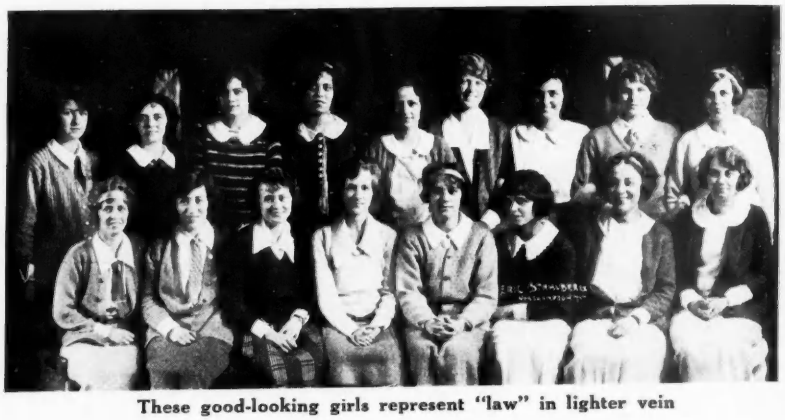
Sounds familiar, doesn't it?

Seven years Mr. Field spent in the writing—and still called his book Outlines, to be filled in by the future, because he looked upon international law as a progressive science which must advance with the progress of mankind. It has since been translated into French and Italian.

This was the contribution of David Dudley Field, who was born in Haddam, Connecticut, in a house on the site of the Brainerd Memorial Library—brother to Cyrus the inventor, Stephen the chief justice, Henry the minister and historian. In that library is the Field case, with many records, and a picture of that meeting at Manchester where an International Code idea was launched.

Dying in his ninetieth year, David Dudley Field has an epitaph worth recording:

He devoted his life to the Reform
of the Law;
To codify the Common Law;
To simplify Legal Procedure;
To substitute Arbitration for War;
To bring Justice within the reach
of all Men.



These good-looking girls represent "law" in lighter vein

Politeness Policemen

By Laura Kramer

"FOR the sake of due propriety" are words that spell arrest to the Smith College girl at the hands of a Politeness Policeman. Politeness Policemen are a new institution in the college. They were installed by the Student Council to see that the members of the student body conduct themselves in such a way that the "heedless" and "irresponsible" accusations of older generations against the college girl shall have no basis.

Manners, especially on the street, are what the policemen endeavor to correct. They see that students do not eat, nor walk more than three abreast, within certain limits in the down-town district of Northampton. "For the sake of due propriety" is the password challenge.

The song that the newly chosen policemen sang as they led out of chapel, wearing their official badges for the first time, well expresses their aims:

For the sake of due propriety,
It's quite essential, don't you see,
To be a judge of human nature.
Politeness in the right degree
Will indicate the family tree;
Always to be so mannerly
That folks will surely see
That we are but a luxury.

"Due propriety" are words that seem to belong with those whom life's experience has made staid, rather than with the joyous college girl. Yet this action has been taken by the students themselves, and the motto is theirs.

The League--As A Liberal Sees It

By Herbert Adams Gibbons

THERE was once a man who went into a shop and asked for a brand of soap. He asked for that particular kind because it contained certain ingredients and was made in a special way. It was a soap that he trusted and which he knew—or had reason to believe—would cleanse him. The shopkeeper tried to sell him another soap, "just as good". When he refused to take it the shopkeeper got angry and cried, "Then you don't believe in washing!"

The moral is obvious. Beginning with Mr. Wilson himself in 1919, a host of earnest people, whose zeal seems to have gotten the better of their common sense, denounce as enemies of peace and repudiators of the principle of international co-operation the American liberals who oppose the entry of the United States into the Versailles League of Nations. Their logic is like the shopkeeper's. When we refuse a spurious article, we are told that we do not believe in the League of Nations!

During the four years since the Paris Peace Conference I have had the privilege of talking on international politics to groups of thoughtful men and women in most of the eastern and central states and a few of the southern states. Everywhere I have found the same phenomenon—a few enthusiastic pro-Leaguers who lift up their voices on every occasion, and a steadily growing majority who have always wanted to believe in the existing League but who simply cannot do so. The type of audience that is interested in international politics has remained the same since 1919. The difference in four years is the marked increase in the number of those who have lost faith in the magic of words, of formulae, of any marvelous international organization, to reform the world and lessen the chances of war.

In 1919 the people who thought about international affairs were pretty evenly divided for and against the League, with a possible majority for; in the summer of 1923 the advocates of our joining the Versailles League without reservations could not muster as many as ten per cent. in any intelligent group. Everyone would vote for the United States helping Europe; only the "die-hards" would still persist in affirming that the way of salvation for the world was the Versailles League.

The reasons for overwhelming anti-League sentiment among American intellectuals and especially American men and women who call themselves Liberals are not far to seek.

For the third view of the League of Nations planned for this number (see page 5), we asked a man who is a well-known expert on international questions. Dr. Gibbons, war correspondent, college professor, lecturer, writer, has spent years abroad, and is the author of many books on international subjects, of which the latest is "An Introduction to World Politics." Comments—whether from Liberals who agree or disagree with Dr. Gibbons, or from others—will be welcome.

1. *The Versailles Covenant did not establish the kind of a League of Nations that would make possible the triumph of right over might and the successful working of the principle of international co-operation. Its constitution was intentionally framed in such a way as to render fruitless any efforts to remedy from within the flaws in the Covenant.*

In forming an estimate of the Versailles League "a condition, not a theory, confronts us." The Versailles League was so constructed as to keep the power in the hands of the principal members of the coalition that won the war in 1918. Five of the nine permanent places on the Council, in whose hands rested the power, were allotted permanently to "the five Principal Allied and Associated Powers," and any member of the existing Council could veto an amendment to enlarge the Council. This means the exclusion of Germany and Russia from the League and from the Council until or unless these powers consent to recognize as a verdict for all time the decision of the World War, and allow forever France and the other great Powers of the victorious group to keep Russians and Germans in a position of political and economic inferiority.

This one evident intention of the framers of the Covenant vitiates the Covenant. Before the Peace Conference met, President Wilson said at Manchester, England, that the United States would never enter into any League of Nations that was not a league of all nations for the common good of all. He himself unfortunately changed his mind; but his words were prophetic and held good all the same. If the United States had foolishly entered the League of Nations without reservations, as Mr. Wilson insisted, we should simply have joined an alliance of certain Powers to dominate and exploit the world for their own selfish interests, and we should have become partners in perpetuating conditions that made for war. This statement, strong as it may seem, is borne out by the facts.

The argument pro-Leaguers have advanced against what is set forth above is the assertion that if we had entered the League our authority and influence would have been great enough to induce the framers of the Covenant to modify it, to make it an honest organization for international co-operation, and that France, although possessing the veto power, would have been sweetly reasonable in regard to Germany. It is an argument unsupported by any evidence and refuted by all that has happened since the World War. If President Wilson did not possess the power during the Peace Conference (when the prestige of the United States was at its zenith and when our aid was essential to induce Germany to sign the Treaty), to write into the Treaty of Versailles the draft of the Covenant, as he conceived it and as all Liberals wanted it, what chance would we have had later when we had voluntarily tied our hands by entering the League without conditions? Why not the necessary amendments first, and then consideration of the question of our entry? Put this question to a League enthusiast; he cannot answer it! And it is the question that thoughtful men and women are asking all over the United States.

2. *The Versailles Covenant is inextricably bound up with, and cannot be divorced from, the execution of a treaty of peace which all the world now recognizes to be impracticable of execution, contrary to the ideals for the triumph of which the United States entered the war, and war-breeding.*

Over four years after the Treaty of Versailles was signed it is no longer necessary to elaborate on this point. We know definitely that the Treaty has not brought peace to Europe and the world; and the Entente Powers have given us the example, by revising the Treaty of Sevres wholly to the advantage of the Turks against their allies, that they do not regard the Treaty of Versailles as a document that should be upheld in the interest of justice and morality. It is no more than a victors' peace, imposed by force, and valid only so long as force is applied to secure execution. The League of Nations is committed to the execution of the Treaty of Versailles, and is definitely entrusted with the execution of certain provisions in the Treaty to the detriment of defeated nations and in flagrant and direct violation of the

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War Must Be Illegal

By Florence E. Allen

JUDGE OF THE OHIO SUPREME COURT

DID you ever stop to think that aggressive war is perfectly legal? If I kill a man with deliberate premeditation, in many states of the United States, I can be hanged or electrocuted for the murder; but if I lay in train plans which lead to the killing of ten million men in war I go scot-free, because there is no law against war, and anything I do to plan or bring on a war is perfectly proper and sanctioned. In fact, the only kind of war which is illegal is a war of liberation, like our Revolution of 1776. If George Washington, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, and all of the patriots who founded this republic, had fought an unsuccessful war they could have been strung on gibbets as high as Haman because they were traitors to King George and engaged in illegal war.

And the fact that war has never been declared illegal under the law of nations is of the utmost moment because war never can be prevented so long as it is proper, legal and sanctioned.

When you try to repress legal action the person who wishes to use that form of action can with perfect truth say, "I have a right to do this". It has always been so with individual violence. Individual violence could not be repressed so long as it was not against the law. In the period of private warfare bloodshed could not be repressed: it had to be made disreputable and illegal. And so it was with dueling. Long after other forms of private warfare had been made disreputable, this form persisted. A man was not only permitted to kill another man over some affair of honor, he was even expected to take part in this kind of murder, he was a coward and ungentlemanly if he would not fight. And so the duel flourished, with its attendant tragedy. It could not be prevented until it was branded as illegal—then it became disreputable and dueling ceased.

Law First, Court Second

Let us imagine that there is no law making murder a crime. Suppose a terrible murder occurred. How could the court summon the murderer for trial? How could the jury convict him? How could the judge sentence him if there were no law making murder a crime? It simply could not be done. Equally is it true that war cannot be prevented so long as it is proper and sanctioned.

And that means that no league, no court, no organization can function to secure permanent peace so long as war is legal; that is to say, so long as war constitutes the reputable means of settling international disputes.

National Council for Prevention of War

The right of making war in self-defense cannot and should not be curtailed. But the law of self-defense in individual law is made so plain that a man must prove self-defense in order to justify a killing. When the International Code is written condemning war as murder, the law of self-defense between nations will apply, and nations claiming that they war in self-defense will have to establish that self-defense in order to justify a war.

I grant that dueling and murder and private warfare become disreputable with the proper enforcement of the law; but it is plain that you cannot enforce a law that has not been declared; that does not even exist. Moreover, public opinion cannot generate in favor of abolishing war until the law that war is illegal is declared. And this means that abolition of war cannot be enforced until war is declared illegal.

It is important to realize that laws are not enforced through physical force only; laws are enforced also through public opinion. The better part of law enforcement is done through public conscience. That is because real laws which have a moral basis are the expression of the moral feeling of the community

We have in Cleveland less than 1200 policemen; there are 800,000 people in that city, and if we wished to organize a head hunt the police would be powerless. Most of the citizens are kept in check—by what? Not by courts, not by constables, not by prisons, but by our intent not to break the law. This intent not to break the law is the moral feeling of the community, and it results from spiritual and educational forces which are vitalized by belief in a declared law. The same force of public opinion against war can be built up among the nations; it can not be built up until the moral truth that war ought to be illegal is expressed in terms of law. The law must be expressed so that the spiritual strength of the world—always much greater than we admit—may rally to its backing; so that this spiritual force which will teach the nations not to learn war any more, not to want to learn war any more, may be released and vitalized. At present it is impotent. This spiritual force, this desire not to war because war is a crime, will finally be the most potent force toward peace. We should express the law if for no other purpose than to release this force.

The outlawry of war of itself will not abolish war, but without this step war can never be abolished. I do not mean that we must take no other practical, gradual steps toward peace than this. I favor any reasonable, intelligent step which will enable us to co-operate in solving world problems. I do say, however, that making war illegal under the law of nations, is the indispensable first step toward international peace.

What Machinery?

How will this come to pass? It will come to pass just as the declaration against dueling came to pass. Men at last grew so glutted with their killings that they turned in their tracks and said that it was wrong to take human life. Men will eventually say that it is wrong to take human life in the mass as well as individually.

What machinery shall we use to enforce the law? I believe that we should use a world court with power judicially to settle disputes between nations, but that in order for that court to function we must have an agreement or a treaty abolishing war and a code establishing international law upon a moral basis. A simple international conference could take the first indispensable step through a treaty outlawing war, and the machinery cannot properly be sketched in detail until that step is taken. When

"Thou shalt not kill" was written there were no constables nor courts. Murder had to be declared a crime before the machinery developed. When society declares that war is murder, that war is criminal we shall evolve the procedure to enforce the law. In its final form it may differ somewhat from anything now contemplated, but men will build the machinery if once they declare the law. The machinery must include a court with jurisdiction and a convention to codify and create international law along the lines of equity and right.

The outlawry of war, making war illegal, is the indispensable first step toward peace. Both court and international code are useless for attaining peace unless war is outlawed. I shall have failed in my purpose if I have not indicated that in my opinion we should demand of whatever peace organizations we are members that they recognize as the foundation which we must have if we are ever to begin to build world peace—the outlawry of war.

And this indispensable step can be taken simply and easily. It could be taken by the League of Nations. It could be taken in an international conference like the Washington Disarmament Conference. The law against war could be enacted as a declaration of nations. It could be done by simple treaty. The treaty, to be most effective, should be enacted as a universal treaty by all the principal nations of the world, but a substantial start could be made by enacting a treaty not universal, but enacting a treaty between America and single nations.

That step could be taken now. This year, we could propose to England that we enact a treaty that henceforth as between us aggressive warfare shall be illegal. This year we could propose to the South American republics that henceforth as between ourselves war should be illegal. And with this step we should be one hundred years in advance of international relations.

They Work For Peace

A Directory of Peace Agencies

STARTING out to compile a list of the principal peace agencies in the United States, we were surprised to discover how many there are. In a tentative list, on which we have drawn for help to supplement our own correspondence, the National Council for Prevention of War names seventy-four. This includes, however, many organizations that, without being peace societies, work to further international good will. If any important society or committee working directly for peace has been omitted here, please let it speak up, and we will publish a postscript.

American Association for International Conciliation, 407 West 117 St., New York. Nicholas Murray Butler, Chairman of Executive Committee.

Prints and circulates documents to "awaken interest and to seek co-operation in the movement to promote international good will." Auxiliary of the Carnegie Endowment.

American Committee for the Outlawry of War. 76 West Monroe St., Chicago, Ill. S. O. Levinson, Chairman.

Twelve charter members, many informal members, branch committees being organized in various states and in England and France. Purpose is to secure international conference to outlaw war and codify international law. Endorses Senator Borah's resolution.

American Peace Society, Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C. Arthur Deerin Call, Colorado Bldg., Executive Secretary.

Aim—to advance the general use of judicial methods. Works for international court with obligatory jurisdiction, and a conference for advancement of international law. Publishes the *Advocate of Peace*. Membership about 2,500.

American School Citizenship League, 405 Marlborough St., Boston, Mass. Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, Secretary.

One of its purposes is to co-operate with educational agencies in foreign countries for the promotion of international understanding. About 5,000 members—teachers and students.

Association for Peace Education. 1010 Fine Arts Bldg., Chicago, Ill. William B. Owen, Pres.; Private Harold R. Peat, Exec. Sec'y.

Purpose—to promote peace through education, and to discourage the teaching of national animosity.

Association to Abolish War, 7 Wellington Terrace, Brookline, Mass. Dr. Charles F. Dole, President; Henry W. Pinkham, Sec'y.

Opposes war on any ground whatever, favors complete disarmament, and international agreements not to go to war. Members, 300.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C. Elihu Root, President.

Spends a $500,000 annual income in activities for furthering abolition of war through study, conferences, bureaus, journals and in support of peace agencies.

Church Peace Union, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York. Founded by Andrew Carnegie, it is parent group to the *World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through Churches*. Henry A. Atkinson, General Secretary of both.

The Alliance has about 2,500 members, is organized in twenty-five countries. Supports membership in League of Nations or other effective association, and World Court; international reduction of armaments, and outlawry of war.

Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Commission on International Justice and Good Will. 105 East 22 St., New York. Dr. John H. Finley, Chairman.

Works to promote international law, international courts of justice, equal justice for all races, sweeping reduction of armaments by all nations. Supports a League of Nations and the World Court.

Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, 311 Division Ave., Hasbrouck Heights, N. J. Kirby Page, Executive Secretary.

Purpose—to bring modern international relations (as well as industrial and commercial relations) into harmony with the teaching of Christ. Works by conferences and literature.

Fellowship of Reconciliation. 396 Broadway, New York. Gilbert A. Beaver, Chairman; Paul Jones, Secretary.

Organized on the belief that love as revealed in the life and teachings of Jesus Christ is the fundamental basis of a true human society, and the only effective power for overcoming war and other evil.

Foreign Policy Association, 3 West 29th St., New York. James G. McDonald, Chairman.

"A group of Americans studying and working to make an informed liberalism—a most potent and dynamic force in American foreign policy." It studies international relations, publishes, holds conferences.

General Federation of Women's Clubs, Department of International Relations, General Headquarters 1734 N. St., N. W., Washington, D. C. Mrs. Thomas G. Winter Acting Chairman.

Promotes the study of international relations through carefully prepared programs.

Intercollegiate Peace Association, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Prof. S. F. Weston, Chairman.

Purpose—to arouse interest in the cause of peace among students. Promotes oratorical contests on peace subjects.

Interparliamentary Union (American Branch), Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C. Senator William B. McKinley, Chairman.

Composed of members and ex-members of national parliaments, organized to "unite in common action members of all parliaments to secure co-operation . . . in a universal organization of all nations."

League of Nations Non-Partisan Association. 15 West 37th St., New York. Former Justice John H. Clarke, President.

Purpose—"the independent, non-partisan cultivation of such a public opinion as will induce the present Administration, or if not this the next one, to enter the League of Nations." Organized last winter, it already has members in every state.

National Conference on Christian Way of Life. 129 E. 52nd St., New York, Peace Committee. Whitney H. Shepardson, Secretary. (*Continued on page 23*)

Editorially Speaking

While Europe Burns

THIS week the entire world is discussing the practicality of the universal substitution of law for war. Neither those who advocate the "outlawry of war," without a definite plan whereby it may be outlawed, nor those at the other extreme who loudly declare that their souls revolt with horror at the very thought of war, yet condemn every plan to avoid it, contribute much that is useful to the discussion.

The League of Nations may or may not prove the agency to find the final solution of this world around problem of war. Whether it will be able to carry out its primary purpose "to achieve international peace and security" depends to a great extent, perhaps solely, upon the success of the past and present efforts of the United States to kill the League. In any event, the founders intended the work of the League to begin where the war left off and free from all its entanglements. It has no authority over the situation which at this moment is not only steadily preparing for future wars, but is war.

Europe is distraught in the midst of economic, financial and social chaos. It matters little which is nearer right in the Ruhr, France or Germany—the outstanding fact is that together they are staggering daily closer to complete European bankruptcy and the common wreckage of European civilization. Thousands of people who know conditions as no outsider can know them predict the coming of a reign of terror beyond which no man can see.

Many years ago Wendell Phillips said: "Take women who are hungry and men who have been drinking, place a thousand of these together and let them excite each other with their exclamations, anxieties and the contagious reaction of their ever-increasing emotions; it will not be long before you find them a crowd of dangerous maniacs." It is not a thousand in Europe who are hungry, and reacting upon each other's emotions; it is millions. Millions who see no future for sons nor daughters, millions before whom old age is a menacing specter, millions who do not know where tomorrow's bread is to be found, millions without hope. No charity can cure, no American soup kitchen can do more than stave off the undefined terror that threatens to engulf them. They have looked in vain across the Atlantic for a savior; they have listened for a voice of cheer and sympathy and America, rich, prosperous, healthy and strong, offers nothing but charity. Did we go into the Great War to free the world of autocracy as thousands said when appealing to citizens to buy Liberty bonds? If we did, then why are we quitters before the task is finished? Or did we say the glorious thing in order to open pocketbooks? And in reality did we go to war "to save our skins" as an Ambassador said when the war was over? If so, now that we are secure in the skin we have saved, have our heroics so far evaporated that we have no spirit left to help "save the skin" of the world?

It is the sore spot of Europe that calls for help. This is where any program of law vs. war aiming at eventual and permanent peace must begin. Will we give heed? How long shall our nation remain wrapped in its cloak of colossal selfishness murmuring excuses about "entangling alliances"? Washington has been dead a good while, and this is a different world. Europe was then great and dominating, the United States of America small and weak, the population of the entire country being less than that of New York City today. Now we are great with over 110 millions of people and with more than half the gold of the entire world in our coffers. Europe is weak, wounded, and tottering. Are we still afraid?

What made Nero fiddle while Rome burned? The centuries have passed and no one has understood the unfeeling hardness of that man's heart.

What makes the United States stand idly by, proud of its "splendid isolation" while Europe is burning? No one has understood, no one can understand. With the answer to this question the discussion of the problem law vs. war must not only begin but end if civilization is to be saved.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

The High Cost of Isolation

THE Minnesota election for a United States Senator was a protest against things as they are. It was not so much an endorsement of the impulsive, jumbled and exaggerated statements of Magnus Johnson, as a hitting out in the dark against conditions under which farmers are suffering.

When everything which the farmer has to buy has gone sky-rocketing in price and everything he has to sell has dropped to prices under cost of production, it is no wonder that he and his wife will vote for a change. His needs are perfectly obvious—better marketing methods, lower cost of transportation, but above all, a greater demand for his products.

Bound up in his problem, although he often does not recognize it, is the necessity of a normal Europe. For farmers to be advised to cut the production of their land, while much of the world is in want of sufficient food, seems shortsighted and heartless, but it is the inevitable accompaniment of a policy of isolation. Ex-Governor Lowden, of Illinois, sometime ago gave the price of isolation for the United States as thirty-three per cent. of its wheat and nearly fifty per cent. of its cotton fields.

Prosperity in the United States is inextricably bound up with prosperity in the civilized world. To deny this statement is to ignore the airplane, the wireless and the entire modern structure of business.

The question for us is not whether we are involved, but by which method we can most surely and effectively join with other nations in cooperation for peace and prosperity.

G. F. B.

The Bootlegger's Partner

AN illuminating series of articles on "Prohibition, Inside and Out" by Roy A. Haynes, United States Prohibition Commissioner, has been running in the *New York Times* for some time past. Even though it is a story most of us already know in spots, taken as a whole it is a most extraordinary chapter in the history of a supposedly intelligent and decent people.

Two features stand out in startling emphasis.

First. The terrible risk of death which every one runs who drinks the contraband liquor which is being sold by bootleggers. Second. The desperate criminal character of the men who are actually engaged in rum running.

According to Mr. Haynes, there is practically no liquor being sold which is not heavily adulterated and which does not carry so much actual poison sold under forged labels as to constitute a deadly menace to the drinker.

The men who are engaged in the active business of bootlegging are of the most dangerous criminal type, ready not only to bribe or forge, to swindle or sell out a comrade, but to shoot or cut a throat or commit murder at any time, as part of the day's job. These are the men who are piling up fantastic fortunes in a few months through the bootlegging trade.

The story reads like those of the pirates of the seventeenth century except that the bootlegging business is far more secure than piracy was, both in gains and in personal safety.

The incredible thing is, that these criminals ply their trade through the complicity of the respectable men and women who patronize them.

As some of the bloodiest pirates of old were financed and under the protection of unscrupulous business men in the colonies, these modern pirates work in partnership with business men of good reputation—men who undoubtedly think of themselves as good citizens, and, according to Mr. Haynes, the business is under the protection of business houses and is even financed by banks.

It is impossible to escape the conclusion that every customer of this trade, every man who buys liquor today, is a partner with the most desperate criminals and is helping to create a criminal class with extraordinary potentialities of danger to the world—all the greater because of the fortunes they are amassing.

Take the Profits Out of War

A RECENT cartoon shows a paunchy and prosporous looking man, labeled profiteer, looking at a placard announcing the Bok peace prize offer. He scorns it—he can make more out of war than a paltry hundred thousand. The picture suggests the declaration made several times lately by the President (a recommendation made too by others before him)—that the next time we go to war, if there should be such a conflict, not only the youth of our land but our national wealth as well should be conscripted. Taking the profits out of war is certainly a sound idea, and there isn't a doubt in the world that if this were an actual determination on the part of the government, the next war would be much less likely to happen. It is easy to imagine the height and breadth and depth of the opposition that would be put up—the many noble disguises that opposition would assume; but as a war discourager it would be a splendid thing to have in the national medicine chest.

All Together for Peace

BEATRICE FORBES-ROBERTSON HALE wrote an editorial for the *Citizen* a few months ago that would bear republishing two or three times a year. It was an appeal to women to unite for world peace—an appeal broad and fine and fervent. One paragraph is so pertinent to this number that we reprint it here:

"Let us unite with organized women in every country where they exist, to demand adequate machinery to take the place of war. Let those who believe in the existing League of Nations work to strengthen, enlarge and improve it. But let those who do not believe in it keep faith with the common cause by ceaselessly demanding its equivalent or something better. Let none be fobbed off by half promises and inaction."

The Goal

ARMY statisticians have been figuring up war casualties and drawing conclusions. They say that the Central Powers in the world war, with 22,850,000 soldiers under arms, inflicted 22,000,000 casualties on their enemies. On the other hand, the Allies, with 42,189,444 soldiers, inflicted but 15,405,000 casualties. The statisticians then go on to point out that the Central Powers trained their soldiers under a system of universal military service, while the French were the only ones among the Allies who had this system. This is to overlook that part of the Italian troops which were trained in the same way, and to ignore other conditions besides training which counted in the result—for instance, in Russia. But aside from that there is something else to consider. It is a question of emphasis. With universal military training in force the military idea and ideals are inevitably in force, too. "Disarmament's strongest point," says the *Norfolk Virginian Pilot*, "is that nations that arm to the teeth always show them."

Certain organizations, represented in the directory of peace agencies in this number, are ready to wipe out the military systems of the nations at one stroke. So in one sense are all who love peace—but most of us do not believe that the goal can be reached at a step. The fact remains that we can not go on forever building for war and organizing for peace, side by side. We must choose our goal and work toward it. National safety demands concessions while international agreement is being evolved; but unless our talk of international action for peace means international action for disarmament, it is futile.

The New Jersey Child Labor Scandal

APPALLING child labor conditions are being exposed in northern New Jersey through the efforts of the National Child Labor Committee—depths of misery and depths of sheer wickedness that are almost impossible to realize. Several hundred parents and sweatshop proprietors have been summoned to court on the charge of abusing children by allowing their employment in occupations injurious to health or dangerous to life. Already more than a thousand children between the ages of six and fourteen have been reported doing sweatshop work at home—some from families where there was not extreme poverty; some from families where the entire group was suffering from under-nutrition and from tuberculosis, trachoma, and other diseases, and the pitiful sweatshop pay was about all that kept them alive. "Whole families," the Health Officer reported, "composed of three or four, make as low as three to five dollars a week. Some children receive from seventy cents to $1.20 for their labor." The work is on garments, and the consumer's side of the situation is obvious, with the conditions of disease and dirt that prevail. All of the work is in violation of the law in that it was done without license.

There is a bright side. It is the fact that in the very first round of the legal battle three sweatshop bosses were condemned to serve sixty days in jail. "The jail sentence instead of a fine," said the judge grimly, "will wipe out the practice." It is to be noted that the sins are not all New Jersey's. It is the clever habit of New York contractors to try evasion of both state laws by taking their sweatshop work to be done in New Jersey. The fight is by no means finished, and the spirit in which the attack has been made, both inside court and out, promises a thorough clean-up.

How About Our Poise?

MISS MAUDE ROYDEN, the English preacher, is reported to be concerned over American women's habit of rushing. In a signed article sent to the *International News Service* she paints an amusing picture of being propelled rapidly from point to point on that lecture trip of hers here. "I shot out of lifts, I rushed on to platforms; I flew along passages and corridors, always with the anxious pressure of an arm or hand to hasten me." She thinks we are extraordinary because of the multiplicity of our undertakings, but wonders if "life doesn't ask too much of the American woman," and what will become of her nerves. Despite her courtesy, it was clear that she found us rather trying—physically exhausting. It bears thinking over—about once a day; because there is small doubt that—generalizing—we have a habit of being excited and exciting. Miss Royden credits American women generously with brains. Would it be a good idea to use some of them in increasing our national poise?

Don't fail to make sure that your name is on the registration and enrolment lists so that you can vote at the primaries.

The Woman Voter

(This four-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.)

Edited by RUTH KIMBALL GARDINER *for*
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Mrs. Park Returns

MRS. MAUD WOOD PARK returned from Europe on the *Presidente Wilson* on July 1. Many of the delegates to the Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance have also returned. The committee of five which was appointed at the meeting of the national board in Des Moines to interview leading women of Europe on the question, "What can the women of America best do to serve the cause of world peace?" has almost finished its report, and upon its completion copies will be sent to presidents of State Leagues.

The committee consisted of Mrs. James Morrisson, who is reporting on England and Belgium; Mrs. James Paige, on France and Germany; Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, on Italy and France, and Mrs. Park and Mrs. Ann Webster, on Jugo-Slavia, Hungary and Austria.—A. W.

The Local League

The following article was read at the Des Moines convention by its author, Mrs. Glen Waters, of Minneapolis, as part of the program on the local League. It was received with enthusiasm and the convention requested that it be published. We take this means of presenting it to the membership trusting that every local League will profit by it.—COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS.

AT this particular time, we seem to be suffering from what has been described as a severe "cosmic chill", and we are beset on every hand by dire forebodings. We are told that we have created a civilization so complex that no one has the ingenuity to direct it. We are told by others of the disheartened that democracy is a doomed failure. But amid the encircling gloom it is altogether heartening to be associated with the League of Women Voters. The League is young; it has gusto, and it believes that it is still worth while to struggle.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman remarked in a recent article that "a mother does not sit down amidst her mischievous brood and say 'well, children are bad by nature; one can not legislate morality.' She does not look upon their inevitable mistakes as a problem of evil, but rather, with such knowledge and such power as she can command, she sets about improving the behavior of those children." This expresses aptly the idea of the League. The League recognizes the mistakes and unsatisfactory conditions that exist in our democratic government, but it believes that these conditions are not inevitable, that they are open to constant improvement and that by earnest and intelligent effort it is possible to make democracy, as it is, approximate much more closely democracy, as we wish it were.

And so the National League has set before us certain ideals and standards to be incorporated into active work. The national organization gives unity and significance to our political efforts; but the basic machinery for the production of a more enlightened citizenship is to be found in the local League. It is for the local League to translate the purpose of the National League into practice among the voters of our cities, towns, and rural districts. The problem of the city League is a real adventure for few other organizations have so heterogeneous a membership. There are probably no three wards in any city which can be approached similarly. The one qualification for membership in the League, that of being a voter, brings together a group of women unsurpassed for diversity of ideas and opinions, and therein lies one of the important missions of the local League: getting average persons to think more and to talk more about problems of government and citizenship.

People get tired of being talked at. They like a chance to "come back", and neighborhood meetings, sponsored by the League, give just this opportunity. Where people come together for open-minded discussion there will be created standards and values which will permeate the whole community. Were it possible to hold meetings throughout the country to discuss our international situation and what is expedient for us to do in the interest of peace, it would be possible to build up a public opinion which would directly influence the actions of our official arbiters. To utilize them and to stimulate the interest and ideas of the average citizen is perhaps the outstanding problem of the local League.

In the matter of education, and keeping affairs before the public eye, the local League is doing valiant service. Especially during a campaign it becomes the headquarters and the clearing house for opinions of candidates and for information regarding the interests at stake. Through candidate meetings and questionnaires sent to candidates, it accumulates authoritative information which is a godsend to the citizen who is trying to decide how and for whom to vote. The city League has the distinct advantage of an office, a staff, and a telephone, which give it added influence and prestige. In a definitely located office with a staff it is easier to keep records and to organize information. If the League can make voting simpler more people will be interested in voting.

During legislative sessions, again the local League is a clearing house for information on the various bills, and through its ability to organize public opinion it has direct influence on the decisions of legislators. It aids in keeping people interested in the program of the legislators by holding legislative meetings and by sending out speakers. A speaker from the Minneapolis League was recently explaining the Family Court Bill to a group of foreign women and one of them became enthusiastic over it. She had been to court twice that week, she said, once with her husband and once with her son, and a family court would have made things so much simpler for her. It became a personal crusade with her and had it not been for the League no doubt she would have remained in ignorance of the Family Court Bill.

Perhaps the most engrossing work the local League does is for efficiency in government. Women like objective details to work over; they are more or less impatient of theories and like something tangible to do. Through an interest in local government, such details are forever forthcoming. Minneapolis, for example, has developed nine visiting committees which parallel the city administration. These committees attend the meetings of the various boards, not in a spirit

of officious criticism, but with a sincere desire to learn the city business. They become acquainted with the methods of the council, the board of education, the library board, and the rest, and with actual knowledge they are in a position to formulate new policies which will undoubtedly make for real accomplishment in our city government. The committees have already achieved results. In some instances the mere mention to the authorities of some deficiency will secure the desired change, as in the case of a block of antiquated cells in the workhouse which were removed at the unofficial suggestion of one of the members of the visiting committee. At other times, the League takes direct action, as in its stand against military training in the high school. Again the desired result was obtained.

Under the Efficiency in Government program the Minneapolis League has worked with the Citizens' Representative Charter Committee in drafting a new charter, and is sending out speakers and educational material in its behalf. It is possible under this committee to hold courses in civil service, budget making, and in any other subject. In fact, the report of the Committee on Efficiency in Government reads like the dictionary—it changes the subject so often. It does seem that there is no end to the interests developed from this committee.

Now the local as well as the National League has to contend with the criticism that it keeps women from working in the parties. Perhaps to some extent this is true, but the League is constantly developing political interests among women and is giving to the parties women with definite principles. No more precious gift can be laid at the feet of a party than an outstanding principle. Moreover, the League through its unprejudiced interest in political affairs and in its subordination of everything else to principle, is able to carry on experimental research and investigation, and to do work which is inexpedient if not impossible for the party organizations. So the parties, in the last analysis, benefit materially from the League.

Furthermore, the local League is not an arbitrary organization. It does not encroach on any of the many clubs, because it is the only organization formed on the basic fact that women have gained the suffrage and now they desire to make their contribution to society recognized. For some time to come we shall need an organization such as the League, to help women adjust themselves to the new order. As someone has said, "A true balance between the sexes has not been established: we talk of developing the individual but we have not faced the fact and its implications, that the individual is no longer, as was formerly assumed, man, but man and woman." This fact must have direct bearing on our plans for the future. The League is endeavoring to incorporate it into social and political life and is therefore vitally needed.

Behind all the problems and activities of the local League, there is one great desire—the desire to make democracy function more efficiently. The League believes with Lord Bryce that popular government lives by the will of the bulk of the people rather than by the creative power of great intellects, and that history records that moral progress has chiefly been made by raising the standards of the average man. To raise the voting standards of the average citizen is the task to which the League of Women Voters has resolutely set itself and in so doing it is making a distinct and worthy contribution to the life of the nation.

Up and Coming Reading

IN READING (Massachusetts) there is a large tract of land given and maintained by the women of Reading as a Memorial Park. There, on Independence Day, a pageant of Massachusetts history and patriotism was given and while the early settler incidents and the Revolutionary episode and all the rest of the program were doubtless perfectly done, it goes without saying that the float of the Reading League was the most striking feature of the whole celebration.

First in the retinue of the League's car, marched a young girl in page's dress. She carried a great blue banner made and presented to the League by two of its members and at each side of her walked a smaller girl page supporting the long streamers flying from the staff of the blue banner. After them, as if they cleared the way for it and announced it, followed the American flag borne by a fourth young girl; after the flag, a woman on horse-back, dressed in herald's array. Then came the car.

Two black horses drew it. They were caparisoned in heavy yellow nets and yellow plumes nodded on their heads. A woman drove the car, which was trimmed with lemon yellow shading into vivid orange. On each side of it and at the back was the great seal of Reading with the words "League of" above it and "Women Voters" below. ("There can be no question as to who we are!" Mrs. Orissa Lavers Lovering said when she wrote a description of the car to the *Woman Voter*.) An eagle with widespread wings surmounted a canopy and under that canopy stood Uncle Sam with Columbia seated beside him.

In the center of the float was a woman in flowing robes, one hand resting on the hood of an old-fashioned cradle, while her other held aloft a scepter and orb. One patriotic woman lent her real live baby to fill the cradle and that baby was a girl.

For days and days before the Fourth of July, even the Boston newspapers echoed the praise of another feature of Reading's celebration, the mammoth red fire-crackers that stood where Reading's gates would be if the city had gates. They were iron, painted red, and on the red of each of them were these words:

"Spend July Fourth in Reading; a live town, and a live time." It was by the sale of buttons bearing these same words that the Reading League earned money to pay for the float.

Nor was the League's part done when the float had passed, for the League women, who have a way of doing things, assisted at the Fourth of July reception in honor of new voters, a ceremony which bids fair to become a national custom.

The Committee on Living Costs

There have been so many inquiries for the facts given in the report Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, chairman of the Committee on Living Costs, made at the Des Moines convention, that it has been decided to publish it in successive instalments.

SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES, in his address to the League of Women Voters a year ago, challenged our pretensions and insisted that, if women are to aid in the solution of world problems at this time, they must study underlying economic forces as disclosed in trade, commerce, and finance. He said: "It is informed public opinion on economic questions that has, at the present moment, rather a tendency to be lacking."

The Committee on Living Costs holds firmly to the belief that knowledge in this field is of vital importance. It is convinced that one of the most pressing tasks confronting women is the understanding of economic causes and effects, including the ability to apply proper remedies for poverty, sickness, high costs, and war. Food, clothing, and fuel are necessities of life. Women must help correct the present chaotic conditions of production, distribution, and consumption of such necessities. Therefore, from year to year the Committee on Living Costs continues its efforts for legislation which will lessen the margin of waste, speculation, and greed between producers and consumers and which eventually may bring into existence a co-operative commonwealth in which public welfare will be paramount.

For these reasons we are now urging, as the biggest item in our program, "promoting understanding of the aims, methods, and effectiveness of co-operative associations organized and conducted in accordance with Rochdale principles."

In February, 1922, Congress passed a law legalizing co-operative associations of producers of agricultural products. The co-operative laws of those states which have legislated on the subject, vary greatly, and study shows the need of uniform state co-operative laws, by means of which genuine

co-operative societies based on sound standards, may be established everywhere. The accepted Rochdale principles are: one vote for each member regardless of the number of shares he holds; unrestricted membership, with shares of low denomination; invested capital to receive not more than a fixed low interest; goods to be sold at prevailing market prices; savings, represented by the difference between cost and selling price, to be returned to members in proportion to their patronage, after suitable reserves have been provided.

The Co-operative League of America has drafted a model co-operative state law embodying these principles, which may be used as a measure for testing our various state laws. Judged by this test, no state at present has a model consumers' co-operative law. Minnesota, New York, and Wisconsin, however, have excellent laws. The Wisconsin law is perhaps the best. Several amendments to it have been introduced in the Wisconsin legislature and the Co-operative believes that if they are adopted the state law will coincide in all essentials with the model co-operative law.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor, the states which have consumers' co-operative laws are: Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. The Territory of Alaska, also, has co-operative laws. The states which have no consumers' co-operative laws are: Arizona, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Ohio, Rhode Island, Texas, Georgia, Idaho, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Utah, Vermont, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia. Legislative measures having co-operative associations in view are pending in Ohio, Minnesota, and Oklahoma.

Concerning laws in the various states, Mr. Harry Rappaport, head of the legal division of the Co-operative League, says: "With the exception of Minnesota, New York, and Wisconsin, we do not regard the state laws as entirely adequate. Some of them contain dangerous features; most of them do not contain necessary clauses to safe-guard the interests of genuine societies, or to encourage sound methods of operation."

A demand for the authorization of co-operative banks is also beginning to be widely heard, and, while no state at present has a co-operative banking law, bills for the enactment of such laws are pending in Iowa, Kansas, and Missouri. It should also be noted that about one-third of the states have credit union laws, many of which are not workable. Bills providing for amendments to existing credit union laws are now pending in the legislatures of Illinois and Nebraska.

This division of our report should not be concluded without special mention of the work done by the Committees on Living Costs of the League in New Jersey. Mrs. John L. Douglass, the chairman of the committee in New Jersey, writes:

"The program which our committee has been working on is in co-operation with the State Bureau of Markets and covers the four following main subjects:

"(1) General education for consumers on production and distribution problems;

"(2) Market reporting. This includes volunteer women reporters whom we secure to co-operate with the Bureau in reporting on Tuesday morning of each week the prevailing retail prices in each woman's home city on two or three seasonable food products. The Bureau furnishes postal cards to be filled out by the volunteer reporters and mailed. These cards are received at the Bureau's office on Wednesday and the city market letter is issued to all interested women's clubs, in which the retail prices in the various cities are summarized and compared with farm and wholesale prices of the same commodity;

"(3) Co-operative buying. Through the general educational and market reporting projects we aim to keep the people in our cities posted regarding crop and market conditions. When there is a great crop of some perishable fruit or vegetable we urge our women to secure the necessary co-operation between the producers and the dealers that will give the consumers full benefit of the large crop. If such co-operation is found to be impossible, then we urge our women to make suitable arrangements with a producers' co-operative association and handle the product direct in wholesale quantities. Under this plan, many carloads of peaches, apples, potatoes, and other products have been handled direct by groups of farmers and groups of women consumers.

"In my own city of East Orange, we found good Baldwin apples selling at about $1.25 the half-bushel basket. Through the information from our Bureau of Markets we knew that there was a large crop of high-grade apples in near-by counties. We made arrangements with an apple grower and as a result had 450 bushels of fine Baldwin apples delivered at our homes at a total cost of $1.50 a bushel and this left 15 cents a bushel in the hands of our local committee to defray postage and other incidental expenses;

"(4) Public markets. In this state, where centers of production are near large cities, there seems to be a distinct need for municipal farmers' marketplaces. We have encouraged the establishment of these markets and have helped establish them in several places. Most of our larger cities now afford such opportunities.

"In addition to the foregoing lines of work, we are this year taking up a new project. This project is number 5 in our program, and is entitled Employment of Market Director or Market Committee.

"This market director would serve in reality as a connecting link between producers and consumers to build up mutual understanding and confidence. He could explain to the local producers why the demand for certain products was small or great, thus causing producers to change their cropping system. He would inform consumers just when the peak of each crop supply was at hand, when canning supplies should be purchased. He could work up many of the lesser activities which experiments have proved practical in this state.

"One of the finest examples showing the possibilities along this line was brought out in the Trenton Peach Week campaign. In this case, Mr. Clark, chief of the New Jersey Bureau of Markets, gave a great deal of his own time to arousing the interest of the Trenton wholesale and retail dealers in co-operation. Finally, with the co-operation of the Trenton Chamber of Commerce he got the dealers to agree upon a fixed maximum spread to be added to the purchase price of peaches during one week. A campaign of co-operative advertising was carried on and the entire city was advised to can peaches during that week.

"Where stores previously had handled ten baskets a day, during Peach Week some handled more than a hundred baskets a day. In the past the farmers during a like crop peak would probably have received 60 cents a basket and the consumers would have paid $1.00 to $1.25. Under the Peach Week plan the producers received 70 cents a basket and the consumers paid from 90 cents to $1.00.

"In small cities and in other cities where it is impossible to secure the employment of a municipal market director, a volunteer marketing committee is to be formed composed of representative men and women. This marketing committee will divide itself into sub-committees and carry on the lines of work suggested above for the market director."

Alderman Mrs. Sidney Small

ALDERMAN Mrs. Sidney Small, who edits a department called "Women and Civic Affairs" in the *Civic Gazette*, of Toronto, gives first place in a recent issue to the new Toronto League of Women Voters, of which she says:

"The League is most emphatically not a woman's party nor are the women setting themselves up as critics of the way in which men have run public affairs, nor have they

any aggressive belief in the superiority of women. The League is an organization of women, working for and with women, not because women have a separate stake in government apart from men, but because their enfranchisement has made them a group with a collective need for education and experience—which men, as a whole, seem to acquire more or less automatically through long years of association with government. . . It is significant that a number of women from all over Canada who attended the recent National Conference on Education and Citizenship in Toronto evinced a very deep interest in this new movement and . . . in the work of helping women to become self-directing, conscientious, and effective voters."

For Better Manners

THE reported intention of the Clarksdale (Mississippi) League to sponsor a movement to "preserve the gracious courtesies which were once a distinguishing feature of the old South" has won approbation from editors as far north as Minnesota and a Minneapolis editor adds to his approval of the movement and of the plan to give prizes to schoolchildren for the best essays on courtesy, some words of wisdom. He reminds the League that good manners, in Emerson's phrase, are "contagious", and that no formal teaching can effect the desired result unless home manners are the right kind to catch. It is known that Mississippians have delightful home manners to serve as copies, but perhaps Clarksdale has not realized what a business asset to sons and daughters good manners are. Large organizations and enterprises demand of those they employ not only character but perfect manners and in tying the two together and impressing the importance of both on their young people, the Clarksdale League will be doing splendid work.

With all due respect, however, there are certain conventions of the old South which the modern South may as well leave embalmed in lavendar. It was an elderly gentleman in that same state of Mississippi who confided to a Northern woman that he had "offered" himself to a certain Miss Mary the evening before and Miss Mary had refused him.

"Why, Colonel," the confidante remarked, for this was twenty years ago when a great many gentlemen in Mississippi were colonels, "you don't seem cast down about it."

"No", replied the colonel, "no, I am not. To tell you the truth, madam, a lady who accepted a gentleman the first time he offered himself certainly would fall in my estimation."

Rhode Island, too, has been taking a hand in promoting a return of old-fashioned manners. Not long ago, when the United League of Rhode Island had a jubilation meeting at the Comstock Farm, Apple House Hill, the sign hung on the barn where festivities went on, read, "Only old-fashioned round dances and square dances permitted here".

It is not reported to precisely what era "old-fashioned" was made to refer, nor whether the polka or the York was the newest dance allowed. There is no word as to who "called off" for the "Portland Fancy" or the quadrille or "Dan Tucker," or whether there were those present who could actually go through the "Saratoga Lancers" without prompting, but it must have been a joy to people really dancing once more.

Leagues and Their Work

THE first number of the *Woman Voter* of the Kentucky League contains an interesting report of the Committee on Efficiency in Government. Resolutions calling on all good citizens to stand by and get out the vote were sent to chairmen of both parties in every county in Kentucky, and each chairman was asked to send the state League the names of three women who "would be likely to co-operate under his leadership in interesting women voters of his county." Replies were received immediately and the chairman of the committee set to work to send letters to the women whose names were suggested asking them to work with their own party leaders and with the League. When the story reaches this point, the chairman feels she must confess and her confession will make many another overworked League officer feel sister to her.

"After working far into the night", she says, "to get the letters signed and addressed to the one hundred and twenty counties—or was it a thousand and twenty?—the chairman, like Little "Buttercup" in *Pinafore*, mixed the last few political babies up and sent Democratic letters to Republican women and vice-versa."

The chairman was aghast when replies began to come in but with real Kentucky wit she turned the mix-up to good use and made it an argument to show the League's absolute unpartisanship.

IN its "Chips from League Workshops" department, the Massachusetts League *Bulletin* announces that the League, cooperating with the colleges, will hold a citizens' conference on local government at Wellesley in October, and a school for the study of foreign affairs at Radcliffe in December. The Massachusetts League has been at home since the Fourth of July at its new headquarters, 607 Boylston Street, which is at the corner of Dartmouth Street. The new rooms have a fire-place of which the *Bulletin* gracefully says:

"A real hearthstone where we hope the fires of welcome will blaze, perhaps literally fed by the fagots we bring it. Whether you bring fagots or ideas, or both, the latch-string is out and welcome awaits."

"HOW many of you have read your tax bills?" Mrs. George Bronson asked not long ago of the United League in Providence (Rhode Island). "There you will learn how your taxes are appropriated for schools, police protection, fire protection, streets, relief of poor, courts, and public work. Who represents you in the legislature? How many primary schools have we—how many kindergartens in your ward? What are the encouraging features in our city administration?" The interrogatory might be used quite as well in any other town or city, and how many women can answer all the questions correctly?

THE last quarterly meeting of the executive board of the Virginia League was held for the first time in the southwestern part of this state, at Roanoke. The Virginia League does not expect to present much new legislation to the next General Assembly, but will devote its attention to making the laws already enacted more effective, with special stress laid on welfare laws. While in Roanoke the board was entertained by the Junior League of Women Voters, the members of which are students at Virginia College not yet old enough to vote.

IN its new *Bulletin* the North Carolina League has followed the size and style of the *Bulletins* of New York and Michigan, and its second issue solves the difficulty of many women by explaining that every woman who has no local League near her can become a member through a letter sent to state headquarters in Greensboro. Miss Louise Alexander contributes to the same issue (June) an admirable plea for the teaching of "the elements of straight political science, the technique of government," to all girl students in high schools and colleges throughout the state.

THE Norfolk (Virginia) League has been discussing at a monthly meeting a subject in which Leagues of Nevada, Vermont and Arizona will never be persuaded to take the slightest interest, the state pilotage laws. One speaker told them why he feels that pilotage laws ought to be amended and another explained the reasons which, in his opinion, make Virginia laws for pilots and piloting exactly right just as they are.

World News About Women

American Women in London

THE American Woman's Club has moved into its new home—the Mayfair mansion in London, of which we told in the June 16 *Citizen*, and is ready to receive guests. The club was organized in 1916 and is an outgrowth of the Society of American Women in London, which dates back to 1899. Originally its membership was confined to those whose father or mother was an American, and to those who, if of foreign parentage, were born in America and had lived there until the age of twenty-one. Later honorary members were admitted, provided they were distinguished persons.

The main object of the club is expressed in its study circle and current event circle, which meet regularly. Low rates are granted American women studying art, music, literature and the drama.

Women Citizens of Holland

By ROSA MANUS
Of Amsterdam

THE National Society of Women Citizens in the Netherlands held its annual summer meeting on June 16 and 17 in the pretty old town of Alkmaar—in foreign countries known for its cheese-market.

It was a very animated and interesting meeting, in which many important questions were discussed.

The question of "the right of all women to work and her right of self-determination" was splendidly introduced by one of our women members of Parliament, Mrs. Betsy Bakker-Nort, and thoroughly discussed by the audience. An affirmative resolution was adopted unanimously. On the 27th of September our Society will hold meetings all over Holland, and this subject will be the order of the day. The newspapers in all parts of the country will then discuss this question, which is nowadays very important in the Netherlands.

Another subject was the necessity of checking the dangerous spreading of venereal diseases. But after long and earnest discussion the Society voted to bring this question up again at the next meeting, allowing time for further collection of facts.

Still another question, introduced by Sister Verwey-Mejan, president of the Nurses' Society, was how to make our Government understand that the certificate for trained nurses should be protected by the State, and to secure a committee to stipulate the qualifications for a nurse's certificate.

Also the reform of the system of punishment for prisoners was discussed, and it was agreed that next winter our branches shall organize public meetings to study this problem.

When the question was put: what problem should be discussed at the next meeting? so many topics were suggested that an extra general meeting was demanded for next winter.

The Society of Women Citizens, composed of women from nearly all existing political parties, proved—again—by the meeting at Alkmaar that the existence of such a non-party organization is very important for the interests of the women of a country—a society which has as its aim work for the interests of women and children, and education of women in problems of general interest.

At Work in Geneva

BELIEVING that our readers would appreciate definite information on the number and the names of women connected with the League of Nations, we wrote to Geneva for it. Here follows a complete list, except for about 150 women serving in secretarial posts:

SECRETARIAT

Dame Rachel Crowdy, Chief of the Social Section including Traffic in Women and Children, and Opium, and Miss Florence Wilson, Librarian, are the highest ranking women on the Secretariat.

Miss Joan Howard, Personal Secretary to Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary-General.

Miss Alice Bartlett, Assistant Librarian.
Lady Blennerhasset, Translator, ranks as a member of the Translating Department.
Dr. Gertrude Dixon, ranks as Member of Section, and edits the Official Journal.

COMMISSIONS

Mandates
Mrs. Bugge-Wicksell—Member—Sweden
Health Committee
Dr. Josephine Baker—Member—U. S.
Commission on Deported Women and Children in Asia Minor
Miss Karen Jeppe—Member—Syria
Traffic in Opium
Mrs Hamilton Wright—Assessor—U. S.
Dr. Paulina Luisi—Member—Uruguay
Traffic in Women and Children
Mme. Estrid Hein—Member—Denmark
Miss Grace Abbott—Member—U. S.
Miss Baker—Assessor—England
Mme. Avril de St. Croix—Assessor—France
Mme. de Montenach—Assessor—Switzerland
Mme. Studer-Steinhauslin—Assessor—Switzerland
Intellectual Co-operation
Mme. Curie—Member—France
Professor Bonnevie—Member—Norway

The names of the women members of the First, Second and Third Assemblies will appear in a later number.

A PARTY of women has succeeded in climbing the highest peak in the Hawaiian Islands—Mauna Kea, 13,825 feet above sea level.

Success to Miss Kearney

THE first primary election in Mississippi will be held on August 7. Miss Belle Kearney, whose candidacy for nomination to the United States Senate was of such interest last fall, is a candidate for the Mississippi Senate, and her prospects are reported to be rosy. If she wins, she will be the first woman in the Senate of her state. Miss Kearney's platform includes reduction in taxation and strong emphasis on better schools.

More Women Winners

TWO more women to win high place in the legal profession are Mrs. Jeanette Brill, and Miss Ida Cassasa. Mrs. Brill is the new deputy attorney general of the state of New York—the first woman to be appointed to that office. She is a graduate of St. Lawrence University, was admitted to the bar shortly after her graduation, and has been president of the Brooklyn Women's Bar Association. Miss Cassasa has been made Assistant-Corporation Counsel of New York City.

The Seneca Falls Meeting

AS this is written, the National Woman's Party has just concluded a three-days' conference of its national and state officers, life members and founders, and has launched its campaign for a "blanket equality" amendment to the Constitution. On July 21 and 22 the sessions were held at Seneca Falls, New York, in celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the famous first woman's rights convention, held there in 1848, under the leadership of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott. In addition to business sessions, one evening was devoted to a colorful pageant representing that pioneer convention of brave women, staged on the banks of the Seneca River. An entertaining touch among the costumes was the daring bloomer of those days, originated by Amelia Bloomer of Seneca Falls.

On the third day the conference closed with a pilgrimage to the grave of Susan B. Anthony, at Rochester—a pilgrimage joined by many women's organizations of Rochester and by representatives of many professional groups.

Meantime the form of the proposed "equal rights" amendment to the Constitution had been presented by Miss Alice Paul and adopted, and plans for a campaign were formulated. The Amendment is to be known as the Lucretia Mott Amendment and the resolution reads as follows:

"Resolved, that in order to bring the complete equal rights ideal to the victory that was won for suffrage we undertake the following program: The securing of an amendment to the United States Constitution stating men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction."

The theory of the officers is that removal of discriminations against women bit by bit is too slow, and insecure. Those who oppose the method believe it risks the protective legislation for women which they consider essential for the women themselves and for the good of society.

An Idea to Copy

THE Chester County League of Women Voters has a very interesting bulletin board at headquarters, according to the *Bulletin* of the Pennsylvania League of Women Voters. The names of the townships, boroughs and one city are listed alphabetically on white pieces of cardboard. The names of committeewomen and women school directors are placed in their respective townships, boroughs and city. Besides an explanatory system of stars is used: red stars for Democratic committeewomen, blue stars for Republican and gilt stars for women school directors.

University Women for L. of N.

AT its convention which closed on July 21, at Portland, Oregon, the American Association of University Women is reported to have adopted a resolution endorsing the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations, and participation in the World Court. Dr. Aurelia H. Reinhardt, President of Mills College at Oakland, was elected president of the Association, succeeding Dr. Ada Comstock.

Rhode Island's "First"

MISS ADELE M. EMIN, of Providence, Rhode Island, has just passed examinations which give her the distinction of being the first certified public accountant in the state.

Helen Ring Robinson

WE learn with deep regret of the death, on July 10, of Helen Ring Robinson, well-known suffrage leader of other days and Colorado's first woman senator. Mrs. Robinson has been ill for perhaps two years, and has been debarred from the writing and lecturing for which she was well known. Only a few months ago she consented to join the staff of the *Woman Citizen's* Contributing Editors, but had not been able to write.

Miss Gertrude Hardle

FOR thirteen years the Memorial Art Gallery at the University of Rochester has had a man as director. Now the position is held by a woman—Miss Gertrude Hardle.

The Closed Law Schools

By FLORENCE KELLEY

Here's a Contributing Editor, out of her department, as are also Mrs. Mead and Judge Allen, elsewhere in the magazine. Don't overlook her—and please do what she asks.

THE third decision of the Supreme Court of the United States against women and children, its decision adverse to the minimum wage law of the District of Columbia, is a reminder that there is still no woman member of any Federal Court.

The end of the academic year has brought its annual reminder that the Harvard and Columbia law schools admit no women.

How many women gave money to those universities during the year?

Until all the law schools, especially these two ultra-influential ones, admit women, the small number of available women candidates for federal appointments will continue to serve as pretext for the permanent monopoly by men of the work of interpreting the laws by decisions under which women and children suffer.

The American Bar Association continues closed to women. Is any state or city bar association yet open to them? Information on this point is eagerly sought.

Will not its readers notify the *Woman Citizen* of any law school which admitted or graduated its first woman student this year?

JURYWOMEN, ATTENTION!

Will women who have served on juries please send us—rush—brief accounts of their experiences. What kind of court and case? What conditions? D'd you like it? Do women's decisions differ from men's?

This is for a special number about what women are doing since they won the vote.

Thanks to Spain

WHEN Governor Richardson of California signed the Community Property Act passed by the legislature which has just adjourned, the women of that state rejoiced over a victory which had been long in the winning. At last they have the stated right to dispose by will of half of the community property possessed jointly by husband and wife.

The history of that privilege in California is particularly interesting. Under the old Spanish law a man and his wife owned property together, and her right to half of it was recognized. When the state entered the union, the makers of the constitution kept the old Spanish idea, not because they believed in it, being themselves inheritors of the English theories, but because the enactment of any law contrary to it would endanger the Spanish land grants, and hence their own titles to lands bought from the Spanish owners. However, all court interpretations of the law have been according to the English custom, and a woman's right to will her share has never been legally recognized.

Twelve years ago the women of the state began the fight to have their long moribund right recognized in terms that court interpretations could not disregard. The legislature of 1921 passed a community property act, but in the confusion it was so garbled that no one would own it. The present act was framed under the supervision of the Bar Association, and supported by the League of Women Voters and other organized women of the state. It has been accepted as both just and workable.

Women Welcomed

THE Institute of Politics, which opens its third session at Williamstown, Massachusetts, July 26, this year granted ten memberships to the League of Women Voters.

They Work for Peace

(*Continued from page* 15)

To study the Christian attitude toward war and particularly the causes that lead to war.

National Council for Prevention of War, 532 17th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. Frederick J. Libby, Executive Secretary.

A clearing-house of national organizations that believe in the "substitution of Law for War as a method of settling international differences." It stands for world organization, world-wide reduction of armaments to police status, and education for peace. No individual membership, but the thirty-five organizations that affiliate approximate 10,000,000 members.

National Council of Jewish Women. National Committee of Peace and Arbitration, 3627 Pennsylvania Ave., Indianapolis, Ind. Miss Gertrude Feibleman, Chairman.

Endorses bills and movements looking toward world peace.

National Council of Women, Committee on Permanent Peace. Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, Chairman, 19 Euston St., Brookline, Mass.

For an association of nations, reduction of armaments, permanent court.

National Education Association. Committee on Foreign Relations.

To promote a better understanding among nations.

National League of Women Voters. Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War, 1010 Grand Central Terminal, New York. Miss Ruth Morgan, chairman.

Aim—to promote other methods than war for the settlement of international disputes. Endorses first proposal for Permanent Court and recommends study of outlawry of war and League of Nations.

National Reform Association. International Peace Commission, 209 Ninth St., Pittsburgh, Pa.

Educational work for peace—League of

Nations or Association of Nations, World Court, reduction of armaments.

National Women's Christian Temperance Union, Department of Peace and Arbitration. Mrs. Effie Danforth McAfee, 317 E. 23rd St., New York, Superintendent.

Education to a better way than war.

National Women's Trade Union League of America, 64 W. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.

Conducts its work for peace through the International Federation of Working Women. Is organizing a department for the outlawry of war.

New York Peace Society, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York. Oscar S. Straus, President. Three hundred members.

Publishes material in interest of peace and controls League of Nations Union, which issues a series of year books on the League of Nations.

Peace Association of Friends in America, 615 National Road, West Richmond, Ind. Allen D. Hole, chairman. Represents 90,000. Object—education work for peace. Also—*Peace Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends*, 304 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa. M. Albert Linton, Chairman, 4,550 members. *Peace and Service Committee of* (Hicksite) *Philadelphia Yearly Meeting*, 154 N. 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa. Jesse H. Holmes, chairman. Membership, 11,000.

Woman's Pro-League Council, 303 Fifth Ave., New York. Mrs. Frank Day Tuttle, Chairman.

Aim—the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations at the earliest possible date; to achieve this end, its activities are political, educational and publicity. About 500 members, with many others in touch.

Women's Committee for World Disarmament, 719 Southern Bldg., Washington, D. C. Emma Wold, Chairman.

Organized to promote disarmament conference, retains headquarters in readiness for emergency service only.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Section for the United States at 1403 H. St., N. W., Washington, D. C. Miss Jane Addams, International Chairman; Mrs. Lucy Biddle Lewis, of Philadelphia, National Chairman.

National sections in twenty-one countries, each with thousands of members, and corresponding groups in twelve other countries. "To promote that peace between nations, races and classes which is based on justice and good-will, to outlaw war, and to co-operate with women from other countries who are working for the same ends."

Women's Peace Society, 505 Fifth Ave., New York. Mrs. Henry Villard, Chairman. Membership, about 2,000.

The underlying principle is a belief that human life should be held sacred and inviolable under all circumstances. For mutual, universal and complete disarmament.

Women's Peace Union of the Western Hemisphere (U. S. Section), 70 Fifth Ave., New York. No set officers, but a working committee of eleven members.

Purpose—to educate in passive resistance under all circumstances. Immediate and universal disarmament.

World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. (Edwin Ginn Foundation). Edward Cummins, General Secretary.

Educational. Supports League of Nations, World Court and international reduction of armaments.

The League—Yes

(*Continued from page* 8)

the new spirit which is animating the little nations, which for the first time can get a world hearing. A great gain is that international business now has adequate machinery which is always on the job. A better beginning has been made than could have been expected with a coach compelled to run on three wheels. Not until all nations come together can war be outlawed. So long as Russia with her army and America with her great navy are without the League there will be no disarmament. Granted that the League Council includes selfish, imperialistic nations. But these are curbed and held back from evil under their pledges to the League. Turkey outside the League is far more dangerous than she will be inside it. Not until nations cease stressing their nationality will it be possible to secure the popular vote which many objectors desire in the selection of delegates. The government must stand behind the vote and the vote of each nation must remain a unit.

World Court—Next Step

(*Continued from page* 11)

able comment following and many national organizations promptly and enthusiastically endorsing the proposal.

The New York *Times* polled the Senate and found that the Court would receive the needed two-thirds vote. It was understood that the reservations would be accepted by the League of Nations and all was well.

The irreconcilables then began to labor with Mr. Harding and the President temporarily surrendered. In St. Louis he declared "I neither advance nor retreat from the position I assumed in my recent message", but he did. He added two more reservations:

(1) That the Court be completely disassociated from the League.

(2) That the Court be self perpetuating.

A repolling of the Senate revealed that the promised two-thirds vote had disappeared over night.

Mr. Harding, however, may be persuaded to drop these last two reservations and the Court become again a fair issue. He made the last proposal to a St. Louis audience and his message to the Senate still stands before it as he gave it. He said further, "I shall embark upon no crusade". Without a crusade the Court may remain where it is; a brilliant political rocket that flashed a moment in the sky and came down like a stick.

There are three very important factors in the Court issue that neither friends nor foes of the proposal of our adherence emphasize sufficiently.

(1) There is much talk about our share of the expenses and the election of judges, but it is also proposed that we take the same solemn pledge to submit all our international disputes to the Court as do members of the League and to abide by the decisions rendered. Mr. Harding's first reservation indicates that this is just what we will not do. The Court agreement does not bind its membership to these undertakings, nor is there any authority to enforce its findings upon us. The Court is a machinery provided for the compulsory arbitration of League members; it may be for us only a voluntary arbitration when the notion takes us. Would a League of Nations, composed of persons of even fair intelligence, divorce the Court and all connection with it for the sake of including a nation which did not bind itself to the same extent as its own members? It is unthinkable.

(2) The Court is no agency "to save civilization", as some claim. It can and will do nothing toward soothing the uproar in Europe, which threatens to draw civilization down to its ruin in a common wreckage. It is an agency for permanent use when and if the difficulties of this day are ever adjusted.

(3) The rejection of the League of Nations by this country was so complicated by politics as to be utterly inexplicable to Europe. Great men are still mystified and shocked by our action. Very many things happened afterward which contributed to a conviction that the United States desired to kill the League. This may or may not be the desire of the Administration, but certainly the reservations proposed at St. Louis were a body blow aimed intentionally or otherwise at the League itself. Mr. Harding said when discussing the question raised as to whether the League would accept our reservations: "Must there be a test of sincerity abroad as well as at home?" To take away the chief part of their machinery for arriving at and maintaining peace is no test of the sincerity of "sister states" who have been honestly striving to attain the means to end war. The charge of insincerity is not becomingly made by this country.

The United States should be a member of the World Court. It is politically indecent to remain outside. It is not a long step, nor a strong step, but if our nation is unwilling to take this little step in unison with others toward future peace, it invites the suspicion and the censure of the entire world.

Muscles and Health

By Gulielma F. Alsop
Physician at Barnard College

ALL the functions of the body but two, those of thought and secretion, depend upon muscular activity. The blood is pumped through the heart by the muscular contraction of the heart muscles. The heart itself is merely a series of four muscular sacs. The blood circulates through the arteries, propelled from behind by the muscular force of the heart. It climbs back through the veins to the heart, massaged by the skeletal muscles, through which the veins pass.

We bite off a piece of food with the muscles of our jaws and cheeks. We chew it with the muscles of our tongue and cheeks. We swallow it with the muscles of our fauces. The upper orifice of the stomach opens at the approach of the first mouthful of food, because the cardiac sphincter relaxes. The food which falls into the stomach is rolled and squeezed and tumbled about in the stomach by the muscles in the wall of the stomach. The passage of the food throughout the entire length of the intestines takes place by the muscular activity in those walls.

The lungs themselves have no muscles, but are attached to the insides of the pleura of the ribs. When our lungs expand and contract, they do so because the muscles attached to the ribs expand and contract the chest cavity.

Every act of our life depends upon muscular activity, and the efficient and healthful person is one who possesses strong muscles and knows how to use them. Like other forces in life, muscular power increases by use. So no one can afford to be indifferent to exercise.

The practical application of the value of exercise is seen in the treatment of indigestion, headaches, poor circulation, eyestrain, "that tired feeling," loss of appetite, sleeplessness, constipation.

To take the case of indigestion. It is not the food that disagrees with the patient but the patient that disagrees with the food. In a normal, active, muscular stomach, the usual breakfast is digested and out of the stomach's way in from twenty minutes to half an hour. A lunch takes from half an hour to an hour. A good, full dinner takes from three to seven hours. If after eating, a patient feels a heavy weight in her stomach, has gas or heart-burn, she is likely to run over in her mind what she ate for her last meal and incriminate some harmless article of food like cold slaw. Instead she should run over in her mind what she did either just before or just after eating which made her tired and so weakened the muscles of her stomach.

For when the stomach muscles are tired, they are just like any other muscles—they refuse to work. Many a good article of diet has been ruthlessly cut out of an individual's menu because it always "gives her indigestion."

Perhaps a woman has a habit, when she goes down town shopping for the day, of dropping into a certain tea room and ordering a salad of stuffed tomatoes with mayonnaise for lunch. It seems a simple enough lunch, but she has a weight at the pit of her stomach all afternoon. So she heroically denies herself tomatoes and says, "No, I can't eat tomatoes. They don't agree with me."

The trouble was that she was hot and tired from shopping. Her legs were so tired she just felt she couldn't take another step. Her stomach muscles were so tired they felt they couldn't eat a bite, and they didn't. They refused to work till they got rested when she got home in the afternoon and lay down to rest her tired feet.

The first rule to prevent indigestion is, "Never eat when you are tired." No farmer would feed a horse when it was hot and tired. For when *any* animal is muscularly tired, it is tired all over.

The second rule is, "Never be so tired you can't eat." And that applies not only to the acute moment but to the general condition. Many a person who has never had indigestion in her life, on experiencing some grief or worry or shock, finds that everything she had eaten with impunity before now goes wrong. Her tendency is to cut out food after food till, like one patient, she is eating bread and milk, and is worse than ever. You will cure your indigestion not by dieting but by exercise and good nutritious food.

The Pacifist Point of View

(*Continued from page* 10)

own; every time one refuses to assist the courts in consigning any person, however criminal, to the ghastly vice and disease of our prisons; every time one dares to trust human nature in the midst of suspicion and precaution; every time a spoken slight, whether of an individual, or of a race or class, is met by an expression of frank and warm appreciation of the slighted person, race or class;—so often a flower is planted in the gardens of the pleasant years ahead of us.

So much for the rank and file of pacificists in the every-day practice of their faith. But there are among us some more ingenious minds than others, who endeavor to suggest fresh ways of meeting the larger causes of war. They remind us of the great pacifist chapters in history, such as the thrilling and romantic conquest of the fierce Indians of Tuzulutlan, by the four missionary pedlars trained by Las Casas and his two or three brother friars in Guatemala; or the turning back from successful warfare by the great Asoka, centuries before Jesus; the invincible pacifism of the early Franciscans and Waldensians; the recent dealings of the pacifist Doukhobors with the Canadian and Mexican governments; the steadfast and finally successful refusal to kill made by the Bahaists under the extremities of Turkish persecution; the survival for a thousand years in Mongolia of the pacifist Soyots, who trek away from their enemies, and leave their hearths and homes forever to preserve their hands from shedding blood; and the familiar Yankee brands of pacifism in the early

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history of Rhode Island and Pennsylvania.

The general lines on which their suggestions run are first the scheme of the folded arms, passive resistance, the civil strike. In the Ruhr situation there have seemed to be at times some real elements of passive resistance, though usually confused and darkened by violence. Then there is the variation used by Gandhi, non-co-operation;—a form of protest always laid aside whenever the oppressing party are in danger or distress. The followers of Gandhi do not consider England's extremity to be India's opportunity, but quite the reverse; they consider the misfortune of the conquerors as their own emergency, and postpone all practice of non-co-operation until the emergency is over.

In the western world, the great rising force for peace seems to most pacifists to be the international spirit of labor. If solidarity continues to grow among workingmen, regardless of geography, it may soon come to pass, indeed, that wars will prove unwageable. Organized labor, in fact, seems to be approaching such an awakening from the nightmare of helpless obedience as the Church of England had in Reformation days; when after shivering for centuries under the dread of a papal interdict, the priests discovered that it was but an order, which, if they chose, all together, to disobey it, would flutter to the ground like a dead leaf, while they continued serenely to marry, bury, and christen.

As a Liberal Sees It

(*Continued from page* 13)

principle of self-determination or self-government; witness the Saar Commission and the Danzig Administration. Eupen and Malmedy, Upper Silesia, Eastern Galicia, Vilna, and Memel are examples of questions left open in the treaty, and the final settlement of which does not do credit to the League's power, potentially or actually, to settle moot questions in a spirit of fairness and with a view to removing causes for war.

3. *What has happened in three and a half years does not tend to convince Americans that the existing League of Nations is chartered and organized in such a way that it can be the instrument for promoting international good will and lessening the chances of war.*

As a justification of its existence and an earnest of its potentialties, partisans of the Geneva organization point to its achievements. But in its non-political activities it has simply become a clearing-house for organizations and movements of an international character that already existed and in which the United States has participated for years and can still participate without becoming involved in the political commitments of the Versailles Covenant. From World Court to opium and white slaves and passports no valid argument of advantages in League membership can be advanced which offset the probable political dangers and betrayal of our traditional disinterested role in European affairs that membership in the existing League would certainly entail.

As to the political achievements of the League, such as settlement of the disputes over the Aaland Islands and the financial rehabilitation of Austria, the well-informed student of international politics knows that in each of these instances (with the possible exception of the Aaland Islands, in whose future the Entente Powers were not greatly interested, as between Finland and Sweden) the League of Nations neither initiated nor decided the matter. The appointment of the burgomaster of Rotterdam as reorganizer of Austria and the granting of an international loan to Austria are cited as a League triumph. But are we not counting our chickens before they are hatched? The permanent value of the measures taken to rehabilitate Austria cannot be estimated for years to come. But we do know now that the motive underlying the aid given Austria was a political one, to prevent the Anschluss, and not primarily to help the Austrians. If one does not know what "the Anschluss" is further inquiry into the Austrian situation is advisable before claiming the help given to Austria as an argument for our joining the League.

Since its organization, the League has rendered no decision and taken no step contrary to the interests of the biggest sponsors, even where, as in the case of the mandates, it had the right to and should have interfered—and also in the Saar maladministration. On the other hand, the Upper Silesian and Polish-Lithuanian frontier disputes are to the League's discredit.

Had the League of Nations been what we are told that it is, it would have played a saving role in the Near Eastern question and would have been the prime factor in the reparations question, which we are likely to forget is really a question between Germany and many of the nations and not between Germany and France alone.

"By their fruits ye shall know them" is as good philosophy to-day as it was two thousand years ago. A will to help Europe is not all that is needed; we need the will of Europe to be helped. I think that the great majority of American Liberals will agree that I put the case fairly when I say that we are sympathetic with all movements tending to awaken Americans to a sense of our international privileges and obligations and to hasten the day of world peace. But we deplore eagerness and zeal based on lack of information or misinformation or upon the glamour of panaceas. Of course we want to wash! But we have a pretty good idea of what soap is needed for the cleansing process—and that is the soap we want. We are not going to be fooled into taking any other.

The soap we were originally promised was a non-political League of Nations, whose sincerity and practicability as an effective organization to remove or lessen causes for war *was to be demonstrated by its inclusiveness.* It was to look to the future and not to build upon the animosities of the past. No other kind of League will cleanse the world. The present one only rubs the dirt in deeper.

The Bookshelf

By M. A.

IT argues well for future understandings among the people who make up nations that a new kind of history text is venturing among the school books. Reuben Post "Halleck's *History of Our Country*" is written for grammar grade children. You only have to think back to your own school books to realize what Mr. Halleck is accomplishing when he begins by placing America in its proper relation to the world, instead of hatching it out of a cosmic egg as Columbus touches it. The book emphasizes social and industrial changes rather than wars. It tells of shifting lives and customs instead of leaning heavily on dates. And it is especially interesting in its continuous account of the work and place of women in the development of the country. Mr. Halleck pictures a growing world of men and women instead of a province completely full of warriors.

Ernest Poole's "*Danger*" is the danger to the nation, and by implication to the world, of after-war wreckage, rotting, festering, spreading trouble to make more trouble. He presents it in the person of Maud Brewer, ex-war nurse, a wornout neurotic who served her country well, but is now holding hysterically to a handful of wounded ex-soldiers as the only people who need her. What sacrifices she demands from her brother and his bewildered bride, how her febrile self-esteem demands more trouble to provide a place for itself, to what lengths her fanaticism carries her, make up a novel as intense as it is interesting. Mr. Poole has the gift of vivid character building. He has handled his normal folk with a humor and a live dexterity which forms fine contrast for his grave and sympathetic drawing of the dangerous wreck.

People who have loved Olive Schrein-

History of Our Country, American Book Company, New York, 1923. $1.60.

Danger, Macmillan, New York, 1923. $2.00.

Stories, Dreams and Allegories, Stokes, New York, 1923. $1.75.

The Well in the Wood, Knopf, New York, 1923. $1.50.

Cantilever Stores

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er's books and missed them since her death will welcome "Stories, Dreams, and Allegories," collected from her papers by her husband. The first story in the book is an unforgettable tragedy of South Africa, crowded with the loves and dreams of simple people. Two stories are for children. The sketches are typical in their power to catch and hold imagination.

"The Well in the Wood" is a story for children by Bert Leston Taylor, the inimitable B. L. T. whom so many thousands of column readers loved and mourn. It is an "Alice" kind of tale, in which Buddie's yellow dog leads her into the world of talking animals and topsy-turvy proverbs. There is a warm personal feeling about it which makes one suspect that Mr. Taylor's own brown-haired small daughter listened to it approvingly long before it saw print. The book sparkles with such fancy, quaint humor, and rollicking comments on life that at least one grown-up forgot to regret she was reading it selfishly to herself.

Your Investments

Buying Your Own Home—Beware!

By ELEANOR KERR

THE most common form of real estate is the buying of a home. As a rule, the investment yields only a moderate return in money, probably costing the owner about the same, in repairs, taxes, additions and general maintenance, as would be paid in rent for a similar property; but there is no measuring the dividends in comfort, security and happiness which the ownership of one's home usually brings.

There are a number of factors to be considered. First and foremost, of course, is the property itself—whether it is suitable and in good condition, the price reasonable, etc. This last should receive particular consideration at the present time, when real-estate values are tremendously inflated, due to the small amount of building during the war, the rapid growth in the number of families having moderate to fairly large incomes, and to the general situation. It is expected by most of those in touch with conditions that there will be a genuine deflation in real-estate values taking place either gradually over the next few years or rapidly inside of the next two years or less.

In either case, the purchaser of property now should consider not whether the property is cheap for the moment, but whether the price represents its true value some years ahead. Of course, the only guide to this is comparison with the values of the past, and up to about 1918 we had what may be considered fairly normal conditions, as far as real-estate values are concerned.

This does not mean that to be a good buy property must be selling now on the 1918 level, for the natural increase in values for five years would tend to make the normal value somewhat higher; but it does mean that it should not be double that 1918 value.

Choose your neighborhood carefully and with as wise a judgment of what it will be in the next ten, fifteen or twenty years as possible. Investigate the tendencies of the neighborhoods surrounding that in which you are thinking of buying. America is proverbially a land of changing conditions, which greatly affect residential property.

If in the suburbs or country, it is wise to select land where the soil is good, so that one's garden and the trees and shrubbery around one's house may be luxurious and attractive without undue labor and expense.

Examine the structure of the house, not just the shingles, plaster, etc., but the foundations, the sills on which the house rests upon its foundation, the beams, floor joists, chimneys and particularly any exterior wooden parts which are essential to the structure of the house. Many an old house has a sound frame, although the walls, floors, etc., covering it are in bad condition, and the reverse is more often true. It is a popular remark that houses were built better twenty or thirty years ago than they are today. This is only partly true. There is as much honest workmanship probably at one time as at another, but during the last three years a tremendous amount of green lumber and poor quality stucco has found its way into what would otherwise be good buildings.

The plumbing of a house is most important, and it is wise to employ a disinterested plumber, in whom you have confidence, to examine it. Old plumbing, though it may be dingy, is not necessarily in need of replacement, and new plumbing, which is shiny on top, may not have the proper inner casings which protect the pipes from corrosion.

Make sure of your title and have its history traced and guaranteed by one of the fine companies whose business this is. At the same time make sure that all taxes have been satisfied, and that no new or unusual tax burdens are likely to be placed upon your property. For instance, if it is on an unpaved street, remember that sooner or later you will probably have to pay your share in the cost of its improvement. In many localities property is assessed which is not immediately adjacent to an improvement, so it is well to extend your survey for several blocks around your immediate property.

The Advertisers' Corner

"I consider the *Woman Citizen* invaluable," writes a subscriber. "I save every copy and long to see it in every home in the land."

The unusual personal interest which readers of the *Citizen* take in the magazine has been one of our real assets. The readers of a magazine are responsible for its advertising value in a measure of which they are rarely conscious. If they are indifferent to the advertising which appears in the magazine, it will have no value as an advertising medium. On the other hand through their interest in the advertising and their patronage of advertisers, even a small circulation can create a real money value.

That is what readers of the *Citizen* have been doing the past months. More and more evidence has been coming to us that they are keenly interested in the advertising in the *Citizen* and that they take a certain pride in patronizing the advertisers who believe in their magazine. That other readers like our friend quoted in the beginning of the column, keep their magazines on file, is proved by an order which came by

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mail this week for a book which was advertised in the *Citizen* a year ago.

Speaking of books, Edna Wadsworth Moody has been getting sheafs of letters from people who are finding in her book "We Are Here, Why?" both inspiration and help to fuller living. "It is fascinating to be introduced to a realm of thought so wholly new to me," writes one.

Mrs. Moody spends her summer in Maine, and she and her husband, having no children of their own, have been sending a group of Maine girls to college and so preparing them to earn their way in life.

Women coming to New York alone find the Martha Washington Hotel a most homey as well as comfortable place to stay. They like also the good company in which they find themselves. Judge Jean Norris, the famous City Magistrate of New York, who has recently completed a trip around the world, makes her permanent home there, as does Miss Martha C. Sears, Manager of the Women's Department of the Bank of the United States.

Whatever did women use to do in the days when dry-cleaning was unknown? We put this question to an elderly friend the other day and she replied by describing her wardrobe of twenty-five years ago, when her gown was a black silk and lace and it was considered handsome enough to wear to the most elaborate banquet. A good black silk would last as a best gown for years and no one thought of a cleaner. Now the same woman, with white hair, will wear white or delicate grey or mauve, and in spite of the increase of coal dust and city grime she will always be fresh and immaculate.

The growth of the cleaning business is shown by the Metropolitan Dye Works, which began as a dyeing establishment in 1855 in a little basement store in Chrystie Street. At present it has seven stores and a factory which occupies half a block. The Metropolitan Dye Works was one of the first advertisers in the *Woman Citizen* and has never missed an issue of the magazine.

G. F. B.

A Republican

(*Continued from page* 10)

these actions would advance the cause of peace. On the other hand, it would destroy all hope of ultimate peace by involving America in the welter of European warfare.

The United States has given Europe an example in moral leadership which Europe has refused of her own accord to follow.

The United States has advocated and practiced disarmament, while the League of Nations still is debating it.

The United States has gone further to suppress the evil of the use of drugs than any other civilized nation, and has gone further than the League of Nations in this regard. If the League of Nations would take the action which the United States has urged, the evil would be practically wiped out. Purely selfish reasons, based upon inordinate profits, have prevented the League of Nations from doing this up to this writing.

The United States has gone further in the suppression of the white slave traffic than any other nation. If the League of Nations would do as much for the suppression of the white slave traffic as the United States, it would be farther along in that moral warfare than it now is.

In brief, is it moral leadership which Europe wants of America? That leadership is now being furnished, but, sad to relate, is not being followed. While the United States acts, the League of Nations has contented itself passing wearisome resolutions and engaging in interminable investigations.

Those who insist that we are not doing our share in the promotion of world peace or in helping Europe, have never yet specified the particular thing they would have done that is not being done.

Until the critics of the present policy of this country under the Republican party point out in what particular that policy is operating to the detriment of Europe, their criticism cannot be seriously entertained.

In conclusion, there is a class of people, well meaning but impractical, who hold we should become a knight-errant and join the League of Nations merely in order to show our good fellowship. This argument makes no appeal to the sober-thinking, home-loving and home-building woman. It is improvident, to say the least, for the head of the family to neglect his own, in order to earn the reputation of being a good fellow. In the majority of cases it is also destructive to home ideals, home influences and right living. Neighborhood meddling never caused anything but neighborhood quarrels, discontented homes and lower standards all around.

This principle holds good in national life. Those who would neglect America's welfare, sacrifice her nationalism and plunge her in the quarrels of Europe in order to earn an empty reputation of being concerned in uplifting humankind, are doing themselves, their neighbors, their country, the cause of peace and humanity itself, a very poor service.

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THE NATIONAL SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
Office of the President General

Montclair, N. J.,
May 12, 1923.

American Book Company,
New York.

Gentlemen:

I take pleasure in writing that I have read "Halleck's History of Our Country," which you were good enough to send me, and I am very much pleased with it.

I particularly like the fine American spirit of patriotism which runs through the entire book. It appears to be very accurate as to its facts, and its narrative is told in an interesting and entertaining way. It is fair to Great Britain, without being either anti- or pro-British, and seems to be devoid of partisan sentiments, which mar some of our other histories.

On the whole I can commend this excellent book most heartily and sincerely.

Very truly yours,

WASHINGTON I. L. ADAMS

Montclair, N. J., May 15, 1923

Certainly, you are entirely at liberty to use my letter. We have to disapprove of so many unsatisfactory textbooks, it is a genuine pleasure to approve of a good one like the Halleck's.

WASHINGTON I. L. ADAMS

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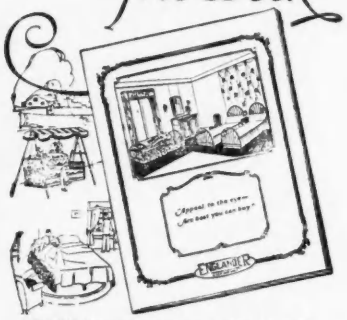

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THAT announcement in the last CITIZEN *that we should publish a special number reporting what women have done with the vote was an act of faith. The basis of the report, though of course other information will be used as well, is a questionnaire sent to the state Leagues of Women Voters. So far we have received answers from eighteen states. Promises from seven others. The rest is silence. We know that the questionnaire is not easy to answer. But we have had splendid answers; so we know too that it can be done. The states that have answered are: Connecticut, Delaware, Kansas, Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Vermont, West Virginia, Wisconsin.*

Perhaps some of the others have thought the plan had been abandoned, because the time limit we gave them had been passed. That was the reason—the time was extended to let them come in. PLEASE!

OUR OWN DINGBATS

WE'RE kind of fussed up about this number. ◈ ◈ ◈ It's a special peace number, it says, but it seems sort of fighty. ◈ ◈ ◈ It's a really truly vacation number, though, because the very best time to think of such serious subjects is when you're nice and fresh and outdoors-normal. (But what about us in this heat? Just think how our convictions must run together into a lump.) ◈ ◈ ◈ We hope our readers notice how we assume they all have nice country places, or cabins in the woods at least. ◈ ◈ ◈ Well, anyhow, we'll say right now that we don't care a straw if there are two sets of young girls in this one magazine, so you needn't write us a letter about it. ◈ ◈ ◈ We like 'em that way. ◈ ◈ ◈ We're a little discouraged about our work anyhow, since Lady Bathurst, in the English domestc service inquiry, said so emphatically that sitting in an office "wasting paper" is far less useful than milking cows. ◈ ◈ ◈ What deepens our gloom so is the way the one cow we tried to milk acted. ◈ ◈ ◈ There seemed to be something uncongenial between us. ◈ ◈ ◈ We are inclined to envy the English domestic service inquiry, President. We have always yearned to see chunks of ice plop off glaciers. On second thought we believe it would be more seemly for us to envy some one in the President's party. ◈ ◈ ◈ Presumptuous. ◈ ◈ ◈ We have picked out our vacation spot. ◈ ◈ ◈ And not at all in the exhausted mood of the young Swede who went into the county judge's office and asked for a license. "What kind?" asked the judge. "A hunting license?" "No," was the answer. "Aye tank aye bane hunting long enough. Aye want marriage license." ◈ ◈ ◈ Don't tell us there's nothing in the power of thought. ◈ ◈ ◈ Hard-hearted women, it is true, didn't lift a finger to get men's hot collars off, on our appeal; but out in Indiana we read there is a preacher who is fining men a dollar for appearing in church wearing that badge of slavery. ◈ ◈ ◈ Hereafter we shall address our appeals to the clergy direct. ◈ ◈ ◈ Speaking of vacation, our most solemn thought is that no one else should take any. ◈ ◈ ◈ If you notice any lines standing on their heads in this issue, it is because the only help we have from our able associate editor consists of a box of maple sugar sent from some pleasant place she picked out of the anuual pile of vacation folders. ◈ ◈ ◈ The publications of the Department of Agriculture intrigue us, and one of these days we are going to make you a brand-new kind of column out of the edifving information it sends to our desk. ◈ ◈ ◈ Honest. ◈ ◈ ◈ The latest, though, doesn't mean much in our life. It is a release on canaries. ◈ ◈ ◈ Personally, we should let out of their cages every one of the 150,000 that were imported last year. ◈ ◈ ◈ Still, if you don't feel that way, it is nice to know where you can get authoritative information on feeding Fritz. ◈ ◈ ◈ Yes, he is still principally Fritz, however you may disguise him.

The Woman Citizen

Volume VIII AUGUST 11, 1923 Number 6

News Notes of the Fortnight

The President's Death

OVERSHADOWING everything else in the news national or international is the death of President Harding. With all the papers of the country carrying the story day by day, we have no need to review here the details of the two weeks—that in which the country read bulletins that brought anxiety, then relief, then a sudden and terrible shock, nor that other week, barely begun as this is written, which will witness a nation's mourning.

Mr. Harding, twenty-ninth President of the United States, is the sixth to die in office. Three—Lincoln, Garfield and McKinley—were assassinated. Three—William Henry Harrison, Zachary Taylor and Warren Gamaliel Harding—died of illness. The office of President has been growing for many years heavier and heavier—quite simply, it is a man-killing job. The likeness between the breakdown of Woodrow Wilson and that of Warren G. Harding—both on speaking tours in the West that added too heavy strain to the heavy Washington burdens, is poignant.

The trip to Alaska on which Mr. Harding's heart had been set was just finished. His speech at Seattle, where he first showed signs of illness, summed up his impressions: that at least a part of Alaska might before long qualify for statehood; that the upbuilding of Alaska must take time, and that the Alaskans must learn to rely increasingly upon themselves. The speech which Mr. Harding was to have made at San Francisco was given out to the press before his death. It was a review of the country's foreign relations, full of praise for Secretary Hughes, and contained a new plea for the World Court.

Perhaps there was never such a funeral train as that which bore the President's body back home, with the silent tribute of a whole people shown in silent, reverent groups all the way across a continent.

An appreciation of Mr. Harding by Mrs. Catt will be found on page 14.

Very Briefly

THE proposal for a treaty under which foreign governments might carry liquor into American ports under seal, in exchange for the privilege of search up to the twelve-mile limit, is still under consideration. Lord Curzon's expressed opposition was supposed to end it, but a note from Great Britain raising objections was recently answered by the State Department. The correspondence has not been made public.

Charles N. Morse and his three sons, who were charged with conspiracy to defraud the Government in war-time shipbuilding contracts, have been acquitted. The Government thus loses the first of the big alleged war fraud cases to be brought to trial.

The House of Commons has voted the funds for a naval base at Singapore. There has been much discussion about it in the House, where it was charged that the failure to reveal this intention at the time of the Washington Armament Conference was a breach of faith. Japan is naturally watchful.

The International Labor Bureau has called a meeting of experts at Geneva to discuss the question of employment for mutilated soldiers—of whom there are 10,000,000, with 8,000,000 regarded as potential wage earners. The French Association of Mutilated Soldiers has decided that the time is "not opportune."

General Crowder, Ambassador to Cuba, is returning to Washington. The reason is supposed to be consultation over the recent action of the Cuban Legislature in passing a lottery bill, apparently as a rebuff to the United States, which has opposed the lottery as a fruitful source of political and private graft.

On July 4th a new Federal Constitution was adopted by the Russian Soviet Government—built on the general lines of our Constitution. There is to be a bi-cameral legislature, and the nominal supreme power will be a Federal Presidium of twenty-one members, chosen from the two houses.

THE scene in that simple farmhouse in the Vermont mountains where the new President took the oath of office administered by his farmer father, was a scene typically American. Naturally there is the keenest interest in the first official steps of Calvin Coolidge, so tragically elevated to his post of vast responsibility. He has said clearly that he will follow the plans and policies of his predecessor. Just what this will mean, for instance with reference to the World Court, the world will be eager to learn when the time comes.

Going—the Twelve-Hour Day

A REFORM urged and greatly furthered by Mr. Harding seems on the point of realization: the reduction of the twelve-hour day in the steel industry. The pledge given him by the directors of the Iron and Steel Institute a few weeks ago stopped short of an absolute promise of immediate action. But definite announcement has now been made that the working day is to be reduced to eight hours. There will be twenty-five per cent. increase by the hour, so that the men who worked twelve hours for $4.80 will work eight hours for $4.00. The Steel Corporation figures on a necessary addition of 60,000 men to the 120,000 now on the twelve-hour system. Yet a fundamental with the eight-hour day in the world's experience is that hourly production is usually increased. Sixty thousand new workers should not therefore be needed.

The Turks' Victory

THE contrast between the situation of Turkey at the end of the war and at the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne is staggering. The Turks were badly beaten, practically banished from Europe. But thanks to the lack of a European policy among the Allies, to the insistence on selfish national interests, the Turks had a chance to come back. Now, after the long war between Turkey and Greece; after the culminating horror of Smyrna; after the eight months of negotiations, Constantinople is back in the Turks' hands; so is Eastern Thrace; so is Smyrna. Within six months all the Turkish warships, arms and ammunition now held by the Allies will be restored. Judicial capitulations have been abolished, and foreigners in Turkey must live under Turkish law—with the concession that foreign legal advisers may receive certain complaints. Greeks in Turkey and Turks in Greece are to be subjected to a wholesale exchange, and the Armenian problem re-

mains unsolved. And the Allies themselves pay a large part of the cost of occupation.

On the other side of the ledger is the Straits Convention, attached to the Treaty, by which the Bosporus and the Dardanelles are open to the warships and merchantmen of all nations. And on the same side is the fact of peace, and the hope of a fresh beginning.

The general treaty was signed by Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Rumania and Turkey. At the last minute Jugo-Slavia refused to sign.

At this writing the Turks have finally signed the Turco-American Treaty, which was due to follow promptly the Lausanne peace. There was a hitch over the claims of American citizens for damages, the Turks wishing them limited to those who were citizens prior to the World War, in order to bar out naturalized Greeks and Armenians.

This point was "reserved" for later consideration. The treaty is about the same in its provisions as the Lausanne treaty. One can only hope that, as Ismet Pasha claims, it is made with "a new Turkey."

The Tuskegee Problem

A DIFFICULT problem that was adjusted by compromise this week is the contest over race supremacy at Tuskegee, Alabama—Booker T. Washington's school. Tuskegee gave the Government a plot of ground on which to erect a hospital for Negro soldiers disabled in the World War. When the hospital was ready for occupancy, a clash occurred over the question of personnel. Leading citizens claimed that the Government had contracted, through the white hospital committee, to keep the institution under white control. But it was understood that President Harding had committed himself in favor of a Negro hospital organization. Early in July a Ku Klux Klan demonstration against the expected Negro personnel was held in the grounds of Tuskegee and the hospital, creating a highly dangerous situation. Director Hines of the Veterans' Bureau, anxious to determine how far the Government was committed in either direction, had recently promised to refer the question to Washington. Last week he conferred with a citizens' committee, and as a result an arrangement by which the chief surgeon and two assistants shall be whites and others of the personnel Negroes has been accepted.

Premier Baldwin Speaks

NO relief in the grave situation of Europe has come through the answers to the draft reply to Germany, sent out to the Allies. That draft was summed up by Premier Baldwin in the House of Commons last week: It was a tentative answer to the German note of June 7, which the British Government considered a basis for the beginning of negotiations, and hoped the Allies might answer jointly. With ample provision for changes, it proposed, without detracting from the Treaty of Versailles, expert examination into the question of how much Germany can pay, stabilization of the mark, balancing of the German budget, and international control of the German financial administration. It advised the German Government to withdraw official orders for passive resistance, in the belief that this action would bring about withdrawal from the Ruhr.

To this draft, Italy has just returned a reply, in general in agreement with the British position. France and Belgium have sent independent statements which can hardly be called replies, since they do not refer to the British draft. The French one however continues to ask questions—action interpreted by many as being a device for gaining time in which the Reich may collapse.

The British Government therefore seeks an appeal to world opinion by making all the communications public and is asking the permission of the other governments.

"No More War" Round the World

OBSERVANCE of the days of the outbreak of the war began in France in 1920—called No More War Days. The movement spread and in 1922 fourteen nations observed the day. In our country more than a thousand communities held meetings. This year nineteen or twenty countries joined in the common protest against war, and in the United States more than two thousand meetings were held and practically all the states were represented in the demonstration.

The American Defense Society issued a bulletin announcing that the Law not War days were red propaganda. The organizing agency in this country is the National Council for Prevention of War organized in 1921 to support Mr. Harding's Conference on the Limitation of Armament. It is a federation of thirty-five national organizations, many of them of a religious nature. No communistic group is included among them.

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Jeanie Gallup Mottet, of Providence, Rhode Island, is our cover artist for this issue. Mrs. Mottet studied under William M. Chase, Richard Miller and Ambrose Webster. Her work has been exhibited at the National Academy of Design and the Newport Art Association. Besides, she has held office in many art societies; president, during 1917-1918, of the National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors; Curator of Painting, for the Museum of French Art here in America, and chairman of the Exhibition Committee. The Minister of Beaux Arts in Paris decorated Mrs. Mottet in 1918 as Officer d'Académie.

Portraits, flowers, still life, and figures out-of-doors are the subjects for her work.

Another Crisis in Coal

THERE is a deadlock in the hard coal industry, and another serious situation menaces. A joint wage commission meeting recently adjourned for lack of agreement. The miners' organization demands full recognition for the union, which involves the check-off by which a man's union dues are deducted from his wages. The operators refuse. Both sides quote the recent report made by the Federal Coal Commission, to contrary purpose. In arguing for a closed shop industry the miners point to the "closed" organization of the operators, since about eighty per cent. of the coal is said to be produced by nine companies; another eight per cent. by another nine companies, and twelve per cent. by about 240 companies.

The Liberal Straw Vote

THE *New Republic* has for several weeks been taking through liberal magazines a poll of Liberals on a number of points. The results on the League of Nations show 65 per cent. of those voting, in favor; 35 per cent opposed. Slightly more than half are less favorable toward the League than in 1920. A third party is favored by 75 per cent., 81 per cent. are for public ownership of mines and 75 per cent. for public ownership of railroads. Sentiment for the League of Nations was reported strongest in the East, and third party sentiment strongest in the Middle West and the Northwest.

In Favor of Co-operatives

AT a recent meeting the Board of Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church officially went on record in favor of the organization of co-operative associations for marketing farm products and purchasing farm supplies. This is probably the first time that a purely ecclesiastical body has recognized the relations of the church to the co-operative movement.

August 7, 1920.

Paul Roman, N. Y.

A Symposium of Husbands

IN all the discussion that has been going on about wives' right to work, and how their working works, the husbands haven't had very much show. Most of the limelight has been turned on the wives. So we decided we'd ask a group of prominent husbands of prominent women "economically independent, through work not fortune" for their frank opinions—no, even more than that, for their personal feeling besides. It was a personal, maybe an impertinent, thing to ask; but we believed that the importance of this whole subject—women's freedom, the future of the home, the adjustment of the sexes to the world's work—justified us, and the men's responses were a cordial reassurance. Some haven't answered yet, one declined, and, with the privilege of anonymity, only three withheld their names—and those three for good reasons.

In our letter we asked "how they really feel about being the husbands of economically independent women"—their convictions on the wife's right to work outside her home, and its effect, and their own personal feelings. "Has there been a difficult adjustment," we asked; "does your masculine pride sometimes suffer?" Without taking up more space ourselves, here are the letters.

The first is from a man whose wife's independent work has had many phases—her well-known leadership in suffrage campaigns, her work abroad as interpreter of the American Government's aims during the war, and just a couple of years ago, her entrance into the field of manufacturing.

Norman deR. Whitehouse

"You ask me whether I am reconciled to being the husband of a woman who works? I can frankly say that I am not only reconciled, but exceedingly proud of it, and of my wife's extraordinary ability. I should not choose a business career for any woman, as the work is of necessity confining and the routine exacting. But any woman without a real occupation and interest is, in my opinion, to be pitied. Social occupations and household duties cannot entirely fill the time or satisfy a woman with mental gifts much above the average and do not form a sufficient outlet for the energy of the intelligent woman. There is nothing so distressing and undermining of the home—and happiness—as ennui. The business woman has no time for this curse only known to the idle. She comes home contented in mind, if tired in body, and really appreciates her home and family much more than if she had been seeking some trivial occupation all day simply to pass the time away. As to the right of a woman to work, in my opinion she should be allowed to enjoy that right just the same as any man. It is her right as well as it is his. Am I a feminist? I suppose so."

W. E. Woodward

whose wife is Helen Woodward, a star in the advertising world, says being the husband of an economically independent woman is "all right." "I know there are discontented husbands who pine away in silence," he says, "but I am not one of them—I do not suffer." Mr. Woodward was for years in Wall Street, as vice president of the Industrial Finance Corporation and the Morris Plan Bank, and has turned now to being a novelist.

"The only thing is—one has to be mentally alive, and rather on the jump, to qualify as a husband of a woman of this type. Sometimes she wants to talk about Soviet Russia, and sometimes about the French poets, and sometimes about the best methods of hunting Rocky Mountain goats—and if the husband is not mentally alert, what is the poor, gaping fish going to do on such occasions?

"I know men who are married to nincompoops, and when all is said and done, they seem to be no happier for it.

"Only last week I bought a very beautiful record of phonograph music call, 'Yes, We Have No Bananas Today.' When she heard it she didn't like it, so I gave it to the husband of a beautiful fool—and, in exchange, he gave me one call 'The Scheherazade Suite.' Both families are now happier."

Writers can do it too. There are numerous instances—some in which both work at home, some with separate working places. A thoroughgoing instance of a partnership of moderns, is that of Ruth Hale, writer, president of the Lucy Stone League, and Heywood Broun, columnist and dramatic critic.

Heywood Broun

"It seems to me that whether a wife is independent through inheritance or her own work doesn't matter—the independence is the thing. With independence her long drop on you—that she has nobody but you and therefore she has you body and soul—is over. You don't have to be considerate for two any longer; you don't have to pretend that she is an angel in order to make you both forget that actually she is something you carry in your pocket, and if you have convinced her in an argument you can go on thinking it was your Jovian intellect that did it without stumbling over the idea that perhaps she merely had a peaceful eye on your taking her down town to dinner as you had promised—your self-respect doesn't have to spend all its time pretending to deny that, after all, you can, if you like, do her out of dinner altogether. In a good quarrel you no longer have to remember that you mustn't swear at her, no matter how much you want to; if she doesn't like it it is up to her to keep you from wanting to. Whatever she doesn't like about you she can leave, and

if she doesn't leave when she can it seems to me masculine pride has about a million degrees more to get cocky about than in the days when she stayed because she couldn't help herself. It works the other way, too. There has of course always been a great deal of brutality on the part of the wife; with her independence this fact can at last be put up to her."

An eminent dramatist, with an actress and writer for wife, makes the sensible point that you can't generalize. Introducing

George Middleton

"I used to think that every woman should be made to be economically independent of her husband. Now I think that only some women should be. Maybe in time I'll think the potential power of being economically independent is the most important. Certainly I haven't changed my ideas one bit that every girl should be given the power to support herself in or without marriage. Financial freedom makes more for free choice getting into marriage or getting out of it. But I don't think mutual economic independence is necessary for every marriage. There isn't any rule about how it may affect happiness. My observation shows that often much of a man's best qualities only can come out when he must take the responsibilities implied through a wife's complete dependence. Then again certainly a deeper respect may be unconsciously born of the woman who can set to and contribute when necessary or because of a deep desire so to do. The point is that the more I have observed marriage the more I am convinced that the successful marriage makes its own best laws. The tragedy is that so few find out what those personal laws may be and the couple concerned try to live by some theory. There isn't any theory that can be made to suit everybody. Personality is too fluid a thing to be solidified into a social system.

"So far as I personally am concerned Miss La Follette and I have worked it out the way it suits us. I'm mighty glad she can support me if necessary and so is she; she's mighty glad I can do the same. We don't live by any rule; we just follow our instincts and the dictates of what reactions may come of economic situations as they arise. There's no pride concerned. How ridiculous to try to make any other rule than that—for ourselves, and I no longer care to make rules for other people."

Hartley Davis

who is Vice President of "Arts and Decoration," also has a specialized office of his own. He and Ann Watkins, literary agent, hang two shingles on the same building.

"The right for women to work is laid down by the Declaration of Independence—which in spots, at least, some of us would regard as being superior to the Constitution of the United States.

"Work is the essential principle of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. No man objects to his wife working. It is when she is able to make money that it gets his goat.

"Even a man who is a failure or a chronic near-success should be satisfied if his wife is economically successful, because it gives him opportunity to stand on the side lines and tell her how much better he could do it, if he had her opportunity. Of course, the certainty that the rent will be paid and the larder supplied is merely incidental.

"As to the effect of the activities of the wife on family life, I should say that it is a good deal like the tariff—a local issue. As to the societal effect, a woman cannot be successful in her work unless she is contributing something useful, and certainly this must make for the kind of uplift in which only the 't' is crossed.

"When we talk about societal reaction, we usually mean morals. And generally we use this word as if there was no morality independent of sex. Bearing this in mind, one may say, I think, with justice, that with the economical independence of woman, morals have not changed: they have only become more exposed.

"The fact that the man is married to the woman who is successful in business or in a profession is not as important as the fact that he can stay married to that woman—and this is true not only in a Pickwickian sense but in fact.

"This ought to be sufficient to satisfy the pride of any masculine ego."

The kind of partnership that exists between Agnes Foster Wright and Richardson Wright appears in his letter:

Richardson Wright

"My theory on my wife working though married is simply this: She has a talent for the art of interior decoration, she has executive and business gifts. She had them in embryo before we were married. To have relegated her to purely household affairs (in which line her talents may not have been sympathetic) would have hidden and perhaps slowly killed the talents she had. It is the old story of hiding your light under a bushel, and I do not feel that a husband has the right to demand that this should be done.

"Most of us are successful in that line of work to which we are sympathetically inclined; a great deal of the failure in life can be explained by the fact that people have been led into work that gave them no happiness. A more successful life and a happier companionship has resulted from our choosing to let my wife exercise these talents. It were better to have been a good decorator than, perchance, a middling housewife.

"However, our case is peculiar. My own work is partly in the same line. As editor of *House & Garden* I am constantly in touch with the work of decorators. Here the criticism of a practising decorator as wife proved invaluable. Her contacts with business and business methods also gave her a basis for valuable counsel.

"My wife's financial independence is a question that, so far in these nine years, has not caused a flurry. It was one of the subjects on which in the beginning we agreed not to disagree, and we haven't. And I can honestly say that my masculine pride has not suffered because, by pooling our means fairly, we have been able to acquire surroundings and service that would not have been possible had we spent separately. There can't be any hard and fast percentage arrangement, however; it must be supple and yield here and there and now and then when one has less than the other."

Carl Brandt

whose wife, Zelma Brandt, is a partner in his author's agency business, head of a department which she has created and built up, introduces an arresting new point:

"It has never struck me that a woman did not have the right to work if she felt like it, and those that I know who have done so have invariably been better housekeepers, much more intelligently awake to the problems of the home and more efficient than those whose whole life is spent within the domestic circle. So from the mere point of view of his own comfort, I think the husband who has an economically independent wife is lucky.

"The worst effect I have seen so far is that it usually means that a woman is overworked; that while she goes out and earns one-half the money to run the place, the husband does not provide one-half the responsibility in the care of the home. It seems to me that this point is the only defensible criticism of the wife's being outside the home. A man is not trained as a child to consider the home or its responsibilities any concern of his. Lacking both in the idea and in the actual details, he simply fails to measure up, no matter how good his intentions. If mothers would train their boys to take their share of house responsibility, possibly in the next generation the sexes could work quite happily and comfortably together on a real fifty-fifty basis.

"About the only time my masculine pride suffers is when I am forced to admit that my wife is a better business man than I am, and I take tremendous

(*Continued on page* 24)

Judging Around The World

An Interview with Judge Jean Norris

By Mildred Adams

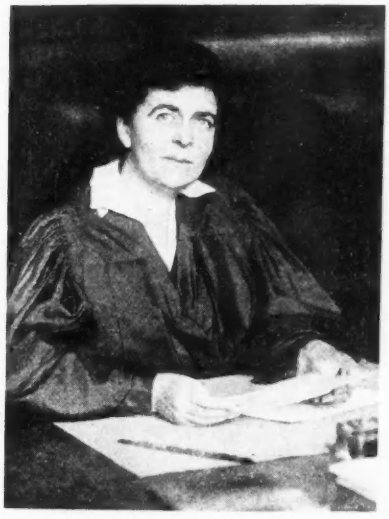
JUDGE JEAN NORRIS of New York City is back on the bench after four months of watching justice take its course around the world. The sunshine and wind of many countries have given her keen face a golden tint, and her blue eyes a deeper sparkle under their black brows. And court procedures from New York around to New York again have made her—her own words say it best; "I went away thinking that I was a good American, but I have come back a better one."

Since 1919 she has been a regular City Magistrate, hearing cases in the Women's Court, the Family Court, and the District Court. Her experiences as judge, and the cases she handled in her ten years of private practice, led her to particular interest in the women who break the law. So she planned her vacation to follow courts around the world, and to see how they handled in other countries problems she was familiar with here. It sounds a bit like going from hard work to harder work, but "There's nothing more tiresome than sight-seeing without an objective," she declared. "I couldn't have seen the countries in a more interesting way."

The Orient Couldn't Believe

Mrs. Norris sailed the end of January on the ship which was to be her home for the next eighteen weeks. It was a record-smashing trip. Never before had a woman jurist set out on such a tour of legal investigation. Never before did a woman sit on the bench of the Native Court in Cairo, where proceedings were conducted in Arabic, and the crowd nearly rioted in its eagerness to catch sight of her. Bombay was so sure that there was no such strange being as a woman judge that its newspaper announced her as "The Honorable Jean Norris, *wife* of Judge Norris of New York." The courtesy and wisdom of the Hindu Chief Presidency Magistrate rescued her from such obscurity, and invited her to sit with him at trials. In Shanghai and Rangoon, Singapore and Manila, magic names of the East, she was the first woman to sit on the judge's bench. Courtesy and curiosity went hand in hand, and stately cordiality preceded eager inquiries about American courts and her own personal work.

The Japanese cities of Osaka and Tokyo took advantage of her experience to ask what they might expect from the



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Judge Jean Norris

two children's Courts they have just established. These are modeled largely on the Juvenile Courts of New York City.

The day she sat at trials in Shanghai, a case came up which showed how the leaven of western influence is working in the traditional East. With its foreign settlements, Shanghai has various kinds of courts. Native courts hear cases between Chinese according to Chinese law. The International Mixed Court hears cases in which the defendant is Chinese and the plaintiff a foreigner, and there a Chinese judge sits with one of England or the United States. Judge Norris sat on the bench of this court, with a Chinese magistrate, and an American consul who acts as an assessor.

The case concerned a Chinese woman who had run away from her husband. He tried to compel her to return, but she refused. Ordinarily such a case would come up in a native court, but the wife had fled to a white woman who put her in the charge of a Christian mission's representative. The wife told her story of being beaten repeatedly, and starved between beatings. Her judges at her request put her under the protection of the mission, and she was advised that later on she might sue for a divorce. Law in the native court would have returned her to her husband, and probably scolded her for disobedience into the bargain.

"Not only have women few legal rights," Judge Norris continued, "but they have so few opportunities. I saw one most interesting woman in Bombay, a Parsee. She was a doctor, and boarded the ship as the representative of the Board of Health. There are a few women in Japan, educated in western colleges, who are trying to open the door of opportunity to their countrywomen. But it will be very slow. We have so many opportunities here, that it is difficult for us to appreciate the conditions under which women labor in the Far East. They have centuries of custom and religious opposition to overcome before they can accomplish even a little."

England's Speed

Mrs. Norris was judicially reluctant to make generalizations as to her impressions. One had the feeling that concrete cases were too clear in her mind, and too important, to permit any hasty summing-up of laws from Egypt to the Philippines. "I was interested, though," she said, "in the way technicalities are swept aside in courts under the jurisdiction of England. It certainly does speed up justice. In Singapore I sat with Sir Walter Shaw in a most interesting murder case. There were many times during the course of the trial when technical objections might have been interposed. The lawyers did not take advantage of them. That trial took only two hours."

She gathered details like that, ways of procedure from the courts of the world, problems common to all people and solved according to their various needs. If law is the classified experience of a nation, then Judge Norris has had the supreme judgment, and the fortune, to test the experience of this young country against that of nations of all ages.

No one can predict what will come out of this single trip. But a woman has shown the way to take advantage of thousands of years of governing, and to that exchange of experiences which is the way to national growth.

A woman court attendant in trim blue came to the door and nodded. "It's time I was opening court this minute!" Judge Norris exclaimed. She slid into her gown of dignified black, smiled her farewell, and swept into the crowded courtroom.

Zero Hour In Illinois

By Mrs. Ira Couch Wood

Pointing to the Question: "How Did *Your* Legislature Behave?"

THE Fifty-Third General Assembly in Illinois has met, fought and adjourned; the smoke of battle is clearing away as the weary legislators seek their homes, leaving the solitary figure of the governor, illumined by the midnight candle, wielding his pen in feverish haste as he affixes signatures and delivers vetoes with a partial hand. It is a moment for appraisal, and the women must now face the fact that this session—from which they hoped so much—has dealt almost total defeat to their proposals.

Perhaps never before have the women's organizations of the state considered legislation so carefully, discussed it so fully and agreed so heartily in their endorsement of several measures introduced, so that their failure to achieve success is all the more conspicuous.

Several legislators have given as a reason for failure, "the women asked too much." Did they? Was it unreasonable if women agreed upon some twelve or fourteen bills and put their strength behind them, when there were some 1300 bills introduced by men? The women's measures were, moreover, chiefly those promoting the general welfare, and only a few sought to put women on an equality with men in legal and political spheres.

The defeat was certainly not due to the one woman whom we were fortunate enough to have as our representative in the Assembly. Mrs. Lottie Holman O'Neill proved to be a woman of conspicuous ability, of commanding moral force, and winning personality. But not even the personal friendliness with which she was regarded by her associates, and the respect which they voiced for her ability, could keep ten of her thirteen bills from defeat. She was graciously permitted to save the wild flowers; to help the crippled children; and to assure some added rights of inheritance to wives!

Perhaps there is more truth than was intended in the joking remark of one lawmaker. "If we had let Mrs. O'Neill's bills go through, every district in the state would have had a woman candidate in the next primary. We'd like to discourage them by showing them that a woman legislator can not go out in a blaze of glory!"

Women are singularly indifferent to radiant and transitory tributes of this

Mrs. Lottie Holman O'Neill, the one woman legislator of Illinois. Despite her ability she lost ten out of thirteen measures. Why?

character, and Mrs. O'Neill is no exception, I am sure. But as voting citizens, women were certainly not prepared, in their blindness, to find themselves practically without influence in the legislature, and their deepest interests of small concern to the men who were supposed to be representing them. Perhaps the gentleman above has given us a valuable suggestion for future procedure, and if defeat serves to spur women to definite political action in seeking election to the legislature, then it spells victory in the end for their programs. The fact that a woman like Mrs. O'Neill could not fight a winning battle alone, should be a strong incentive to many women to join her in Springfield.

There was probably no concerted effort in the legislature to defeat women's bills, as such. Men in Illinois are hardly yet conscious enough of us as factors in the political game to take such action; but when the result of the session is faced, the defeat seems as complete as if there had been such an agreement. The attitude of the lawmakers may have been unconscious, but it was effective in action!

The bills which unquestionably commanded the support of the great majority of women in the state, as expressed through their strongest and largest organizations, were:

1. The Enabling bill for acceptance of the Sheppard-Towner Federal Act "for the promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy."
(Passed in the Senate, defeated 22 to 4 in the Appropriations Committee of the House.)
2. The Eight-Hour bill for women workers.
(Passed by the House, amended to death in the Senate.)
3. An appropriation for a Farm Colony for women offenders.
(Given no serious consideration, though much needed.)
4. Equal representation of women on official committees of the political parties at party conventions.
(Passed by both houses, vetoed by the governor.)
5. Extension and strengthening of Civil Service.
(A retrogression rather than an advance in the action of this session.)
6. Raising the limit of compulsory education of children from six to eight years.
(Passed in the Senate, lost in the House.)
7. Jury service for women (with reasonable exemptions.)
(Passed in the Senate, lost in the House.)
8. "Uniform" bill for protection of the child born out of wedlock.
(Decisively defeated in the House.)
9. A number of measures for wider educational opportunities for children of the state, more funds for education and better distribution of such as exist.
(Only a very small fraction of a fine program received approval.)
10. A bill to save the wild flowers.
(Passed.)

The Equal Rights bill, proposed by the National Woman's Party, was defeated, but it never had the support of women's organizations of the state, and it was not generally expected to pass.

As a climax to the general failure of women's effort, note the bitter, if unconscious, irony in the statement of one woman who put through a bill for the protection of tenants. "I never asked

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Illinois women disapprove heartily of the way their Legislature has behaved, so far as women are concerned, and for the good of the cause they want the truth known. Mrs. Ira Couch Wood tells it here. She was the head of the committee that tried to put the Sheppard-Towner bill through, and conducted a splendid campaign. One of the foremost women in Chicago, Mrs. Wood is the Director of the Elisabeth McCormick Memorial Fund, which is doing a remarkable work for children in the United States. Her opinion and influence are eagerly sought.

Be sure to read also Mrs. McCulloch's letter on page 30.

one single woman's organization to help me!"

The defeat of the Sheppard-Towner bill in Illinois, when forty states accepted its provisions, seems almost incomprehensible. It had the active and enthusiastic support of twenty-six strong organizations, chiefly women, however. The result was due partly to the bitter, unreasonable and unfair opposition of a group of doctors in the state, who built up such a prejudice against the bill in the minds of the legislators that they were deaf to all future explanations or appeals. It was due partly to the fact that the bill was a Federal Aid measure, which brought down upon its simple educational provisions aimed at saving lives, the most unexpected and vitriolic wrath and irritation, only explained by the fact that the term "Federal" is now associated only with the income tax and the Volstead act in most men's minds, and anything bearing its label spells an intrusion into the sacred precincts of the home and a man's private life.

How misinformed or how insincere was this cry as a reason for opposition to the Sheppard-Towner Act is shown by the fact that the Assembly which defeated the bill accepted over $7,700,000 of "aid" from the Federal Government for many other purposes; and made equal appropriations from the State Treasury to secure such "aid" without a protest being heard from any civic body or any leading newspaper—several of whom were more than outspoken in their opposition to "Federal Aid" plus state funds when it was to be used to protect mothers and babies!

Several lawmakers who spoke and voted against this bill on the ground of Federal Aid, voted $1,000,000 the week before for the eradication of bovine tuberculosis on the same Federal Aid principle. It is also noteworthy that the bills introduced by some physicians as compromise measures, authorizing an appropriation from state funds only to carry on the work for mothers and children, as provided in the Sheppard-Towner Act, served as the good old "red herring" across the proverbial path, as they were allowed to die in the Senate and House without one sincere effort at passage.

The Senate gave the Maternity bill

(*Continued on page* 28)

City Planning--A Housekeeper's Job

By Marjorie Shuler

CITY planning used to be very simple. You owned a piece of land. You planned devices for attracting community development in your direction or you planned how to spend the money once you had sold your land. Everybody else did the same. The result has been cities of narrow streets, irregularly intersecting, unlovely, inconvenient, menacing traffic today. Now and then an enterprising city did engage someone to plan its streets and parks.

That was what happened with Cleveland. Moses Cleveland and a staff worked for three years laying out the trading post. They were paid the huge sum of $15,000. Cleveland got its name and Euclid Avenue—so named by Moses Cleveland because it was the hypothenuse of a triangle of streets. It got other good things from Cleveland's planning, but in spite of his work farmers still subdivided their land along the paths which they had made in going for the cows and sold the lots for all they could get. Two farmers left an unbroken stretch of eight hundred feet between their lots. Today it takes five policemen to regulate the traffic at that congested point in the heart of the city and the erection of a twenty-two story building with an expected office population of five thousand makes it imperative that a street be cut through.

It will cost Cleveland taxpayers half a million dollars because those two farmers did not go farther to get their cows.

Besides streets to be joined, there is parking space for automobiles to be found where no parking space exists. A railroad terminal is to be placed in the city square. A small project is being developed at the cost of millions

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A Glimpse of Downtown Cleveland
Where City Planning Is Practised

of dollars for new city buildings and institutions. And Cleveland has come to see that city planning is not a masculine but a feminine job. The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce has picked out a woman, Miss Charlotte Rumbold, for its city planning secretary, and Miss Rumbold is proving every day the value of a woman, untrammeled by legal and financial precedents, in zoning and developing a city.

With her plain suit, tailored waist and tie and her parted hair, Miss Rumbold expresses an efficiency and directness usually associated with the man in business. But she is a strong advocate of the woman in business, in politics, in government.

Witness this: "I believe that city planning is going a great deal faster when women get hold of it," she says. "City planning is a housekeeper's job. Zoning needs women. Zoning means high values and there always are persons who want to speculate in high land values. But making money on land deals is of less importance to women than providing the right conditions for families and homes. Women architects are taking a hand in this problem now. City clubs and civic organizations of women are helping and women are proving that they no more regard it as the inalienable right of a man to make as much as he can out of a corner lot, than they regard it as the prerogative of the school commissioner to make all he can for himself out of a contract for supplies."

Five years ago Miss Rumbold left Saint Louis where she had been recreation director, looking after the public baths and swimming pool, the municipal pageant and dances in the public square, the public picture shows and other entertainments. She went to Cleveland to make a commercial recreation survey. Her survey took her into every corner of the city and into every kind of a public recreation center, even the corner saloons, since these were pre-prohibition days. It took her six months to make her report and then the Chamber of Commerce made her city planning secretary, a position which she has held ever since.

Here is some of her philosophy of work, which she offers as the most helpful from her own experience to the woman in outside activities:

"If you are going to push a project through, push it from the rear.

(*Continued on page* 27)

League of Nations Leading Lady

By Nancy M. Schoonmaker

THIS is the century of youth. Perhaps the very voicing of such a conviction carries proof of one's elderliness, but when one stands in the presence of that very youthful looking woman who today holds "the highest rank of any women in the international game," Dame Rachel Crowdy, one is made twice as strong in the conviction that youth today rules the world. A glance at the records gives added proof. Something under forty and the "premier woman official of the world"—and she does not look her years!

Slim, eager, rather un-English in her enthusiasm, she might rather be sportsman than diplomat. Yet in her eyes we see that strength of character and emotion which has brought her to her present postion. The record, typically English, tells us again that her favorite recreations are winter sports and small boat sailing, and it would be easy enough to picture her in her sport togs weathering a squall in her "small boat" or perhaps doing a fancy ski jump from one of the crags of Switzerland. But the record tells also of other, to us more important, accomplishments: lecturer and demonstrator at the National Health Society in 1912-14, her immediate enlistment and service as Principal Commandant of the V. A. D's. in France and Belgium in 1914.

Not for one day did she draw out of active service during the whole term of the war. In 1916-17, service in the Red Cross; 1917, Lady of Grace; 1919, Dame Commander of the British Empire. Decorated with the 1914 Star, the British Medal, the Allied Medal—a full record of active, patriotic service.

Dame Rachel Crowdy

And from it all, she told me, she was just turning back to private life when the wire came from Sir Eric Drummond asking her to serve as Head of the Social Section of the League of Nations. So it was Geneva instead of England for her, world affairs instead of personal concerns.

As a member of the permanent organization, her headquarters are at Geneva, in the beautiful hotel which was bought by the League and converted into permanent offices. There, year in and year out, the work goes on, work which the whole world recognizes as of almost inestimable value in the greatest of all problems, the substitution of co-operation for competition, of peace for war.

The Social Section, of which Dame Rachel is the head, and in which America presumably is especially interested, for it is through this department that we have offered such co-operation as we have been willing to give, has a variety of duties. Its most important undertaking is the suppression of the traffic in women and children and the traffic in opium. It is under this department that expert information is gathered and furnished to the Assembly and Council of the League, that the plans of procedure adopted by those two bodies are carried out, that pressure is brought upon recalcitrant governments for prompter action than might voluntarily be given. It is the dynamo which keeps the current moving.

In summing up the work of the League, no department comes in for more commendation than the Social Section. For, though concerned as every department of the League is with the prevention of war, its direct attack is from another angle. It seeks to build other bases for international co-operation. It would bring us into closer, more friendly contact, nation with nation, through co-operation in the solution of vital social problems which touch us all.

It is fine evidence of the larger, juster view of women into which the world has come in our generation that of so important a department a woman should have been made chief.

This poem was copied out by the late Senator Helen Ring Robinson a few weeks before her death and sent to her daughter with birthday gifts. How deeply appropriate it is to Senator Robinson's own life and work, CITIZEN suffragists well know. Senator Robinson was Colorado's first woman senator.

The Master Joy

"We shall not travel by the road we make.
Ere, day by day, the sound of many feet
Is heard upon the stones that now we break
We shall be come to where the
cross-roads meet.

For them the shade of trees that now we plant,
The safe, smooth journey and the final goal,
Yea, birthright in the land of covenant—
For us day labor; travail of the Soul.

And yet—the road is ours as never theirs!
Is not one joy on us alone bestowed?
For us the Master-Joy, O Pioneer:
We shall not travel but we make the Road."

Friedlander.

Uniting Five Million Teachers

Impressions from San Francisco

No. the WOMAN CITIZEN *did not personally attend the World Education Conference out in San Francisco. But a friend of the* CITIZEN *who did, supplied a report of its action and a record of personal impressions. Here they are, supplemented by other notes, especially concerning the Health Conference which was a section of the world meeting.*

SOMETHING brand-new in the world happened early in July. It was the very first world conference of educators. For ten days the delegates of sixty nations—Orientals, Europeans, British, Americans—met together under massed national flags to discuss their common problems and above all, to further world friendship. The conference was sponsored by the National Education Association, in session at the same time in Oakland, and was the fulfilled plan of the N. E. A's. committee on Foreign Relations established some years ago. Dr. Augustus O. Thomas, president of the Conference, was the chairman of the committee, which decided the very best thing it could do for international relations was to call a world conference.

The gathering that resulted was made up of distinguished representatives of educational associations in all parts of the world—in very many cases the heads of these organizations; leaders whose opinions carried weight. They brought together in one peaceful group the suggestion of all sorts of hostilities—Chinese and Japanese, ardent Indian Nationalists and Englishmen; Germans and some of Germany's late enemies, though, for some unexplained reason, not France. And the outcome was a new force in the movement for world peace.

"The world is one," said Dr. William B. Owen, president of the National Education Association. "Science, invention, industry, commerce, communication, transportation contemplate and act on this view. Government, imperialism, diplomacy, militarism have all tried to unify and hold subject the life of the world . . . The one outstanding possibility that has never been given a trial is education. Why not try it?"

To Unite Five Million Teachers

As a result of this first trial, at any rate, there was established a World Federation of Educational Associations of which the National Education Association is the first member, and whose purpose is to unite the world's five million school teachers. It is to meet biennially, with intermediate annual sectional sessions to be held in America, in Europe and in Asia.

All the important resolutions passed by the Conference had the same world sweep. In each case a committee was appointed to get straight at work to forward the resolution, so that the report at the next meeting should have the fullest values. There is room here only for a list of the most significant action:

The appointment of an International Good-will Day, to be observed annually throughout the world on May 18.

The establishment of a world university, with students and faculty from all countries. There was even preliminary discussion of the best location.

International exchange of textbooks.

Attempts to prevent international misunderstanding and misrepresentation by controlling and correcting motion-picture films distributed throughout the world.

A world program in civics and ethics to show the common interests and interdependence of mankind, and to promote actual concord by actual contact between children of different nations through the medium of activities in which children participate. It was agreed that this training should not be a separate subject in the child's study, but a phase of all subjects, constantly emphasized from kindergarten through college.

A universal library service to supply books, pamphlets, and magazines within the scope of the conference.

A petition to the governments of various nations to frank all letters addressed to educational departments by representative educators of other nations.

A general appeal to the governments of the world to appropriate reasonable sums for graduate students of education desiring to study in foreign countries.

Supervised correspondence between the children of the world.

The formation of a world child hygiene program.

Declaration of a world war on illiteracy, to be won by 1935. Miss Cora Wilson Stewart, the lady of the moonlight schools, who is chairman of the N. E. A's. Illiteracy Commission, is considered by many the logical chairman or secretary of the new World Commission.

As for the part women played in this first conference of a profession in which women figure so prominently, it must be admitted that to a degree fairly astonishing, the mass of them remained in the background, exercising influence by persuasion instead of leadership, somewhat after the manner so strongly recommended in pre-suffrage days. What was the reason for this phenomenon would be hard to say. Perhaps it was the presence of delegates from many countries where women play a suppressed role. For instance, the delegate from Honduras said: "We endeavor to forestall the mothers deserting the home for commercial and industrial pursuits." Perhaps, with such sentiment fairly prevalent among the delegates, it is no wonder that the women reverted to the old ways of diplomacy.

Though women outnumbered men attending both the World Conference and the National Education Association which had called it, they were not conspicuous in number on the programs of important evening and morning sessions. Out of sixty speakers at such meetings, eleven were women. According to the male leaders in the National Education Association administration, women do not make good platform speakers, but not all of the men shine in that capacity, and no one of them exceeded in ability, speaking voice, and personality Olive M. Jones, who was elected National Education Association President.

Women to the Top

Inevitably, of course, able women educational leaders emerged from the ranks, and when it came to clear thinking and cogent phrasing in arguments in the Conference groups, to keeping clearly in mind the main objective of the meeting—international good-will and understanding—the women, it is not unfair to claim, were pre-eminent.

Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, Secretary of the American School Citizenship League; the Princess Borghese of Rome, representing the Italian Government Department of Education; Señora Elena Landazuri, Secretary of Public Education in Mexico; Señora Adelia Polacio, also representing the Mexican Government; Miss Hansa Mehta, daughter of the Prime Minister of Baroda, India; Mrs. Mary Morgan of the United States Bureau of Education; Miss Sally Lucas Jean, Director of the Health Education Division of the American Child Health Association; Miss Christina Stael von Holstein, holder of a Scandinavian Foundation Scholarship in America and representative of the Swedish Government at the Conference; Dr. A. L. Usura

(*Continued on page* 27)

Editorially Speaking

Warren G. Harding

ALL right-thinking Americans mourn the uncalculated loss of our President. He was a young man as yet, only fifty-eight, with a right to the enjoyment of many years ahead which were clearly cut off as a penalty of overwork. This was not by his own choice, but was due to the selfish carelessness of our citizens, who seemed to possess no comprehension that speech making with mind highly concentrated and lungs and heart highly taxed, especially out of doors, is an exceedingly fatiguing business. No rest was allowed him. Alternately exposed to merciless heat and to shivering cold, all kinds of ridiculous tasks were imposed upon him in order that the movie men might have something to feature; so he drove a reaper in the boiling sun of Kansas and an engine in Vancouver. Tired by the necessary duties, he must needs climb hills in a heart taxing altitude to take a look at somebody's copper mine. At all times and places he must shake hands with endless multitudes. No one acted as buffer between his generous nature and the people eager to look into the face of their President. He was a cheery, suave, friendly gentleman, and he did what the people wanted him to do.

Mrs. Harding in the campaign won the hearts of many when she said "We are just folks." The President liked "just folks" and "just folks" liked to think that one of themselves was at the head of their great nation; but these who loved, admired and adored him, drove him pitilessly beyond the limits of human endurance. The deplorable tragedy should teach all Americans a lesson in tolerance and understanding.

The press is analysing Mr. Harding's career to find his place in history, his rank in the list of presidents, his status as statesman, and few newspapers or men fail to find something good to say.

Women may take a slightly different viewpoint from that of the average man. Mr. Harding, as private citizen, was an exceptionally clean and high-minded character, the kind of man one trusts as neighbor and fellow townsman and that mothers like to point out as an example for their sons.

As the leader of the nation, he naturally did not satisfy every one. In so cosmopolitan a nation and in such a period of unrest bringing a daily grist of undeveloped problems, no man could. He was too conservative for the liberals and too liberal for the conservatives. He was too independent for the strict standpatter and nowhere near independent enough for the restless minority, urgent to march on to the millennium by short cuts. In after years our world will understand and appreciate better than it has done what his appeal to "get back to normalcy" meant in the midst of a turbulent after-war psychology. He was himself the embodiment of "normalcy" and as such inspired a world-around wholesome confidence not easily transferred. He has been called weak and vacillating, but in at least two instances he took genuinely heroic action.

Neither party mentioned prohibition in its platform, fearing the loss of voters whichever way they might speak: both evaded and avoided it. The enforcement of the law has become a serious and troublesome problem. Mr. Harding, had he been the weak character his critics allege, would have ignored the subject. Instead, he spoke out like a hero and a statesman on his recent tour and in definite terms declared for unconditional enforcement, no matter who might be the offenders. Only a great man would have done that.

During the Soldiers' Bonus campaign Mr. Harding patiently explained to the people that there was no money to pay the bonus were the bill passed. Nevertheless, a vast number of voters wanted the bonus, some for personal reasons, and some for principle. The House passed the bill. The Senate hesitated, knowing there was no money, but finally yielded and passed it on to Mr. Harding, who listened not at all to the siren call of many votes, but promptly vetoed it. The House passed the bill over his veto and the Senate barely failed to pass it again. Congress, therefore, yes, his own party, isolated the President and turned the spotlight upon him as the one responsible to be punished by disappointed bonus voters if they chose. Whatever opinion one may have as to the merits of the measure, its history makes clear that Mr. Harding was great and fearless when mind and conscience were fixed.

Women have much for which to be grateful to Mr. Harding. While as yet the Welfare Department he promised the women of the country in 1920 is not established, rumor was assuring that it would become a fact before his term of office expired. He has appointed many women to high positions. Mrs. Helen Gardener was reappointed as a non-partisan to the Civil Service Commission. Miss Lucile Atcherson was appointed to the diplomatic service. Mrs. Mabel Reinecke was made Collector of Internal Revenue at Chicago, the highest purely political position yet filled by a woman. He was sympathetic to the idea of a broader usefulness of women in the Republican party and never failed to let this fact be known. The choice of his women appointees has been wise and their fulfillment of duties has been highly creditable not only to Mr. Harding, but also to the woman movement.

It is extremely difficult for a president to lead forward along lines not laid down in his party platform, yet new situations continually arise and demand attention. Mr. Harding, in his proposal to enter the World Court, led far ahead of the international conservatives of his party and while he did not go so far as the international liberals of his party could have wished, it was clearly a middle road. It will be a disappointment to many millions of citizens if his successor does not follow his lead in this particular.

Possibly the Conference for the Limitation of Armaments will pass into history as the most outstanding achievement of his administration. The Conference was not a particularly heroic action, but it was unique, and the government proposals were regarded as bold. While the results in the midst of a period of turmoil seem of minor moment, it was progressively helpful and highly creditable to Mr. Harding's administration.

On the whole, Republicans in particular and the entire country in general will find little in Mr. Harding's administration to regret, but in its untimely end much to deplore. The nation sincerely mourns his loss.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

Ready for Primary Day?

PRIMARY DAY—already past for some—is coming fast for all. *All*—that's the watchword: at least all in states where primaries exist. The *Citizen* would like to be sure that every single one of its readers has already made a note to get her name on the registration and enrolment lists so that she (and he) can vote at the primaries; that every one has already made up her mind that nothing shall keep her from voting at the primaries—that, in short, "The 100 Per Cent. Voters" already includes all the *Citizen* audience.

If you are interested in getting a candidate on the primary ballot, you will already have got your petition under way

in accordance with the laws of your state. If you need information, ask your nearest League of Women Voters. After that, when the necessary signatures are secured, when the petitions are filed, comes the campaigning—house-to-house visiting, posters, newspaper publicity, meetings. But that may not be possible for all of us. Going to the primaries—well-informed, ready to choose—that *is* possible. And no woman who neglects it, who fails to vote, for any but an imperative reason, is really keen about being a *citizen*.

No Color Line for France

IT is a satisfaction to see that France is getting stern about the infliction upon it of the American color prejudice. Added to the incidents recorded of colored men thrust out of restaurants, because of visiting Americans' protests, is that of the American tourists in a sightseeing car who protested the presence of colored cadets from a military school, under training to defend their country, and visiting Paris as official guests. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a note which reads: "Foreign tourists, forgetting they are our guests and therefore bound to respect our customs and laws, recently on several occasions have forcibly manifested their aversion to seeing colored men born in the French colonies sit by their side in public places. They even have gone to the length of demanding their expulsion in insulting terms. If such incidents are repeated punishment will be exacted."

It should be exacted. And a little punishment from home would be a wholesome addition. Such people do their own country grave harm.

The Causes of War

THERE was some plain and blunt talk the other day at the Institute of Politics in Williamstown, Massachusetts. This Institute is held under extremely conservative supervision. It is therefore all the more significant that such things should have been said there. The question under discussion was the prevention of war.

William S. Culbertson, former Chief of Staff of our Army, and a member of our peace commission at Versailles, said:

"It is the business men of a few nations that will decide most future questions of peace or war. Can they decide them in a business way? Can they not establish a working rule that will guarantee a fair distribution of the natural products of the world—that will assure their supply of coal, iron, oil, copper, or what not in the markets of the world, without the constant apprehension of political interference? If they can, they will do more than anything else to check war for the indefinite future."

"The business men," in this connection, undoubtedly means the comparatively small number of men who control the "big business" of each nation. The suggestion that they might prevent war by establishing a "working rule" for a fair distribution of raw materials is highly interesting, as every suggestion for doing away with war must be, and especially so to women. But is it likely that they could come to an agreement, while the present spirit of greed and grab in business prevails? Take oil, for instance: is there much likelihood that the great oil companies of the different nations—companies which are in sharp rivalry—could make a mutually satisfactory arrangement as to the distribution of the world's oil supply, and resist the temptation to call in the armies and navies of their respective governments to help them seize the lion's share? And, if they did make such an arrangement, would it be likely to be one satisfactory to the weak countries that now possess (unfortunately for them) most of the undeveloped oil supply?

It is a pity to throw cold water upon any plan for preventing war; but the outlook for this one is not bright, unless the women, or the church, or the scientists, or some other factor, can instill a new spirit into business.

Meanwhile it is interesting to have the Vice Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission say bluntly:

"In our modern world we must recognize that war follows inevitably upon causes arising out of the processes of production, trading and financing. Personal and political factors necessarily are added to and at times obscure the economic causes of rivalry between nations, and not infrequently the economic causes of war are entirely lost sight of at the time of the crisis."

They are lost sight of, naturally, because when a war is on, anybody who asserts that it is not prompted by the loftiest moral motives, but is at bottom a trade squabble, is likely to be sent to prison. But women should take good note of these frank admissions, made in time of peace upon high authority, and should ponder these things carefully in their hearts.—A. S. B.

Prizes!

FOR some time the *Woman Citizen* has been stressing an ambition for "100% Voters," to include every *Citizen* reader. We admit it is hitching one's wagon to a star, but maybe that's a good way, in the long run, to reach the star. Meantime the National League of Women Voters, with sound practical conservatism, mindful of human nature and what they've learned about it, have set as an actual goal for 1924 a seventy-five per cent. vote. Seventy-five *at least*.

And now here comes along the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, discreetly not saying what it expects, but offering prizes of $100 through the *Woman Citizen*, for the best method to *Get Out the Vote*. The Commission believes that it and the *Citizen* can render no better service than to stimulate women to change a situation in which only about forty per cent. of the voters vote, as was the case at the last election.

The contest is open to either individuals or organizations, and the conditions are:

The papers must not be more than 800 words in length.

They must be received by midnight, October 15.

No name or identification mark may appear on the manuscript. Send name and address in a plain sealed envelope pinned or clipped to the manuscript.

Please typewrite your manuscript.

For the best paper a prize of $60 will be paid; for the second, $25; for the third, $15.

We shall ask the following women to serve as judges: Mrs. Maud Wood Park, President of the National League of Women Voters; Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Vice-Chairman Republican National Executive Committee; Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, Vice-Chairman Democratic National Committee.

The *Citizen* reserves the right to publish other papers submitted, on the payment of $1.00 each.

Postscript

A friend has called my attention to a sentence in my article on the World Court in the last number which is capable of misinterpretation. The sentence is this: "The Court is a machinery provided for the compulsory arbitration of members." Yes, it is misleading. It sounds as if all members were compelled to submit their arbitration of difficulties to this Court. There are other ways provided in the League Covenant for settling disputes, but arbitration is the most popular one. League members signing the Covenant agree to settle their difficulties by one of the methods and are thus compelled by all moral considerations to do so. The World Court was set up as a piece of the necessary machinery and was intended to be so high class in all respects as eventually to take the place of all other means. While members of the League are not compelled to arbitrate in this particular Court, they are obligated to arbitrate somewhere if they are unable to settle their disputes in other ways, and the original aim was to make the World Court the Court of last resort.—C. C. C.

What the American Woman Thinks

The Married Alien Woman

By GRACE RAYMOND HEBARD

Professor of Political Economy and Sociology, University of Wyoming

INTEREST in separate naturalization seems to have reached its peak when the federal law granting independent citizenship to women became operative last September. Laws are good or bad, effective or ineffective, obeyed or disobeyed, in direct ratio to public opinion. The theory of justice through an enactment requiring married alien women to qualify for citizenship through the same channels as those used by alien men is right; but theory and fact do not seem to be functioning satisfactorily in localities where the new law is most needed. However, one must not expect that the operation of a mandate so far reaching could in a short time fulfill all requirements.

There are three angles to this problem of alien woman citizenship—first, the native intelligent women are getting back their citizenship, which was lost by foreign marriage; second, the combination of native and foreign born who are marrying are pretty generally acquiring citizenship; and third—here the difficulty appears to arise—the foreign women of foreign marriage are being isolated more than ever before, pushed into the background.

The problem of the married alien woman is not new. As a matter of fact, for the past fifteen years it has been constant and serious. The previous practice of naturalizing a woman automatically, through her husband's naturalization, with no preparation of training, was wrong. Her present status, with no citizenship, through indifference or lack of understanding of her need, is quite as much an error.

Where does the responsibility for alien woman citizenship rest? Certainly not with the politician, not with the naturalization courts. It is with the woman citizen who sees the advantages of citizenship through our last constitutional amendment. It is to her we must appeal for help in passing on ideals and ideas of citizenship qualifications.

Formerly, there has been admitted to citizenship a class that was not fitted for the responsibility, women as well as men—a class that had the Central European economic ideas and standards of the peasant family. Children were kept out of school to go into the sugar-beet fields or other industries: if school interfered with this work, slight the school and favor the industry. All children over eight years of age, and too often even younger, were considered an economic factor in the family life. Sex inequality was accepted without challenge, and the wife's intellectual inferiority taken for granted.

The line of cleavage resulting through the law of separate naturalization has had a tendency to aggravate this attitude of the foreign man toward his foreign wife, who often believes she cannot learn, that schools are not for her. This point of view can be broken down by the native-born woman citizen, through the education of her foreign-born sister.

The woman public school teacher has done more to help destroy this idea of women's inferiority than any other factor—more than all of the others combined, for she is responsible for the new mental attitude which the foreign man takes toward the women of his family. Once a foreigner goes to a night school taught and controlled by a woman who

knows more than he does, who is more looked up to than he is, who makes him obey her, who has power and ability to make others uphold the law—down goes the bar of sex inequality, and with this mental change his wife is elevated to a new position. He begins to see that the wife must know something herself if she is to bring up his children properly. The speediest way to carry out his newly conceived idea is to place the wife under the same instruction and education that he himself has been receiving.

Thus, the woman teacher of the night schools is removing the conception of the European that women cannot learn, and is quietly, often unconsciously, creating the idea that women have brains and can be educated. As a result of this, men are taking their wives to school and they often end by learning from them, because more often than otherwise, the wives prove to be the more alert and learn more easily. It is not infrequent that when man and wife go to court together for separate citizenship the man asks the court to put the question which he cannot answer to his wife, "She learns me," is not an uncommon explanation.

But this work of Americanization teaching is not receiving by any means all the help it should have. It is the task of the American-born woman, in clubs or other groups, to forward this work, of which the advantages are already clear—in a new relation between the foreign-born man and woman, and in the woman's relation to her children. The native woman citizen can solve the foreign woman citizen's problem.

Get Ready For 1924

By EMILY NEWELL BLAIR

Vice-Chairman Democratic National Committee

ABOUT May first, 1924, or later, a great deal will appear in the newspapers about the part women are to take in the national Democratic and Republican conventions. All over the country will arise women suffragists indignant that their states will not have as many women delegates to these conventions as there will be men. A few of the more articulate of these suffragists will take their pen in hand to protest that the political parties are not giving women a square deal, that they don't want women there, don't consult them, and that women don't count very much in politics anyway, ending perhaps with a suggestion that women will just have to organize a party all their own.

Except that they will be too busy working for their own political choice for their party's nominee to make any answer, the retort illuminative which the men who have been elected delegates to the national conventions would make would run something like this: "Nobody asked me if I wanted to go to this convention. Away back in October, 1923, I decided that I was going. Accordingly I got busy and made it known among my friends that I 'was willing.' Being 'willin' ' however was not enough. From that day to the day of the state convention my friends and I were on the job. It took a lot of writing and talking and organizing and trading to land this delegateship for me."

Two points to be remembered by women who would like to go to the national conventions are: First, that no one is handing around delegateships as gifts and, second, that a candidate for one should begin her campaign early. True, the state conventions which select the delegates are not held until March or April, but the county conventions

which select delegates to the state conventions are held weeks before that and the local primaries where delegates to the county conventions are chosen are held weeks before that. Therefore, if a woman expects to be elected as a delegate to the National Convention, it would be wise for her to have among the delegates to the state convention some true and tried friends, not only to nominate her but to work for her. If she wants friends sent to the state convention it would be wise to have among the delegates to the county convention some friends, and in order to have her friends elected delegates to the county convention she must have her friends in large numbers at the precinct primaries. To interest these friends she should begin her letter writing before the new year and the longer before, the better.

As there are only a limited number of delegates from each state and many men eager to be named, the competition is severe. The result is that long before the state conventions meet the less popular people have been eliminated and a few candidates have combined their strength. "The word has gone around" that they are the most desirable and their election, except in the case of a division of opinion among chiefs, is assured. What chance has any new candidate—man or woman—after the convention convenes, to "break the slate," and why indeed should they? These men have cared enough to plan and yes, perhaps, to plot to get elected.

If a woman really wants to be a delegate she should be willing to plan and to plot too, to mobilize her friends before the convention, to get herself upon the "slate." Nor will the "cards be stacked" against her because she is a woman. Even the most "hard boiled" politicians bow to the inevitable, which is that some of these delegates must be women. But even if all the male politicians opposed women delegates—and they won't—there are as many women as men eligible to vote for delegates. The woman candidate can mobilize them.

This, of course, means work, and perhaps a woman would not care to work so for herself, but many women might join their efforts in order that another woman might be elected—a woman able to speak for them, a woman who could be depended upon to vote for the things they desire, who could not be bought or fooled.

By working for one woman delegate they might even open the door for many women delegates. In 1919, for instance, one woman announced her desire to be a delegate at large to the Democratic Convention of 1920. On her own typewriter she wrote her friends throughout the state of her ambition and these friends—each in her own community—started a little boom for her. So busy were these friends at their precinct meetings and county conventions that when the state convention was held her election was a foregone conclusion. No politician so much as dared oppose it. "The women want Mrs. T———" they said and that settled it, for almost one-half the delegates to the state convention were women. But one of these politicians decided that if there was going to be a woman delegate at large from a certain part of the state perhaps the people in his part of the state would like one of their women to go too, so he rushed to two men from other parts of the state and said: "We've got to send Mrs. T—— as delegate at large. The women expect it so we might as well send four women and four men with one-half a vote each. Then we can each choose a woman from our section." And this was done. Mrs. T——'s early start on her campaign resulted not only in her going but in three other women being chosen with her.

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In 1924 there will be as many women delegates in the National Convention as the women want to send, provided only the women candidates or their friends begin their campaigns in the precincts and *begin them early*.

A Father's Opinion

And you want my candid opinion of that movie?

Well, then, here it is!

First, I call that play immoral.

Throughout the entire action of the play a young girl is allowed to flout her betters—without rebuke and without restraint. Her maiden aunts are held up to ridicule, for no greater crime than that of having devoted themselves to the care of their orphaned niece.

The Church and religious form are made the laughing-stock of the audience, again at the hands of this same young girl.

Second, I call such a play, one that appeals to nothing higher than a sense of the ridiculous—and to that only by making light of some of our most sacred institutions—such a play I call an insult to my intelligence.

To be sure, I took my young daughter there without inquiring beforehand. But ought that to be necessary?

As a father and as a church member, even though a poor one, I claim that I have a grievance — —

What do you say?

H. C.

Taking Turns

By Dorothy C. Remington

Here is still another point of view on housework—one in opposition to the theory of the eight-hour day, with the helper living outside the home. The writer gives her own personal solution.

THOUGH right in theory, to me it seems impractical for the household helper in the home where there are children and only one employee, to live outside. It means that the mother is still tied down evenings or cannot leave for a night.

We have solved the problem in this manner—whereby neither my helper nor I works more than between eight and nine hours a day and each of us has freedom to get out daily. My helper has Thursday and Sunday afternoon and evening off, when I am free to go out in the morning. Otherwise I have the option; but if I am out in the evening, she has the afternoon off and vice versa.

Occasionally I take a vacation of four or five days, which means that she is meantime completely tied down; but either before I go or upon my return she will also have one of equal length, while I carry the load.

As I see it, the objection girls have to housework is not so much the wages and living conditions, but the social ostracism and the servility such work often implies. Personally I wouldn't respect a girl who willingly submitted to it.

So long as many women take it for granted that they are privileged to receive personal service without rendering to society other valuable work, just so long will there be a "servant problem." When we reach the stage in democracy where we realize that the only justification for our receiving such service is that we are also giving, we will also have reached the stage where we who employ will no longer tolerate social ostracism of such household help.

Thus a household employee who makes your home her home should have the freedom to entertain her friends therein, to give a party occasionally if she likes. When you have guests she should not be ignored but introduced, and not by her first name alone.

She should be given as much responsibility as possible in running her department, results, not methods, being demanded. Occasionally she may be told what to do, but not how, unless she herself requests suggestions. To my mind many women insult their helper's intelligence and cause her to lose interest by their constant supervision.

Surely a new conception of domestic service is necessary, but it must come in the home itself, I believe.

The Woman Voter

(This four-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.)

Edited by RUTH KIMBALL GARDINER *for*
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The Executive Committee Meeting

THE by-laws of the National League of Women Voters provide for an executive committee composed of the president and four members of the board, which translated into terms of persons means, this year, Mrs. Park, Miss Sherwin, Miss Morgan, Miss Ludington, and Miss Hauser. The first meeting of the executive committee, since Des Moines, was held at Miss Ludington's home in Lyme, Connecticut, July 1, 2, and 3. Besides the above named, there were present, Mrs. Cunningham, our executive secretary, and Miss Griffith, assistant treasurer—without whom no meeting of the committee or of the board is one hundred per cent. effective—Miss Gertrude Ely and Miss Marguerite Wells, directors respectively of the second and fifth regions, and Mrs. Rittenhouse, representing her chief, Mrs. Hibbard, director of the fourth region. Because there were seven members of the board present, we sat twice as a board, once to approve the minutes of the final session of the post-convention board meeting, held in Des Moines; once to consider the invitations for the 1924 convention.

Miss Ludington's house was home to us all for the entire three days and there is just one adjective to describe her hospitality and that is—perfect. If you can conjure up a picture of a kind of circular house, three stories high, with two or three spacious verandas, shaded by magnificent elms and two huge horse-chestnuts, with so much lawn and parking (maybe they call it by some other name in Connecticut) that it gives one the feeling of absolute seclusion, then you have the setting for our meeting place. Next door is a church, a beautiful white frame structure, built on the model of an earlier one which was destroyed by fire some years ago. The spire of that church by moonlight is something not to be forgotten. And one of Miss Ludington's two gardens constitutes one side of the churchyard. Those gardens—which the secretary arose betimes on Sunday morning to see, knowing full well that after the committee sessions began there would be no chance to look outdoors by daylight—those gardens would have to be dealt with as a separate theme to do them justice. But not to mention them at all, just because this is a story about business, would be a shame.

It used to be the custom of the board, and of the executive committee, to hold three sessions daily. Two sessions is now supposed to be the rule, experience having taught us that there is reason a-plenty to justify the eight-hour day. So the agenda provided for two sessions daily of from three and a half to four hours each. We compromised by adding one evening session which closed at 10:45, and by devoting two of our luncheons (one hour each) strictly to the consideration of business. If Miss Ludington had not carried us off by motor for our evening meals our two-sessions-a-day standard would have suffered still further.

These details are a bit personal, but there's such a thing as being too impersonal in the conduct of a big job and sometimes we (speaking editorially now, not for the committee) have thought the National League capable of erring in that direction.

One more personal observation, and then straight business to the end of the piece. Miss Ludington looked a little tired. She disclaimed any feeling of fatigue but we know the remedy for that tired look. It is to speed up on the finance campaign and report results early and often. The treasurer and her small staff have worked heroically—that is not an exaggeration—and they deserve much more active co-operation than they have had from most of us. The budget of $126,500, voted at Des Moines, will be raised, but if the precedent of the past three years holds good, most of the money will come late in the League's year, which runs from convention to convention. That means creating a situation for the treasurer's department which can be met only by drawing on the credit of the members of the board, for pay-rolls have to be met.

All of the League officers are volunteer workers and four or five of them give full time; all of them give a great deal of time and there is not one who does not constantly advance money for the expenses of her department. The secretary probably advances the least of any board member, because she is the most limited in financial resources. It is because this is true that she dares indulge in this plain statement of fact. And poor as she is, she sent a contribution to the treasurer's office shortly after her return from Lyme. If everyone who reads this would do likewise it would go a long way toward changing the summer of our discontent to a more tranquil season. Will *you* do it?

Miss Katherine Ludington, 343 East 50th Street, New York City, is the address.

Publicity

The Des Moines convention created a great demand for magazine stories, most of which Mrs. Gardiner has been able to supply. The press department has made special arrangements for a report in these pages of the Columbia Institute of Politics. Not even the famous Pan American convention in Baltimore was as widely reported in the newspapers as was Des Moines. A proposal from the Committee on Education to interest foreign-born women in our program, through the medium of the Foreign Language Information Service, was cordially endorsed.

Publication

Miss Sherwin and Miss Hauser are the Publications Committee this year. Since Des Moines the committee has issued the *Plan of Work and Program*, which book was in the mails a week after the Des Moines convention closed; the *Year Book*, the president's annual address, Judge Allen's address on the *Outlawry of War*, *Seven Steep Steps*, an invitation to join the efficient citizen campaign; revised and printed new editions of *What It Is? Why Join*, and the *Principles and Policy*, to which has been added a page on history, making it *History, Principles and Policy* of the National League of Women Voters. Number 1, 2, 3, and 4 of the organization series have been reprinted and leaflet No. 6 has been added to the series. This does not include de-

partment and committee publications, of which there was time for the briefest mention only. Orders for publications in excess of fifty copies each should be sent to Miss Sherwin's office, 811 Superior Avenue, N. E., Cleveland, Ohio; orders for less than fifty copies, to the Washington headquarters, 532-17th Street, N. W. The Publications Committee is conserving its budget in order to get out some additional material in the autumn.

Finance

To date, nineteen states are participating in the campaign, and one, Rhode Island, has completed its quota, while Kansas reports all of its money pledged. Three states which did not pledge their maximum dues at the convention have since done so—Delaware, New Hampshire, and Vermont. More than $30,000 in "new money" must be secured to bring the pledges up to the budget adopted by the convention. The solution of the finance problem is personal solicitation. Money can be had for the League if the members will ask for it.

Organization

So Mrs. Park was given the supervision of this department. She will be adviser to the organization secretary, which position was accepted by Miss Marguerite Owen, of Minneapolis. The organization secretary will co-ordinate the work of the regional secretaries who are to be the organizing officers, together with the regional directors. Standards as to salaries, duties and tests, measured by results, are being worked out by subcommittees. The Speakers' Bureau will be in charge of the organization secretary. There were some thrilling items in the reports from the various regions and overwhelming evidence that the directors recognize organization as the thing. Everything else is dependent upon that.

International Co-operation

This occupied three full sessions and to report adequately would require all of the space in the *Woman Voter* for several consecutive issues. Also, to tell now all that happened would be to prevent the carrying out of some of our most cherished plans. The following resolution, already widely noticed in the press, and sent to President Harding by Miss Morgan's department, was adopted:

"Whereas the urgent need of the entrance of the United States into the Permanent Court of International Justice is becoming increasingly evident, and the terms upon which such entrance can be affected is the most important question before the country today, the Executive Committee of the National League of Women Voters in session at Lyme, Connecticut, reaffirms the resolution passed at the annual League Convention in April, 1923, in favor of our adherence to the Court upon the terms originally proposed to the Senate by the President and the Secretary of State.

"In this connection the Executive Committee in behalf of the National League of Women Voters ventures to stress the importance of a foreign policy other than a negative one and calls attention to the fact that since the Constitution requires a two-thirds vote of the United States Senate for foreign commitments —and that in practice means agreement of members of both political parties—non-partisan action becomes an essential obligation in the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States. The Committee further urges the members of the Senate to have due regard for the growing demand of men and women throughout the nation, that war be outlawed and law be substituted as a means of settling international disputes."

Miss Morgan's office is in Room 1010 Grand Central Terminal Building, New York, and she has as her secretary Miss Josephine Schain, who is pleasantly remembered by several of our board members who were associated with her in suffrage-campaign days. The department is overwhelmed with requests for speakers.

Mrs. Park reported on the International Alliance meeting at which the United States was represented by thirty women, twelve of them being the regular League delegates. She paid warm tribute to Mrs. Catt and said that her closing speech, though very informal, was one of the greatest and certainly the most moving she had ever heard.

Mrs. Park's authorized statement on the commission of inquiry created by vote of the Des Moines Convention follows:

"You can find in Europe confirmation of any theory you may take over with you—provided you see everything through lenses of your preconceived idea. The theory I took over with me was that women had something special to say to the women of the United States, and that I might learn facts from them. At the suffrage congress in Rome we talked with women members of the Finnish Diet, the German Reichstag, and the Bavarian Parliament. We talked, too, with the only woman member of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. I attended sessions of three parliaments in which women sit—the English, the Hungarian, and the Austrian. With Mrs. Ann Webster we took Austria, Hungary, and the Croatian division of Jugo-Slavia for our field, the rest of the committee choosing other countries. If the beliefs we have brought back are one-sided, it is because they are woman-sided. They are based on talks with many women. Women in politics, in professions, in trades, in social work and women in their homes. We talked with working women, and women of the so-called upper classes.

"We believe, on the basis of the facts we learned—and we made every effort to obtain confirmation of all we were told—that there is real danger of wars unless there can be co-operation not merely between this country and European countries, but among the countries of Europe. Until each country can come to an understanding with her neighbor there cannot be permanent peace. I believe the fate of Europe depends on the wisdom of America and I urge all American women to work with all American men on the problem of how best the menace of war can be averted."

Reports from the members of the commission, other than Mrs. Park and Mrs. Webster, had not been received, since Mrs. Park came direct to Lyme from the steamer, *Presidente Wilson*. (You should hear her tell the thrilling tale of her ship's dash to make port before a minute after midnight June 30-July 1, in order to make sure that none of the immigrant passengers would have to be deported. No, she did not take time to tell about it "in meeting." She told us while we ate our Sunday night supper.)

Miscellaneous

The committee voted to join New York's petition to Columbia University to open its law school to women; accepted an outline of activity proposed by the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission for extending information about the League and its program through colleges and libraries; appointed Mrs. Cheatham, Miss Wells, and Mrs. Cunningham a committee to revise the by-laws and report at the board meeting in October; accepted and referred to Miss Sherwin's office for execution a plan submitted by the New York State League for a five-foot shelf of books; the committee concurred with Mrs. Park in her decision to remain in the Washington office this fall and winter except when, in her judgment, it is necessary for her to leave to speak to other national organizations in the interest of the efficient citizen campaign; a handsome chart, descriptive of the League, tendered as a gift from the National Cash Register Company, of Dayton, Ohio, was accepted with enthusiasm. A large number of copies will be available for distribution; the request of the Hawaiian League to become an affiliated member of the National League was presented and a cordial welcome was voted to Hawaii.

It was voted to continue membership in the National Council of Women and to appoint a committee of five from the League to co-operate in arrangements for the quinquennial meeting to be held in the United States in 1925.

Headquarters for state and local Leagues were urged as a means of aiding organization and as a source of revenue. One member recalled hearing a delegate to her own state convention say, "It doesn't make any difference what the

State League assesses us, we can pay it since we have our headquarters."

It was voted to accept the invitation of New York State and Erie County Leagues to hold the 1924 convention in Buffalo.

There was more, much more, all of it important, none of it dull, but if you had written all this in pencil on one of the hottest July afternoons you'd think enough had been said, now wouldn't you?—ELIZABETH J. HAUSER, Secretary.

Know Your Town

THE Department of Efficiency in Government reports that "*Know Your Town*" is one of the most successful of its publications. Not long ago, the Hawaiian League sent for a thousand copies of it for use in their precinct organizations in Honolulu. Following this order came one from Saginaw (Michigan). Miss Winnifred Smith tells how Saginaw plans to use the pamphlet:

"I became intensely interested in the outline presented by your little pamphlet, '*Know Your Town*'" she says, "and felt that any organization carrying it out would do a wonderful thing for Saginaw. We need a unifying influence, such as your outline presents, and these are the plans made to put it over:

"We have secured three leaders for each set of questions, who will be prepared to give definite information on the questions upon which they are specializing. I am going to secure a fourth, using three at a time, reserving one on the side-lines. We are organizing, right now, in each ward a group of ten or twelve women who will be willing to do intensive work, taking the ten sets of twenty questions in the first three weeks of October, under the guidance of our selected leaders, who will pass from group to group as each one's special topic comes in turn for discussion.

"In following these methods we have a three-fold purpose. We hope out of each group to find a few who will be willing to serve as leaders to small neighborhood groups who can be induced to take up the work in a more leisurely manner, later. Then we shall get the psychological effect of a number of women, from all parts of the town, doing the same thing at the same time, and we shall have obtained definite results with that number of women, if no more.

"I am sure, however, we shall have through the winter many small groups at work. If it is a little strenuous right now for a few of us, still it is necessary for the leaders to get their research done this summer, and the group members can give up other outside work to concentrate on these discussions in October. We are meeting with great success in organization work. The response has really been wonderful, many wards forming more than the one group of twelve asked for. The outline appeals to many as a definite, concrete piece of work that will produce tangible results, and that is its appeal to me."

Living Costs Report

(*Continued from the Woman Voter*, July 28)

IN New York, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, the chairman, cooperated with the State Department of Agriculture and the Market Growers' Association to prevent market abuses and "to increase the appropriation which will provide for co-operative organizers who will go through the state safeguarding against bogus co-operative schemes, and giving aid and instruction in instituting legitimate co-operative enterprises." In New York the Committee on Living Costs is working for a port and harbor authority which will provide proper terminal ports and harbor market facilities.

Federal Activities

The committee also advocates for study, "spreading knowledge of the results of governmental investigations of the coal and food industries." A year ago the Living Costs Committee, among other measures, endorsed legislation calling for a governmental investigation of the coal industry. Thereafter, on September 22, 1922, Congress passed a law which established the United States Coal Commission. Shortly before adjournment, on March 4, 1923, amendments to the law which greatly strengthened it were enacted by Congress.

Under these amendments witnesses will be permitted to submit replies to questionnaires, without appearing in person, and more drastic punishment is provided for those who refuse to give the information required by the commission or who testify falsely. Authority is given under which Judge Alschuler, of the Federal Court in Illinois, may continue to serve upon the commission, but without additional remuneration other than the necessary expenses of traveling and maintenance. The date of expiration of the commission has been extended from September 1923 to March 1924, and a further appropriation of $400,000 has been granted. The extension of time and the enlarged appropriation were necessary to enable the commission to complete its work. The president of the commission is quoted as having said that "the recommendations to be made will fully justify any expenditure."

The Coal Commission has issued one report. A second report is expected during the summer. According to law, the final report of the United States Coal Commission must give recommendations for remedial congressional legislation. The Living Costs Committee will await these recommendations with great interest, and will hold itself in readiness to recommend the support of legislation that seems worthy.

State Activities

Massachusetts: In Massachusetts, the Living Costs Committee of the Boston League recently sponsored a bill providing for the licensing of dealers in coal and coke. The bill failed of passage, but the interest aroused probably secured support for an administration bill which did pass, providing severe punishment for the selling of poor coal and short-weight quantities.

Michigan: The Detroit League circulated resolutions appealing to both the federal and state governments "to take steps to lower the price of coal."

New Jersey: The New Jersey committee of the League also has been interested in coal legislation. It conducts a forum on the subject and secured an additional allotment of coal supplies.

Illinois: In Illinois the luncheon meeting of the Living Costs Committee at the state convention was given over to the discussion of the coal problem.

The packers, like the poor, are always with us. The Packers and Stockyard Law has been in operation since August 15, 1921. We may now ask what it has accomplished.

Both the secretary and the chief of the Packers and Stockyards Division report that those subject to the jurisdiction of the secretary have shown a disposition to co-operate in the enforcement of the Act, and that many practices have been corrected without formal proceedings. One such practice involving one of the packers is mentioned, namely, selling butter in fifteen-ounce cartons, a misleading practice since the consumer was led to believe he was buying a full pound package. Another informal conference involved livestock commission men who were induced to correct such practices as filling their own orders out of consignments to themselves.

Of course, the League of Women Voters, from the consumer's point of view, welcomes the inauguration, either through formal or informal action, of practices which assure producers a fair market. However, consumers are measurably disappointed to find practically no mention of efforts to solve the disturbing conditions which resulted in the enactment of the Packers and Stockyards Law.

It is reported that this law has resulted in an increase in the number of independent packers, and in the volume of their business: also that the business of the independents in the main is more efficiently operated than that of the big

packers. On the other hand, facts brought before Congress indicate that in the past twenty years the big packers have absorbed about seventy-five of the competitors, thereby reducing competition and promoting the tendency to monopoly.

Judging from past history, far-reaching mergers not infrequently result in less efficiency and economy, yet the public was recently informed that Armour and Company has submitted to the Secretary of Agriculture plans for the acquisition by Armour and Company of the physical assets of Morris and Company. This deal, involving approximately $30,000,000, reduces from five to four the number of the big packing companies which already largely control the food supply of the nation. The Secretary of Agriculture was advised by the Attorney General that the Packer and Stockyards Act does not require the Secretary of Agriculture to pass on such transactions in advance of their consummation. The Secretary of Agriculture, nevertheless, finally protested against the consolidation, in spite of which that merger has, within the last few weeks, gone through as planned, and the courts will now be called upon to decide whether such a consolidation is legal.

One reason assigned for the merger is that it will make for greater efficiency and economy. The Federal Trade Commission, however, in its report on the Meat Packing Industry, challenged the efficiency of the packers and supported its contention by undisputed figures. It published data showing that the independent packers were making a higher rate of return on their investment without charging the public more than the five leading packers for service per dollar of sales.

Prior to the passage of the Packers and Stockyards Act it would have been the duty of the Federal Trade Commission to investigate the proposed merger, but, by the terms of that Act, the Federal Trade Commission was unnecessarily removed from further jurisdiction over the packers except when requested by the Secretary of Agriculture to investigate and report. It is possible, therefore, that, in the absence of an amendment to that Act, any attempt by either house of Congress to obtain a report from the Federal Trade Commission on packer activities will ultimately be held unauthorized.

It is unfortunate that the one organization of the government which has thorough knowledge of the packing business through its prior investigations, which is fully equipped with experts and competent attorneys, and whose official responsibilities require it to see that business is conducted fairly and in the public interest, should at this time be debarred from appropriate activity.

A bill (S-4110) was introduced in the Senate of the Sixty-seventh Congress, to restore to the Federal Trade Commission its former jurisdiction, by amending the Packers and Stockyards Act. This bill was in line with principles the League of Women Voters endorses. It "died" at the adjournment of the Sixty-seventh Congress and must be reintroduced in the Sixty-eighth before it can become a law.

A serious question illustrated by the proposed packer merger and presented to the public at the present time by pending legislative measures is whether we should strive to keep alive the old competitive system or should permit that system to give way to the control of production and distribution by trusts, more or less regulated by the government. It is to be remembered that monopoly stifles individual initiative, modifies the formerly accepted theories of supply and demand, dictates prices, and is always directed toward private profit.

There have been numerous attempts under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law to dissolve combinations which restrain trade. Efforts have also been made to regulate such combinations. However, under both experiments trusts flourish and in various ways competition continues to disappear. An American economist recently said: "Monopoly now prefers regulation. It is a guarantee against competition and government ownership."

Some foreign countries have established the practice of limiting the profiteering of exacting business combinations by entering into active competition with them until normal conditions are restored. One Premier of Queensland, Australia, has said: "It is the policy of the government to encourage private enterprise, but when private effort takes the form of monopoly the government steps in."

In this country repeated business mergers and their growing domination over the nation's supplies and distribution, are causing the question to be insistently asked, "What is to be the final policy of the American public in this field which so vitally affects living costs?"

(To be continued)

What League Women Are Doing

THE St. Louis League carried out an elaborate program on the July "Law—Not War" days. The municipal school playgrounds used their story hour for stories fitted to the occasion: at its Saturday evening performance the Municipal Theatre released balloons with the words "Law—Not War" on them; speakers were provided for the parks, which had band concerts on Sunday evening; ministers were asked to co-operate by including peace messages in their regular Sunday services; cinema theatres used slides bearing peace messages and the League distributed 5,000 window posters and 1,000 motor car envelopes bearing the slogan of the two days. Mrs. Laura S. Edwards was chairman of the committee which arranged the observance of July 28 and 29.

THE members of the Women's Union of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing in Washington have sent to Mrs. Maud Wood Park a beautifully engrossed copy of the resolutions in which they have expressed their gratitude to the National League for its support of the Re-Classification Law and their appreciation of the League's help in securing equal pay for equal work regardless of sex.

MISS ADELE CLARK, president of the Virginia League, was one of the most eagerly listened to speakers at the summer school of the University of Louisiana, where "Citizenship" was her subject. A public meeting also, in Baton Rouge, listened to her, and afterward she addressed the New Orleans League in its home city.

THE school of citizenship which was so pleasing a feature of the summer school program of the University of Wisconsin was the result of co-operation between the university and the state League. The sessions of the school were held in the beautiful Senate chamber of the Capitol in Madison, July 18-20.

THE United League of Rhode Island is already far advanced with arrangements for the state convention which is set for October 1-3. Mrs. George H. Crooker is chairman of the committee which has the work in charge.

THE Covington (Kentucky) League will begin its Get-Out-the-Vote campaign by installing members in the town market-house where they will give literature on the subject to every woman who comes to market either as saleswoman or as customer.

MRS. HARRY CHAMBERLIN, of whom everybody who attended the Des Moines convention has such delightful memories, has found her duties as president of the Georgia League increasing so rapidly that she has felt it necessary to resign the presidency of the Atlanta League. Mrs. Sanford Gay has been chosen by the executive board of the Atlanta League as her successor.

RUTHERFORD (North Carolina) women met last month at the new Iso-Thermal Hotel to form a county League. Several members of the League of Mecklenburg County (of Declaration of Independence fame) were in attendance, and Mrs. Albert McMahon, executive secretary of the North Carolina League, spoke.

World News About Women

Two More

TWO more associate members (this is the right title) of the Republican National Committee have been appointed. They are Mrs. George Orvis, representing Vermont, and Mrs. Joseph K. Bowen, Illinois. Mrs. Orvis is president of the village of Manchester, Vermont, and has been for three years. She owns the Equinox House and the Equinox Spring Company, both in Manchester. Mrs. Bowen needs no introduction to *Citizen* readers. She is president of the Woman's City Club of Chicago, of the Juvenile Protective Association, and is generally active in all Illinois civic movements.

This is as good a place as any to say that we made a slip in saying that these women are selected by the state chairmen. They are in fact chosen by the National Committeemen, each choosing a woman representing his own state. Her line of work is the same as that of the National committeeman; therefore he selects her, just as the state chairman, in most of the states, chooses the woman vice-chairman.

To Control Movies

AT the annual meeting of the International Child Welfare Association, held at Geneva, a resolution was adopted to protect children from undesirable moving pictures. This is to be accomplished through a central bureau for control of world moving pictures, with a clearing house of information from all countries concerning films, good or bad, for children.

The Working Women's Congress

THE second congress of the International Federation of Working Women will be held in Vienna, beginning August 14. Delegates from fifteen countries—the United States, Argentina, Chile, Sweden, Cuba, Denmark, Italy, Switzerland, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, and Norway—will sit in conference. Visiting delegates are expected from Japan, China and Germany. An interesting point is that this will be the first year for South American participation.

The program includes a report on women's work toward peace; a report on international labor legislation; discussions on the organization of women into trade unions, regulation of wages of home workers, means of interesting women to take a greater share in trade union activities, and payment of family allowances in addition to wages.

Mrs. Raymond Robins—whose picture appeared in the latest *Citizen*—is president of the International Federation of Working Women. She will carry to the women of Europe a message from the American working women urging that women all over the world unite to promote constructive methods of peace.

Busy Lady Astor

LADY ASTOR'S measure—which the *Citizen* has followed for some time—prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors to persons under eighteen, has finally become a law. Lady Astor has now taken up the battle for women police in London. In 1918-19 there were one hundred women serving in this capacity. Then the Geddes Committee investigated, thought it wanted to save money, and recommended their disbandment. The Home Secretary, however, decided to retain twenty, and gave these twenty authority to arrest—a most effective privilege denied when their numbers has been greater. Only recently in the House of Commons, Lady Astor gave a résumé of the work formerly done by policewomen in support of her plea for their reinstatement. In reply, the Home Secretary said that the force today consisted of two inspectors, three sergeants, and fifteen patrols, and gave economy as the only reason for such a limited number.

Business Women in Portland

THE National Convention of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, held in Portland, Oregon, has been reported a success. It was attended by about five hundred delegates and fifteen hundred visitors. Many subjects were discussed, among them a department of education with a secretary in the Cabinet, an increase of $500 in the amount of income of unmarried persons exempt from income-tax liability, and the minimum wage law. It was the latter, perhaps, which caused the most controversy. The final decision was a resolution that the Business and Professional Women's Clubs would sit in conference with the National Women's Trade Union League on the question.

Another resolution passed was for the Lena Lake Forrest scholarship fund in honor of Mrs. Lena Lake Forrest, three years' president of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women. She was succeeded by Miss Adelia Prichard, of Portland, Oregon, a past president of the State Federation of Business Women.

Imperial Education Conference

CALIFORNIA is not the only place where education has been discussed recently. In London the Imperial Education Conference, consisting of educational representatives from Great Britain, Ireland and all the Oversea Dominions, has taken place. But while California was visited by both men and women, London reports only one woman delegate among fifty-three men; a fact which caused searching comment in the House of Commons. The lady is from Jerusalem, and represents Palestine. Her name is Hilda Ridler, and she is the head of the Government Training College in Palestine, which came into existence in 1919 through her instigation.

A New Baby Clinic

THE Y. W. C. A. will shortly establish a daily baby clinic in Mexico City. Instruction will be given to mothers in the care and feeding of young children and food will be supplied for the babies when necessary.

A Lady Navigator

FOR years women have steered the home ship—and made a good job of it—but now Mrs. Jennie Crocker, of Cliftondale, Massachusetts, has applied for a master mariner's license, to command any sailing vessel on any waters. Mrs. Crocker has sailed with her husband for twenty years, at times navigating the schooner entirely alone. Her husband's death explains her application for a license.

THE American Association of University Women has announced that it will compete, as an organization, for the American Peace Award, to be presented by Edward Bok.

Convict Leasing

THE question of convict leasing in Alabama is temporarily shelved, though by no means dead. Those fighting for the abolition of convict leasing worked furiously during a recent recess of the legislature to convert the senators pledged to support the system. Judge William E. Fort, John C. Arnold and Mrs. Solon Jacobs, head of the statewide committee sponsoring the fight on leasing, conferred with Governor Brandon in an endeavor to reach a compromise. But their efforts failed.

The next move by those sponsoring leasing was the rejection of a proposal

from administrative sources that a commission be appointed by the legislature to devise a means of making good the $500,000 the state would lose if convict leasing were abandoned. On top of that came a resolution, introduced in the House, not to make any change in the convict system at this session of the legislature. Ignoring all petitions, the House voted through the resolution, and rushed it to the Senate for its concurring action, where it was held up one day and then carried. And there the matter has to rest until the next session.

Dr. Stanley

DR. LOUISE STANLEY, of Nashville Tennessee, has recently been selected by Secretary Wallace to head the newly established Bureau of Home Economics of the Department of Agriculture. Dr. Stanley is at present dean of home economics at the University of Missouri, and has done much to qualify her for this new position. We hope to tell you more about her in a later issue.

Still the Word "Obey"

THE House of Laity, in England, despite the efforts of the League of the Church Militant, has refused to omit the word "obey" from the Episcopal marriage service. Maude Royden, president of the League, has made the statement that the League is not at all discouraged, and will fight harder than ever to put through this reform.

The Only Woman Who—

THE only industry in the country devoted exclusively to the making of cottage (pot) cheese, was established, and is managed and controlled, by a woman, Mrs. C. W. West, of Hillsboro, Oregon.

Mrs. West could make good cottage cheese, which is an art not many have mastered. She comes of a family of New York dairymen, and when it became necessary, in her Oregon home, to add to the family income, she remembered the one thing she could do better than the majority. She could make cottage cheese.

She began by making it on her kitchen stove, her son disposing of it by carrying it in a tin bucket to the neighbors. It soon came to pass that she could not, single-handed, fill the demand. She employed help; the business continued to grow. She began shipping to Portland, the nearest large city. In the beginning, a small boy met the train with a play cart. Later came the horse and delivery wagon. To-day, only a few years later, the output of her factory, in which she employs seven men, is met daily at the station in Portland by three large motor trucks for the cottage cheese, and an additional truck for the milk. Her industry now boasts of a cold storage plant, an artificial ice plant, and modern machinery. It owes its inception and growth to the vision of a woman who knew what she could do best, and was not afraid to try.

. . —FRANCES L. GARSIDE.

General Federation Notes

By LESSIE STRINGFELLOW READ

THE importance of publicity and plans to promote it in women's club circles were discussed at length at the Montana State Convention of Women's Clubs held recently at Anaconda. Warren B. Davis, city editor of the *Anaconda Standard*—in a paper on "Preparing Club News for Newspapers"—gave this advice:

"Write the most important facts first.

"Use good English and short sentences.

"Be accurate in statements.

"Be sure that all names are spelled correctly and that initials are given with each.

"Write on one side of the paper, and use a typewriter. . . .

"A quick perusal of the usual manuscript prepared by the untrained writer is that it in no way comes up to the newspaper standard; frequently there isn't the slightest suggestion of news about it and the usual request, 'I would like to have this appear just as it is written' cannot be granted."

Summing up his rules of writing acceptably, Mr. Davis told the clubwomen: "If you are reporting an election, begin with the president. If you are dealing with a death, kill Jones in the first sentence, and follow the copy reader's suggestion, to 'cut out the mush.'"

LEGISLATION and law-making are interesting a large number of women in Montana, and the legislative conference held at the state convention attracted the largest attendance of any group meeting. One feature was a mock legislative session. One member was chosen speaker of the house, after which the body dissolved into a committee of the whole, with another member as chairman. Then in turn, legislative bills, which had been presented by the women at the last legislature and rejected, were discussed and recommended—such as bills on women jurors, marriage and divorce laws, license tax on bill boards along highways.

"IF the Federation committee on Friendly Co-operation With the Ex-Service Man has accomplished no larger thing than to convince the women of the Federation that there is still need for a friend to the ex-soldier, it is justified," says Mrs. George W. Plummer of Chicago. Mrs. Plummer urges club women to find out how men are cared for in their own state, and to co-operate with the American Legion and the Legion Auxiliary in doing for the ex-soldier what no government machinery can do for him—provide patient, sympathetic friends.

THE Florida Women's Legislative Council, of which Mrs. W. J. Jennings is head, is given much credit for the abolition of the county convict system, the abolition of corporal punishment for prisoners and the abolition of hanging and substitution of the electric chair. Mrs. Jennings writes:

"We possibly got through the legislature more prison reform legislation than was ever enacted by any other legislature at any one session, and we are proud of our accomplishment."

DURING two weeks, more than 40,000 visitors from all sections of the country, and from many countries visited the Model Home built by the General Federation of Women's Clubs in Washington in celebration of Home, Sweet Home Week, held in co-operation with the National Demonstration of Better Homes in America. (See the *Woman Citizen* of June 16, 1923).

So many requests to visit the home have been received by Miss Lida Hafford, director, that she is now faced with the problem of keeping it open for inspection at all times.

Fifteen men from the building division of the United States War Department have asked permission to inspect the house this past month, for help in solving problems of housing army officials on the small budget allowed.

A Washington city architect and a medical inspector for the public schools have asked for a permit; and a special group of home economics specialists in Washington, at the call of Dr. Pugsley of the Department of Agriculture, made a special appointment to see the house.

Owing to government regulations, however, the house will remain closed on its present site until a permanent one can be secured and definite plans made for its future.

The house was furnished throughout without cost to the Federation, and as it stands can be reproduced in Washington for $14,000, and at much less cost in smaller communities.

Plans for the house are available through the Bureau of Information of National Better Homes Committee, 223 Spring Street, New York City, Mrs. William Brown Meloney, secretary, at a cost of $2.

The entire achievement is the outgrowth of Mrs. Meloney's Better Homes plan, in the execution of which has been expended more than $60,000 provided through her efforts.

Husbands

(*Continued from page 8*)

pride in the success that she has wrought out in spite of my non-co-operation and sheer stupidity when it comes to household things."

Next in the collection comes the anonymous one, who registers a dash of the indignation we were inclined to expect. (It is a pity you can't know who this is—the partnership is a business one of a high order.) We are addressed as Madam.

?

"By what right do you presume to ask an unoffensive husband how he really feels about being the husband of an economically independent woman? Could a man answer such a question intelligently, unless he had also been the husband of a dependent woman? *Would* he answer it honestly on paper if he was a regular professional husband at all?

"Might not your husband of an economically independent woman, after the most rigorous of self investigations, find that he feels merely like a husband, and is no more conscious of isolation than would be the husband of a blonde, or a lady with tortoiseshell rims?

"I am not aware of any logical reason why husbands and wives should not share the duties, privileges and emoluments of our common existence. There are admittedly some things that men seem to do better than women and others which women do with more grace and natural talent than men; but, so far as a woman's rights are concerned, it is extremely difficult to define them, if you go outside the bill of human rights. A young woman presumably has as much right to smoke cigarettes as a young man; but, to balance the equation, one might be forced to assume that a young man had as much right to use a lip stick and wear a peek-a-boo waist, as a young woman. I do not see how either society, church or law can successfully combat the wife's right to work outside her home. There are many women who can do lucrative work in the arts, professions and trades who would not be worth the prevailing rate for an indifferent cook in the kitchen.

"In regard to its effect on family life, many young marriages are possible on account of the wife's economic independence which would be postponed if both had to live on the earnings of a young professional man.

"One possible effect on family life is this—that the economic wife, unless she happens to be in the show business, is working at approximately the same time as her husband, is tired at the same time and should be in a mood to join hands in seeking the most healthful mutual recreations. This might have a distinctly beneficial effect on the family life of two congenial people. As far as the effect on society in general is concerned are not women who use their brains constantly, rather apt to have more brains to use if the community needs them?

"As to your last two suggested questions, how can a man who is still married tell whether there has been a 'difficult adjustment,' especially if he has been married only once? And as far as my masculine pride is concerned, I think it is sustained by the satisfaction of having been married by so amiable and capable a lady."

Both the business man and author who comes next, and his wife, Christine Frederick, well-known household expert, have appeared in the CITIZEN. *Mr. Frederick mixes his approval with a warning.*

J. George Frederick

"To intelligent husbands there are no intrinsic objections to woman's career. I have rejoiced in what this career has meant to my wife's development and happiness. But I don't like the term 'economic independence.' It's a chip on the shoulder, a gesture of defiance. I see no intrinsic reason for a wife's 'economic independence,' *per se*, but I certainly do see a reason for a woman of spirit and ability working at a profession which interests and develops her, whether that profession be operating her home and family, or a profession out in the world.

"The money side of the question is secondary, or should be. In a real partnership it is of small importance whether one partner earns half or all the money; the real question is, does the partnership function for maximum mutual gain and happiness of every kind? Marriage is primarily a matter of personal development and spiritual happiness, and second a matter of raising a family. If a couple without children both want work out in the world, that is a rather simple thing; if they have children, there is at once a serious situation. Some women can operate a career and still do justice to a family; others cannot, and do their children grave injustice. A modern woman needs to analyze herself very humbly and critically before she assumes both motherhood and career. It is ridiculous, in these days of psychoanalytic knowledge, to talk as if mothers were not more important to children than fathers. They are. Yet, given the woman of proper capacity and preparation, she'll make a better mother because of a career.

"I'll say flatly that women would do better to talk of their responsibilities and their need for education to meet them than of the mere shibboleth of personal pin money and individualistic control of earnings. The most striking fact in the present-day situation is not, to my mind, the struggle for the right to economic independence of women, but their slurring of the more serious factors involved in their migration from the home to the outside world."

John W. Thompson

lawyer, has this to say about the way it works for him and Dorothy Litzinger Thompson, painter:

"I consider my wife's economic independence an important factor in maintaining our comradeship in marriage. However, it is not so much the economic side as it is the element of independent intellectual activity and development—the crystallizing of personality through work on an intelligent plane. This activity constantly produces new ideas and brings us into ever widening circles of human interest and effort. To my mind, it means insurance against becoming bored. I should feel quite unhappy if marriage presented nothing more than biological considerations or the incidents of parenthood and household operation.

"From the foregoing, you may gather that my wife and I are pals in the real sense, and our lives so eventful that we have little time to bother about minor troubles. She has her career and I have mine. We help each other toward the attainment of our respective goals in the belief that happiness comes through doing an agreeable task or following a calling to which one is adapted. As new circumstances arise from day to day, new reactions occur so that common interest in our respective occupations helps each to present an ever changing facet to the other. In produces the sparkle.

"Difficulty arises in generalizing on the basis of my own experience. I believe that a woman should work outside her home if she so desires, but I advise her to make her intention clear before the grand march up the center aisle. In many cases where the wife has a calling or work other than that associated with the family or household. I have observed that same real comradeship which I think my own marriage provides. In such cases too. I believe, the children reflect the harmony and purposefulness of their parents. They exhibit the development of individuality which is frequently lost or greatly retarded by the too fretful supervision of well-meaning parents, who impress upon the child mind their own ideas and habits of thought, curb imagination and reduce what might be an original to a mere copy."

We simply had to stop here, regardless of several other eminent husbands, remaining. So in the next number they will have their say, and besides that there will be the Wife's Point of View—on what, if anything, her career does to her husband and home. Mrs. Whitehouse, Ann Watkins, and another very interesting one who isn't at all sure she will tell her name are ready —others coming.

The Bookshelf

By M. A.

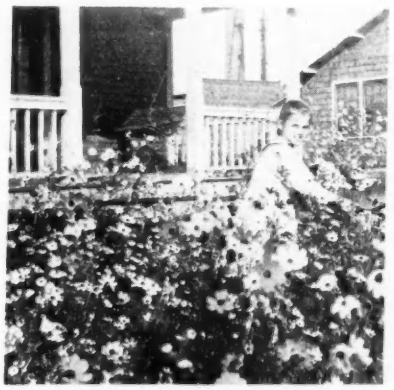
IT'S one kind of pleasure to announce sonorously that "this is a literary event." It's quite another to shout gleefully "that's a good story." But when this and that are one and the same book, somebody ought to celebrate, with W. B. Maxwell's "*The Day's Journey*" as the cause. He tells the story of two Englishmen, and their continuous friendship for each other through school, golf, marriages, war, and more golf. Perhaps the novelty of masculine friendship as a fiction theme makes it specially welcome. Surely the characters are commonplace enough. "Bird was a bore, and Heber was a nuisance." Their wives are ordinary, their incomes middling, their war service not unusual. It is their relation to each other which illumines them, and it is in the light of this relationship that Maxwell constantly presents them. He has a genius for the telling incident, the moment of introspection that etches the whole man, for quick description and writing in character, for the kind of humor which brings deep smiles and silent chuckles. He is able to take the abused and nebulous commonplace and show it kindly, friendly, glorified by a great devotion, and vital to itself.

In Zona Gale's "*Faint Perfume*" the commonplace assumes very different characteristics. It becomes a monstrous evil, crushing spirits finer than itself. For she is telling the story of exceptional people whose destinies lie in its hands. It fails to understand, and tries to kill. The book is a splendid attempt to portray an exceptionally high type of love, a spirit thing, a "faint perfume —the self of love." Leda is a writer, cousin to the Crumbs, and for a sick year dependent on their charity. Barnaby, who writes and lectures, was mismated to and now is divorced from a Crumb. The Crumbs are the commonplace personified, nagging, selfish, material, literal folk, bound by a thousand petty conventions, fighting each other, but standing together against whatever they do not understand. Against this obtuse and dangerous background Leda and Barnaby meet and love and are defeated, winning a spiritual victory which can scarcely last.

Unhappily, Miss Gale's disagreeable people are her most vivid characters. Leda doesn't quite succeed in being conscious of her own fineness. As an experiment in literary method the book is extremely interesting. Miss Gale has learned much from May Sinclair, but this is more than pupil's work.

"*West of the Water Tower*"—published anonymously, but later acknowledged by Homer Croy—is a third and still different presentation of commonplace people and surroundings. This time it is done in the reportorial method, as though its author said "Here it is, and here's what happens in it. That's all I'm interested in." It is another story of a mid-West small town, but it is more than "just another." In spite of its carefully uncolored style, it presents a remarkable analysis of vacillating, mercurial, adolescent love, of a lad who had "illusions of grandeur," and perhaps the stuff to fulfill them. Back of him looms his father, a man of stormy passions and intense beliefs. You find yourself remembering the book's people. Of them all only its heroine is cardboard, pulled about by strings even in her great moments.

The Day's Journey, Doubleday Page, New York, 1923. $2.00.
Faint Perfume, Appleton, New York, 1923. $1.75.
West of the Water Tower, Harper, New York, 1923. $2.00.



A Blossoming Village

COMMUNITY beauty means community contentment, which translates itself into community health. That is the logic at the Erlanger Cotton Mills, Erlanger, North Carolina. And that is the reason for Margaret E. MacCreight's presence there. It is her job to beautify the town, inspire home gardens, and supervise the dairy.

A graduate of the Pennsylvania School of Horticulture, where she went through the winning of the first scholarship offered by the Garden Clubs of America—Miss MacCreight was for a short time Supervisor of Gardens at Morristown, Tennessee, under the direction of the Department of the Interior at Washington. From there she went to Knoxville, Tennessee, where she had the title of City Garden Agent, and supervised the garden work in the city schools. Since—she has been at Erlanger. And she is still very young.

Given a tract of land, dot it with modern little new houses, mark it off with clean, bright, new streets, and—well, it's better than mud, but certainly not very attractive. Trees with their protecting arms, shrubs nestling in sheltered spots, bright colors of changing flowers—the house has become a home, a cluster of houses, a village. This is the magic Miss MacCreight works. We could go on and tell you about old stumps converted into flowering beauty, ugly alleys transformed to a riot of color, small homes buried in roses.

In every way interest is stimulated to make the village thrifty and beautiful: and as overseer of this work stands a woman—a pioneer in a field where she is eager to see many other women working.

All that is the fun part of such a job, the creative. But like all things there is the other side—the hothouses, the vegetable gardens, the nurseries, in fact the practical, every-day routine side. And supervision of that also is Miss MacCreight's job. Under her direction, and in the employ of the mill, a corps of men are working the year round.

Besides the greenhouses and the landscape work, there is the dairy. Supplies, feed, cleanliness first; then distribution of the products, are the chores which must be crowded into Miss MacCreight's day. Surely every second of the twenty-four hours are crammed for this efficient lady; but it's interesting work, and she has no desire to change her schedule.

Your Investments

By Eleanor Kerr

"Industrials"

When some one knocks at your screen door and tries to sell you stock in some favorite household convenience, think twice—or oftener. Let Miss Kerr tell you why.

HOW may one make safe investments in the stocks and bonds of industrial companies?

Industrial corporations are of so many different kinds—as regards the products they manufacture, the way in which they are made, the actual organization of the company itself, its size and the share which the general public has in the enterprise—that no one rule can be made to apply to investment in industrials.

The fact that a corporation is large does not necessarily mean that its stock is the best or safest form of investment, although there is a certain stability of earning power in a large corporation, which has built up big reserves from which to pay dividends and carry on the business during dull years. On the other hand, small corporations are often better able to trim their sails to the wind, and make money in times of slack business when the bigger organizations, with their tremendous fixed overhead, find it impossible to operate at a profit.

On the whole, the common stock of

an industrial corporation cannot be regarded as a high-grade investment. It is often termed "a business man's investment"—meaning that there is some risk attached and that the financial position, tendencies of earning, etc., of the company, must be carefully watched. The point to be emphasized is that *no industrial common stock should be put away in a safe-deposit box on the supposition that dividends will always come in regularly and its value remain unimpaired* by changing commercial and economic conditions. It is certainly true that much money has been made through the purchase of industrial common stocks; but it is also equally true that a very great deal of money has been lost by those who have either speculated in them or have not used good judgment and reasonable care in watching their investment.

The preferred stocks of many of these corporations are fairly good investments, while the bonds, especially first-mortgage bonds, are often high grade and yield a considerably larger income than equally well secured railroad or public utility bonds.

The reason for this high yield is that a manufacturing concern is necessarily very largely at the mercy of changing commercial conditions, fashions, and new inventions, and is not in the position of the railroad and public utility, whose services are required by our modern life whether or not times are prosperous. So, offering an investment with higher risk, they pay higher interest.

The "frozen inventories" (that is, large quantities of finished products and raw materials on hand at prices above the market) during the last two or three years were largely due to the necessity of arranging for the purchase of raw materials in large quantities considerably ahead of the time when they would be used. Manufacturers in 1919 and 1920 lost their heads to the extent of believing that boom times would continue indefinitely and refused to be warned by former post-war history. Therefore, when the drop in prices came, they had contracts running for six months to two years for raw materials at prices so high that their manufactured products had to be sold at a loss. This tied up a tremendous volume of commercial credit, in other words, money, and was to a large extent responsible for the bad years which followed. Happily, these frozen inventories are now almost all thawed.

Public utilities and railroads, though they have had difficult going during these last few years, have not been confronted with any such severe losses.

In choosing a corporation bond, one should make sure that it is a real lien on property that is ample to reimburse the bondholder, should it have to be sold at a forced sale; that the company is well established and not in the experimental or organization stage; that its earnings are continuous and steady and for some time in the past have been ample to cover the fixed indebtedness; and, finally, that its management is efficient and honest. It goes without saying that the corporation's products should be those for which there is a genuine and steady demand, and it is a good rule never to invest in a company which makes only one article, but rather in one which makes a number of allied articles so that when the demand for one falls off, the demand for another increases.

Do not buy stocks or bonds of a corporation merely because it manufactures a product of which you have heard, and do not buy, under any circumstances, if that is the main reason urged for your purchasing. There are a number of clever, well-advertised articles on the market whose manufacturers are not in good financial positions, and stocks or bonds of such a corporation are not an investment, no matter how good the article may be.

Any investment in a corporation security should be watched and a request made of a reliable bank or bond house once a year for a review of the company's financial standing, business, earnings, etc., in order that one may judge whether to continue to hold the security or not.

High-grade bond houses and banks often underwrite and offer to the public sound securities, and those which they recommend are usually the best of their type. These banks and bond houses, as a rule, keep in close touch with the corporation, having seats on the directorate, and are consulted on financial matters by the corporations. The issues they offer have been bought only after thorough and detailed examination, not only of the corporation itself, but of the particular industry as a whole, economic conditions and tendencies, and any other factors which can affect the investment.

A Hint About Headaches

By GULIELMA F. ALSOP

Physician at Barnard College

I SUPPOSE there is nothing of which a woman is more proud than her headaches. When she comes home from work, and flings herself down onto the couch and grasps her head in both hands, the highest peak of the day is achieved. "I'm worn to a frazzle. My head's just splitting."

Whether her family greets this headache with solicitude or boredom depends much upon how often she has indulged it. "Sis's got another headache. I wish to goodness she'd go and see the doctor about them! It's just awful her going on this way." And the reluctant family doses her with aspirin and soda, and waits on her assiduously all evening. And "Sis" often thinks she is more delicate and "refined" than the other sturdy members of the family, who come home headache-less from work.

If we look around the world casually, we don't pick out the taxi driver, the mail-carrier, the groceryman, the college girl in the swimming-pool at five o'clock as the people who suffer from headaches. We know quite automatically they don't have headaches. If we were asked to pick out the headachy person, it would be a weary shopgirl behind the counter, or a school teacher bending over a pile of papers to correct, or a stenographer.

Now, if we analyse further these roughly drawn classes—those who have headaches and those who don't— we find two dominant characteristics in the exempt class—motion and fresh air.

Looked at from a physiological standpoint, most headaches fall into two classes—one toxic, one circulatory. The toxic headache is due to a digestive and assimilative fault, depending mostly upon the muscular condition of the stom-

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ach and intestines. Very rarely does a person with good digestion and good intestinal elimination suffer from headaches. The toxic headache is almost the exclusive possession of the sedentary, sallow person with nervous indigestion; in other words, of the person with flabby muscular walls of stomach and intestine.

In the early evolutionary history of man, we find him able to eat anything as long as he doesn't sit still. The more he roams and fights and sports about, the stronger the walls of his alimentary canal, the better both the elimination and the digestion. So for the toxic headache, exercise is the cure; any exercise that limbers and stretches and makes supple the body. One may choose one's own kind—from morning setting-up exercises to the victrola, to bare-foot dancing and surf bathing. But some form of exercise one must take, and take persistently to the end of life!

The other class of headaches, the circulatory, are as much due to muscular condition as the toxic, only this time the muscles are those of the heart and blood-vessels. The pale, tired person with low blood pressure wakes up in the morning with a pain like a knife in her head. She has probably found, from long experience, that a cup of strong coffee, without cream or sugar, enables her to get up. This, of course, is a strong heart and circulatory stimulant. Her headache begins to wear off about ten or eleven o'clock. She is not as likely to have the aspirin habit as the woman with the afternoon headache. This begins to come on about four o'clock. Her hands feel hot and her cheeks feel flushed. A glassy look comes in her eyes, and the throbbing in her head gets worse and worse. She has doubtless sat still the greater part of the day in a close, stuffy room. As soon as she gets home, she takes an aspirin tablet and lies down, and the headache may pass off in time for her to enjoy going to bed at ten o'clock.

Both these anaemic and congestive types of headache are due in large measure to faulty circulation of the blood, and occur in individuals with flabby heart muscles. Their permanent cure, is, then, exercise; not exercise at the moment of the headache, but regular persistent exercise every day.

One fortunate thing about our body is that all the members benefit by the good of one. If we exercise to tone up our heart muscles, we strengthen our circulation and our digestion at the same time. This brings us back to our first premise: that man in his present stage of evolution is a muscular animal; and with sickly muscles, all of him will be sickly.

Though the subconscious mind governs our body, it is the conscious mind, with its stiffened will power, which will take us daily out of doors for our chosen form of exercise.

City Planning

(*Continued from page* 11)

"The more you disappear the better you can get things over. Get the rank and file of your supporters massed at the front. The greater their number; the greater your chances for success.

"Work with people. Don't fight your way along; elbow it."

Miss Rumbold believes that city planning today must take stock of two things, automobile parking and the development of air transportation. "There are obvious things which are necessary for city beauty, comfort and economy. For instance we must insure broad, evenly spaced streets and we must arrange so that the family with a small income can live in the suburbs and still be within easy and inexpensive reach of the business section. We have got to stop this business of lining up automobiles down the sides of a narrow street and permitting such congestion that traffic bridges seem the only way out. Some city stores now offer an hour's free parking in their garages to their customers. The time has come for large garages to be built in the downtown section and the buyer of an automobile to learn that parking charges must be reckoned as part of the upkeep on his car. In the future owners of cars must pay for their own parking; the rest of us are through putting it on our city tax bills.

"The development of air routes is a thing of the immediate future. The city which has good landing facilities will come to consider itself most fortunate. Just as good ports and adequate facilities for railroads have contributed to the growth of cities in the past, so good landing stations for airplanes will help to make the cities of the future

"All of this is work in which women's advice and interest is vital. Women may make by such work a tremendous contribution to the community—not only may they do so, but they can do it and do it well."

Five Million Teachers

(*Continued from page* 13)

of Mexico; Miss Cora Wilson Stewart; Etta V. Leighton, Civic Secretary of the National Security League; Miss Minnie J. Neilson, State Superintendent of Instruction for North Dakota, and others who worked hard in the eight group conferences, contributed much to mold the world convention.

Two important propositions were voted down. One called for the substitution of the phrase "to promote international justice" instead of the phrase "to promote world peace" in the section describing the aims of the Conference. In spite of the expressed fears of some of the leaders that the latter phrase would cause misunderstanding and create opinion that the World Federation was a pacifist organization, the amendment for the substitute phrase was voted down and the words "to promote the interests of peace throughout the world" were unanimously adopted.

Another proposition rejected was that providing for an international flag. Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, who might well be called the god-mother of the World Conference, opposed the suggestion. Mrs. Andrews had the distinction of representing the United States Department of Educators at the Peace Conference in

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Versailles and furnished plans for the present League of Nations Commission on Education. In 1912, she was sent to Holland by the United States Department of Education to help Holland to establish an International Education Bureau. The development of such co-operation was interfered with by the World War. The present World Conference is a natural result of the pioneering work done by Mrs. Andrews in 1912. The assembly, therefore, bowed to her judgment when she advised against the adoption of an international flag on the ground that it would be better to wait to establish a symbol of world unity until that unity was attained.

On the ground that the Conference was held not only to promote peace but to prevent war, Miss Leighton of the National Security League urged the inclusion in the World Civics program of simple courses on International Law. She called attention to the fact that many wars in the past have come about through breaches of international law by ignorant or venal citizens of one nation, causing reprisals by the nation or citizens of the offended nation, and the espousal of the cause of the first offenders by their own government. The amendment was unanimously adopted.

The World Education Conference, with its Health Section; the Pan-Pacific Conference (also in connection with the World Education Conference), and the N. E. A. itself brought to San Francisco about 18,000 educators at the same time. One needed to be in two places at once. Naturally there was some confusion, and besides there was little time left to get acquainted, there were no real fellowship gatherings. But the organization of a first world conference on education could not be expected to be what the fifth or sixth one may be. Despite defects, this conference greatly exceeded expectations, and the fact that such a conference was held at all was in itself wonderful.

BACK of the Health Education Conference lie just four years of actual practical health work. Twenty years ago such a conference could not even have been conceived. Ten years ago it would have been a company of theorists. This year representatives of thirty-three nations—including those of the Orient and South America—met to exchange experiences as well as to discuss future policies.

The program had been jointly arranged by half a dozen organizations dealing with child health, and the result was the adoption of a world policy of co-operation for any nation's greatest wealth—child health.

William B. Owen, 1922-23 President of the National Education Association, and Augustus Thomas, Chairman of the World Conference on Education, emphatically acknowledged the school's obligation to teach health. (Maybe you take it for granted, but it is a subject that can still stir much discussion of parents' rights, duties, etc.) The only question, in their opinion, is how the school can meet this great public need.

Not only health standards for the school child but health facts essential for teachers as well were discussed by experts in research, public health and medicine. Repeated emphasis was put upon the importance of teacher training centers in building up the child's own health. Through bringing together all groups of experts—nurse, doctor, social worker and teacher, the Conference was able to see the problem whole, and to lay the foundations for a sane, well-balanced teaching which shall be neither a fad nor a piece of one-sided fanaticism.

Zero Hour

(*Continued from page* 11)

twenty-seven votes—as the women gratefully acknowledged—but every possible effort was made to keep the bill from the floor of the House, as many men feared to have their votes recorded and so bring down upon their heads the wrath of the women, on one side, and the fulfillment of the doctors' outspoken threats of political death on the other!

The Eight-Hour bill represented the culmination of ten years' effort on the part of the Women's Trade Union League, and had behind it a Joint Committee of many organizations of equal strength with that which supported the Sheppard-Towner bill.

The bill was represented in Springfield by Miss Jeannette Rankin of the National Consumers' League, and was one of the measures most strongly urged by Mrs. O'Neill.

The nature of the bill would, of course, create opposition from certain commercial interests, but the bill was strongly supported by the women workers themselves, and by groups of women who had made a most careful study for years in order that they might bring accurate knowledge and understanding support to this measure in the legislature.

Four welfare measures, which were passed, as "brands plucked from the burning," had the sympathy of women, but were not, however, exclusively promoted by them (which seems to have been fortunate!) These were:

A vice-repressive measure.

A state survey of subnormal and handicapped children.

A bill authorizing counties to pay for dependent children placed in properly supervised boarding homes by order of the Juvenile Court.

A bill to supplement the education of crippled children.

Valuable as these are, they can not counterbalance entirely the defeat of the other measures, into which women put so much of their heart and their hope and their enthusiasm.

But whatever reasons lie behind these defeats for women's measures, one fact seems clear: the women of Illinois have a distinct duty to perform in preventing another such chaotic and unproductive session of the legislature. The state needs more lawmakers (whether men or women) who have intelligence, social vision and backbone, and who will work effectively for a constructive program of legislation.

Thinking women have no desire to organize to oppose men, but many of our legislators seem to have taken the most effective measures possible to bring about such a result.

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More About Vivisection

By Sue M. Farrell

Mrs. Farrell wrote an article answering one in which Mrs. Cornelia James Cannon spoke in favor of animal experimentation. An exchange of published letters between Mrs. Farrell and Dr. W. W. Keen followed, which developed into an argument over the point discussed in the letter below. Mrs. Farrell sent us a detailed answer, supporting her claims with full references. Owing to our limited space, we ventured to ask her to condense it, and she very kindly did so. She is ready to furnish references to any one who cares to address her in our care.

OWING to a death in my immediate family, it has been impossible for me to reply earlier to Dr. Keen's article, "A Surgeon's Answer," published in your issue of February 24th. Inasmuch as Dr. Keen's words reflected upon my good faith, I feel that you will gladly grant me space in your excellent magazine.

Dr. Keen says of Semmelweiss that:- "He made many experiments on rabbits (a fact which Mrs. Farrell conveniently omits . . .)"

In reply to Dr. Keen, may I say that very many extracts might be quoted from the *Life of Semmelweiss* by Sir William Sinclair, Professor of Gynecology, University of Manchester, England, which would seem to indicate clearly that Semmelweiss' discovery in regard to puerperal fever was *not* due to experimentation on animals?

According to Sinclair, it was Semmelweiss' "watchfulness and exact observation in the lying-in wards and in the post-mortem room which led to the Discovery." He says later (see page 84 of the *Life*):

"Skoda then advised Semmelweiss to occupy his time with experiments upon animals, . . . but as a matter of fact they never led to anything. Semmelweiss at a later period, even when a grant of money was voted for the purpose by the society for the advance of Science, refused to resume the experiments on the ground that the clinical evidence was sufficient to establish the truth of his doctrine—and he was right."

And Other Letters

Dear P. W. E.

I have just read your note on Prohibition in the *Woman Citizen* for July 14. It is short and to the point. I'm a busy woman, but this time I wish you had continued a bit as a "reasonable" person. Our Government says, "Thou shalt not steal" and it is "disgraceful" the amount of petty thieving, to say nothing of larger kinds, that one reads of. Let's work to change the law; at least allow the petty kind until in time people lose interest in helping themselves to other people's property. Again, our Government most thoughtlessly sides with fanatics and says, "Thou shalt not kill," yet fails to enforce it. Now how about a "modified" law allowing those not yet "weaned" to kill in moderation perhaps old people, or, as in primitive times, extra children! Wake us, P. W. E.—M. Florence Eustis, Wellesley Hills, Mass.

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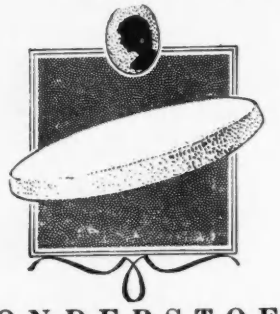

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Read this in connection with Mrs. Wood's article on page 9.

HERE is a new argument against women being legislators. In the 1923 volume of Illinois laws on p. 57 is shown the expense put upon the state by three different candidates contestin the seat in the Legislature of Mrs. Lottie Holman O'Neill, who did such excellent service for us women. Two of the candidates paid their attorneys $1,250.00 each and the miscellaneous other expenses reached $5,292.43 for this district. This is more than one half of what was expended in contests in all the rest of the state.

Miss Julia Lathrop and Miss Jane Addams and Miss Jeannette Rankin have urged us to send more women to the Legislature. If we do, will every defeated man candidate contest and must we pay such large sums? If we can keep some unworthy men at home, replacin them with women like Mrs. O'Neill, it will be worth all it costs.

CATHERINE WAUGH MCCULLOCH,
Mastery in Chancery, Superior Court of Cook Co., Ill.

More of these, please.

I noticed in a recent issue of the *Woman Citizen* that you are interested in ways by which women's organizations have raised money.

Our various Wilson College Clubs have been busy raising money for our endowment fund. They have been very successful in selling baskets made by the Choctaw Indians in Mississippi. These baskets are made of cane, vegetable dyed, and cost from $.25 to $6. They are of all kinds—work baskets, market baskets, scrap baskets, flower baskets and so forth. Mrs. J. E. Arnold, Union, Mississippi, a missionary to the Indians, markets the baskets for them and will send an assortment on request. These may be paid for when sold and the unsold may be returned. It is one of the few enterprises where there is "everything to gain and nothing to lose."

About Farm Folks

I read Mrs. Foulke-Stewart's paper in the April 21 issue with interest. It is packed full of facts, and she is right in emphasizing the truth that there are about six and a half million farm women and that one-half of our total population is found on farms and in rural villages. Truly representative associations, undertakings, publications, have this truth to reckon with.

Caroline B. Sherman,
Assistant in Market Information, United States Department of Agriculture.

ON page 30 of the *Citizen* of April 7, I was especially interested in the article about Wanted, Food Facts. Such things as you state here most certainly *do* happen or rather are quite ordinary. It is probably the principal cause of the unrest among the farmers. We don't want *Credit*. We've already had too much. We want cost of production.

Mrs. W. J. Neal

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The Woman Citizen

Volume VIII AUGUST 25, 1923 Number 7

News Notes of the Fortnight

The Foreign Situation

THE note which the British Government issued on the 12th, together with the Correspondence with the Allied Governments Respecting Reparation Payments gave a serious blow to the already strained relations of the Allies. Especially the questioning of the legality of the occupation of the Ruhr aroused great resentment in France. The effect of the note was overshadowed by the fall of the Cuno Government in Germany, which quickly followed. The new Chancellor is Dr. Gustav Stresemann, who has been the leader of the German People's party. The new minister pledged himself to drastic financial reforms of Germany's chaotic finances. At the time he took office, the mark had fallen to four million to the dollar. While his first speech upheld the policy of his predecessor of passive resistance in the Ruhr, it is felt that there is considerable modification of the unyielding stand of the preceding administration. He offered to submit the question of the legality of the Ruhr occupation to the International Court of Arbitration. The last act of the Cuno Government was to serve notice on the Reparations Commission that after August 11 there would be no further payments of any kind, but it promised to resume payments as soon as Germany's currency was restored and the country's finances on a firm basis. In his reply to the British note, Poincaré met its arguments in detail point by point. He tried to prove that the economic situation in England was improving despite the occupation of the Ruhr, and strove to prevent a break by making an impassioned plea for continued co-operation of the Allies.

The New President

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE has taken hold of the reins of Government with a firm hand. He has shown that he can talk when he wants to, and he talks not only to the point, but is more cordial and affable than was expected, and he shows a keen sense of humor. All the members of the Harding Cabinet will continue in office. It is announced that the President sees no reason at present for an extra session of Congress to provide for the relief of the farmers, as has been urged by some senators. A survey of agricultural conditions is being made by the Department of Agriculture to determine what practical help can be given them. President Coolidge has endorsed the strict orders of the Budget Director to the departments for economy in making the next budget.

With considerable emphasis, the Government has announced there will be no change in its foreign policy. Because of some exaggerations in the cables to Europe, which it was feared might arouse false hopes abroad, the Department of State sent a special communication to that effect to our ambassadors abroad. Its attitude is still that outlined in the speech made by Secretary Hughes at New Haven, that the United States holds that debts and reparations are separate questions; that the United States Government will not interfere in Europe's affairs, but that the administration is ready to do anything in its power to help the European situation, and is willing to join a commission of economic and financial experts to work out a solution of the reparation tangle, if the Allies so desire.

Of international reputation is Jane Peterson, one of whose water scenes is on this cover. Having spent a great deal of time abroad, she has studied under Sorolla, Brangwyn and Blanche. England, France, Holland, Belgium, Germany, Spain, Czecho-Slovakia, Africa and Italy have all been subjects for her brushes. She is the only American member of the "Circulo Artistico," an exclusive society of Italian artists who meet in an old political prison in Venice. On this side of the water—her true home—she is equally well-known. Her paintings have hung in all exhibitions of any size, including the Carnegie Institute at Pittsburgh and the Pennsylvania Academy. Whether it be water colors or oils, whether the subjects be flowers, gardens or scenes, her work is marked with a virility which constantly brings her into prominence.

The Threatened Coal Strike

THE anthracite coal situation has been full of vicissitudes. Following the rupture of the conference between the miners and operators at Atlantic City on July 27th, the United States Coal Commission, in order to prevent the strike threatened for September first, summoned the representatives of both sides of the dispute to a conference. The miners refused flatly to join such a conference unless the operators agreed to the eight-hour day, a 20 per cent. increase in wages, and to retain the check-off—the system by which the company deducts the union dues from the wages of the miners, before paying the men. The miners claim that this system was originally introduced by the operators who own the houses in which the miners live and the shops from which they get supplies, and who collect payment of rent and bills by deducting the amounts owing from wages. The miners submitted a long list of items which the operators are accustomed to check off. After both sides had apparently accepted these agreements, the miners again refused to confer, claiming that the operators had quibbled in interpreting their acceptance of the offer. The second dead-lock was broken, and miners and operators met again in conference at Atlantic City, but with no result. It is likely that some compromise must be made, as it is believed that neither the President nor

the public would tolerate another coal strike this fall. There is also danger that lacking anthracite coal, substitutes would capture the market, especially in the New England states.

De Valera Arrested

DE VALERA, the Republican leader who has consistently defied the new Free State Government of Ireland, has been arrested. Campaigning is going on in Ireland for the election to be held August 27. De Valera had announced that he would contest the Government elections with Sinn Fein elections to the Republic of which he claims to be the head. He challenged the Free State, and appeared openly at a Sinn Fein election meeting, when the Government accepted the challenge, and took him into custody. Since July, 1922, he has led the armed opposition to the new Free State Government, but in April he ordered a cessation of active hostilities. The Government charges him with murder and arson and holds him responsible for the bloodshed of the whole campaign of the Irregulars.

Reducing the Navy

THE FIVE POWER TREATY, binding the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan for a reduction in the navies of these countries for a ten year period, which was the outstanding result of the Washington Conference for the Limitation of Armaments, has gone into effect. The United States Navy has already begun its program of reduction, and orders have gone out to scrap twenty-eight capital ships, some of them new ships under construction. The Naval Academy at Annapolis, because of the lessened demand for naval officers, is reducing its numbers both of midshipmen and instructors.

Agreement with Mexico

THE recognition of the Mexican Government is believed to be close at hand. President Obregon has approved of the agreements reached by the United States Commissioners protecting the oil and land rights of Americans in Mexico. With the approval of President Coolidge and the Senates of both countries, diplomatic relations will be resumed.

A SEVENTEEN year old girl from Berkeley, California, named Helen Wills, who is entering the University of California this fall as a freshman, has just won the American tennis championship from Mrs. Molla B. Mallory, who has held it since 1915.

August 21, 1923.

New Occupants

of the White House

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Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

August 17, 1923.

THE whole sad business of the death and burial of President Harding is over. Mrs. Harding has left the White House. No matter what they both accomplished in the various technicalities of Presidential politics, they left one great outstanding impression—they stood before the firing line like soldiers. Each had a clear Christian conception of what it meant to be elevated to the first office in the land. Each carried it out to the last letter of conscientious endeavor. Each was game to the last, and the one who survived summoned all the members of the party that had accompanied herself and her husband to the Far North and thanked them personally for having stayed with her to the end. And then a great tribute for a nation to give was given: that no President, and no President's wife, had ever been more loyal to the trust.

The country now will have a lull of retrospection. But let us go back a bit in the picture. I remember last winter when Mrs. Harding held her first informal reception after her trying illness. She sat at the piano facing a group of twenty or so telling them of some of the experiences of her illness, and particularly of the times when the President came to her after a long tedious day.

"I had saved up so much that I thought was important; comment and incidents which I wanted to talk over with him," she said. "But I took one look at his face and stopped—he was worn out. My little troubles melted away. I did not have the heart even to mention them. He fell into bed exhausted with the ordinary daily routine."

This now is a sad picture of what foretold the breaking down of a strong man. The country thought it had learned a lesson, when it saw Woodrow Wilson month after month having to be assisted from his door step into his car, saw him unable to leave the city or take any physical part as a past President. But it did not fully comprehend until this present tragedy. When President Harding first took office he continued to play golf for the exercise to which he had been accustomed. A golf-playing Senator had received no notice. But a golf-playing President began to be daily in the public prints.

"Boys," he said, "I shall have to go without my exercise if you keep on writing about it. I need it. I shall go under if I don't have it, but I shall stop unless I can be free to take it without so much notice." Incidents like these revealed some of the extraordinary strain. Things which a business man did in a day's work were a thousand times magnified when done by a President, and the simple matter of getting a little daily exercise had to cause him all this concern. It was her watchfulness of him and her own activity in carrying out her conception of her end of it which broke Mrs. Harding down.

Sufficient number of law-makers now are aroused to make probable new proposals when Congress convenes in December. The United States has outgrown the Presidency. The routine of it no longer can be administered wholly by one man. At least we can relieve him of a great deal of the heavy desk work now laid upon him. The appointment and selection of postmasters alone would occupy the time and effort of one offce and this is but a small detail of the

task devolving upon a President. Senator Cummins, of Iowa, a veteran legislator who has watched the coming and going of many administrations, said when he was on his way to attend President Harding's funeral, that the President of the United States is required to exert himself beyond human limitation.

"The great responsibilities and the tremendous strain of the office are more than any man can stand," he said. "His cares and worries break him down. We should limit the President to one term. It might be made a six-year term, but I am not so sure about that. Our theory of government—that the President should be the chief executive of the nation—has been extended to make him the political leader of his party. President Harding gave his life to his country and party. His death only proves the magnitude of the position. He was so conscientious and yet so human that it hurt him to hear criticism of his efforts and false presumption of his motives and the things he had in mind."

Senator Cummins

Senator Cummins has been President *pro tem* of the Senate. With the elevation of Vice-President Coolidge to the Presidency, he will succeed to the position held by the Vice-President as presiding officer in the Senate, and he will also take over many of the Vice-Presidential functions. He is now also chairman of the important committee of the Senate on Interstate Commerce. As transportation, of which this committee has charge, will be one of the major subjects of the coming Congress, Senator Cummins himself will be extremely hard pressed, if, indeed, he is physically able to carry such a heavy load. The next ranking member of the committee is Senator LaFollette who would not be *persona grata* as chairman to many members of the upper house. This dilemma will have to be solved soon and there are a great many people in Washington who would regret to see Senator Cummins relinquish the chairmanship after his long years of investigation, study and legislation on the subject.

But before we go any farther in retrospect, let us take leave of Mrs. Harding.

It was sometime before the Capital finally understood Florence Harding. The flavor of Washington comes from the East. Her kind of neighborliness, friendliness and entire absence of barrier was looked upon as almost too good to be sincere. But people were not long in finding out that Mrs. Harding was the same yesterday, today and forever. And hers was one of the strongest wills. She made up her mind that she would not succumb at the time of her severe illness and she pulled through. "I thought of my father," she once said, "and remembered that he passed away because he let go, so I gritted my teeth and hung on." The same Mrs. Harding gritted her teeth when the President died and said she would not break down. She was the epitome of the Middle West, its staunchness, whole-heartedness, its democracy, its thoughtfulness for others; its love of humankind; its directness and conquering spirit.

Mrs. Coolidge and Mrs. Harding were always great friends, much more so, undoubtedly, than President Harding and Mr. Coolidge who were almost opposites in type—Harding, the open-hearted, easy-mannered man with a public presence which reached out to his audience more than half way; Coolidge the inarticulate, tight-mouthed public official, careful of every word and difficult with smiles. When his soul smiled his face did not show it. He was the oddest member of a tea party. Instead of floating around the tea table with fair-weather small talk, he sat over in a corner and talked sense. His dinner table conversation was also marked. He spoke only occasionally and then said something worth while. He began to be quoted. At one White House reception when he assisted in receiving, a number of persons crossed the room to catch a glimpse of him because some social courier had reported that Coolidge "was smiling." If this then was the Coolidge of the Vice-Presidency, a position recognized as one of pleasantries, what will be the Coolidge of the Presidency? Will any man dare to come in to the Executive end of the White House, slap him on the back, and call him "Cal?" Presiding in the Senate he was a curious figure. Vice-President Marshall occasionally went to sleep but somehow or other he always woke up at the right time and in a genial frame of mind. Vice-President Coolidge sank down in his chair as if he were bored, and when he came up to express the opinion of the presiding officer, it usually was with a tone of voice that sounded irritated and cross. But Coolidge is full of personality. A man who has been so silent and uncommunicative, due to what may have been his conception of the Vice-Presidency, may blossom into a fount of wisdom in an office which demands that he express himself. His first conferences in Washington have shown that he apparently is not going to begin on the principle of a closed mouth. Everything would be given out to the public that could be, and he asked for co-operation. It takes two to co-operate.

The New Political Leader

But in these days of comparative quiet after the shock, there is a new struggle, nevertheless, going on in the political world. Many believe that it was the strain of the role of political leader which broke down President Harding rather than the administrative end of the Presidency. No one exactly knows what kind of a political leader Calvin Coolidge will make. President Harding would do a great deal for peace. Dissension and personal aggrandizement irritated him beyond measure. He wanted satisfaction around him, not strife. Coolidge is a different type. He has the jaw of a fighter. He is more independent. He will be less amenable; less easily influenced, more stubborn in his own beliefs. Not so easy to get along with. He will not pride himself in the role of conciliator, but undoubtedly, he is a deeper thinker than the late President. Coolidge has a mind full of philosophy, hard as nails, tenaciously holding to his purpose. His appointments will probably be made less because of personal relationships. It is unlikely that he will surround himself with Vermonters. His first appointment was that of former Representative Campbell B. Slemp, of Virginia, as his secretary. The appointment aroused considerable comment. Mr. Slemp has been prominent in party leadership. He also has been severely criticized in Congress for letters written by him regarding patronage in his district, in which it was intimated that Republican money would be accepted from postmasters who obtained appointments. Many were surprised, too, that President Coolidge did not offer the secretaryship to Edward T. Clark, who had been with him in the office of the Vice-President, and also had been private secretary to Senator Lodge. But Washington has come to understand that the position of private secretary to the President is more than its title implies. It really is Assistant to the President and personal representative of the Chief Executive upon many important occasions; in addition to this it is in a sense adviser on political and legislative matters. It is an asset to have a man in this place who has had wide party and congressional experience.

In 1924?

But facts and efficiency in the President's nature are ahead of fellowships. The few people who know him well are enthusiastic about his ability. The speeches he has made have been noteworthy for their clarity and profundity. He has inherited even a harder role than fell to the lot of President Harding for the most troublesome end of the Presidency, political leadership, will be in a crucial situation. The Presidential election is only a year and a half away. Men who were holding their horses in the belief that the man in the White House without question would be renominated, will now break loose and the Republican Party within itself will be a race for all comers. The different factions more or less subdued by the Harding policy of conciliation have taken a new lease, and only Senator Borah has had the goodness to be lenient

(*Continued on page* 20)

Shall a Married Woman Have a Career?

The Woman's Side of the Question

IT seems only fair after printing in the last *Citizen* the frank expressions of opinion from the husbands of women economically independent through their own work—as to how the problem of a married woman's career has worked out in their own homes and in the light of their own personal experiences—to ask the wives of these husbands, and a few others, to tell their side of the question. How has it worked to manage a business and a home at the same time? How has the combination affected their relation to their husbands and families, and what are the special problems involved? Only a few of the answers can be printed in this number, but each one comes from a woman who is managing a household in addition to her own business; and each has children. The first reply is from the mother of four. She meets the issue frankly.

Mrs. Christine Frederick

Household engineer, lecturer and writer.

"Of course when I am interviewed and asked what is the basis of success of a woman with a career plus a family—I always answer, 'first catch the right husband'! For without the aid of a sympathetic, interested and fairly unselfish mate, the careerist faces even a more serious handicap than mastering the dual role itself. In my own case, since my husband was really to blame for my career, starting me on the reckless path of household efficiency and supplying household wisdom to women readers of magazines and countrywide periodicals, he has had to take any evil consequences of his rash act.

"He may—and does—come home to find his linen greatly neglected and buttons strangely lacking. But frankly, must every wife be a kind of supervalet? Does the marriage vow include 'I promise to mend and darn until death do us part'? No, I believe that either the commercial valet or a mother's helper mends clothes much better than I do!

"Do I push my husband's interests in the traditional way, entertaining stuffy salesmen because John hopes to secure their orders; going out to dinner with the wife of Jones from Main Street because Jones is a fellow worth mixing with, etc? No—here is another point where as a conventional wife I fail utterly. The one thing I know I cannot find time for as a business woman and also mother of four is 'entertaining' in the accepted sense. We have many friends, of course, but formal and, I may add, forced entertaining of business associates is completely cut out of our plans.

"And do I greet Friend Husband with a smile and the proverbial rose in the hair? By no means always! It is very often a case of the T. B. W. (tired business woman), as he well knows. I acknowledge that there have been dozens, yes, hundreds of evenings when I completely failed to appear pleasing to the eye, to strum the lute, or to entrance him with the poetry of the dance. I have just slipped on a comfortable négligé, let down my hair and relaxed in the fireplace chair. Holding hands with him was about as far as my energy allowed! Result? Well, *he* also had on his shabby slippers and had unbuttoned *his* collar, and was so tired that about all *he* wanted to do was to lie on the couch anyway! In short, I don't believe that every husband marries a woman because he expects her to play a Follies Girl during his entire life; if he's sensible and reasoning, and if he believes in her work and its mutual value to them both and to their children, he's going to be unselfish enough to excuse her being too devoid of energy to merely amuse him every evening.

"Shall a Married Woman have a Career?" is a burning question these days. The tremendous increase in the cost of living makes many a man hesitate to accept responsibility for the support of a family, while the economically independent woman wonders if she can remain self-supporting and have a happy married life. The discussion will be continued in coming issues of the CITIZEN. *So far it has centered around New York. Won't the rest of the country let itself be heard from?*

"In short, I know that my husband has foregone many a personal comfort or pleasure for the sake of my work. On the other hand he thinks he gets *something* from having a very happy and contented wife who is interested in many broad subjects, in touch with notable people, and far more stimulating a companion than if she had devoted all her life to sock-darning and social activities!

"And the children—this, dear editor, is 'another story,' and one I am afraid I cannot cover in the small space allowed me. Just how to bring up four modern children at the same time that you are a public woman would require a full volume! Yes, they too miss a great deal from me as mother, no doubt; on the other hand, I know that they gain considerable from being the children in a home where every subject is discussed with them, where interesting and often prominent persons are guests, where they have more comforts and advantages owing to our double income than would be possible from one wage-earner; where, and not least, they are thrown considerably more on their own imaginations, efforts and companionship than if I were the traditional mother with them for hours at a time."

Inez Haynes Irwin

Author of "Phoebe, Ernest and Cupid," "Angel Island," the "Lady of Kingdoms," etc.

"If when I was a girl, you had asked me whether a married woman could have a career, I would have said 'yes,' instantly; and if you had asked me how she was to have both a family and a career, I would probably have answered, 'I don't know and I don't think *that's* important. The main thing is to do both.' When you put it to me now I still say 'yes,' but I am not so certain that it can be accomplished in every case, or how it can be accomplished in any case. How it is accomplished is a very important thing indeed. And I have no doubt now that if it be a question with a woman between her family and her career, the career should go by the board.

"I once read somewhere the statement that when we are young we are most struck with the differences between people, and when we are mature with their similarities. I think this is not only true of our feeling about individuals but of the sexes. Most men want to have both careers and families. I think this is true of many women. I think it will be true one day of most women. I have seen many happy women in my life; women who had families; women who had careers; women who had both families and careers. The happiest women I have ever known are those who have had both. In my youth, it was a very difficult business for a woman to adjust the machinery of her life so that she could have both. It is not an easy matter now; but I can truthfully say that I have seen a vast change in this respect during my lifetime. Schools outside the home and service

inside it are gradually perfecting a system by which women can be as free as men. I don't know how long it will take to make them absolutely free; but complete freedom will come some day I'm sure. It is one of the easements of the human lot that I fervently hope to live long enough to see."

Ann Watkins

On a building on East 34th Street, New York City, hang two smart signs side by side, Hartley Davis and Ann Watkins. Under her own name, Mrs. Davis has made a considerable success as a literary agent. This is what she writes:

"When a famous author once sent a gift to my son, and wrote on the card, 'To Ann Watkins' magnum opus,' I felt he had paid me the highest compliment within his power, which I think answers your question as to the attitude of the woman of economic independence toward her family.

"There is additional evidence: I find this same boy pridefully refers to his mother as Ann Watkins rather than Mrs. Hartley Davis—to the vast amusement of the other member of the family.

"Having a profession which gives me economic independence has not added a single problem to matrimony. In fact it is the opinion of our family that it has eliminated a full half of what might be called the average problems of married life.

"Perhaps, however, my situation is somewhat different, because my husband is largely responsible for my setting out a shingle. The single condition he imposed was that I make good, and his reasons for making this a condition of matrimony—and it was a condition—were sufficiently complimentary to take away any possible sting from his position in the matter."

Mrs. Norman deR. Whitehouse

was chairman of the state Woman Suffrage Party during the campaign that gave the women of New York the vote. During the war she was the representative in Switzerland of the Committee of Public Information, and she is now owner and acting manager of the Whitehouse Leather Products Company.

"I find that my various careers—as a suffragist, as a government agent and now as a manufacturer, do not in the least interfere with the real and intimate relations with my family—my husband and daughter. The experience which I have gained has made me a more valuable companion to them both and I believe they are the more ready to bring their problems to me.

"Naturally no one woman can do everything—can run a household, give time to social dissipations, indulge in athletics, be constantly at the service of her family and have a career all at one and the same time.

"If she decides upon a career which is exacting as to time and strength (and all worth-while careers are) she must sacrifice the usual trivial occupations of a woman without a career. She must be selective and protect her time and herself from unessential demands. But no career need interfere with real family relations. As to bringing the details of a career home to discuss with a husband—I have never wanted to do so. When I leave my office I try to dismiss my preoccupations until the following morning; or if I cannot I want to worry them out myself. One of the things for which I am most grateful to my husband is that he never questions me as to the details of my business, although he is endlessly interested in every phase of my efforts and is always ready to listen with sympathy and encouragement to any real problem I bring to him. There are worries and heavy responsibilities connected with any career and the woman who has not experienced them on her own account can not fully appreciate what her husband's business means to him. If they both have faced such burdens how much truer an understanding and sympathy they have to offer each other. I believe a woman's career rightly led deepens and ennobles her family relations."

Mr. and Mrs. Ogden Reid

So close is the partnership of Mr. Reid, editor of the New York TRIBUNE, *and his wife, who is advertising director, that we are giving the views of both of them side by side as given to the* CITIZEN.

Mrs. Ogden Reid smiled up from her wide, piled, desk. Outside her window a steam riveter racketed together a new building. Through her doorway the spacious floor of the business office hummed with mid-afternoon industry.

"It seems to me that working makes family life infinitely more interesting," she said slowly. "It gives a double basis of personal and impersonal interests. In the old days all the impersonal things, the news of the world, of politics, of business, came in through the husband. The wife and the children got their vital contacts through him. It was bad for them to take such contacts second-hand, and bad for him to have to carry such a constantly important role. Anyone in that position inevitably hands on something of his own individuality, and you got the old familiar spectacle of the man giving his wife not only news, but opinions and prejudices. They both suffered, and so did society.

"On the other hand, if a woman has her own outside work and outside position, she not only joins her husband in outside interests, but draws him into their common inside interests. The traditional plan for the woman to run the home and the man the business is as bad for the home as it is for business. Homes need husbands and fathers in them. They need more of the man's thought and responsibility. They should not bear only a feminine stamp.

"Children need their fathers quite as much as their mothers, and they need them together. Too often Father is the playfellow, and Mother the tired disciplinarian. And that works badly all around. Parents and children need to enjoy each other more than they do, to work out a more comradely intercourse from which they all will learn. And even young children need impersonal relationships with trained people, which are denied them when a tired mother tries to be nurse, dietitian, tutor, and companion."

A stenographer brought in a sheaf of papers. Mrs. Reid rose.

"I hope you'll be able to talk to Mr. Reid. He has such an unusually clear-cut viewpoint and you will find his matter-of-factness on the subject very refreshing."

Mr. Ogden Reid dropped one more report sheet on the pile which came to him as Editor of the *Tribune* and turned a puzzled face to his questioner.

"But why shouldn't my wife and I work together? We play together, and this is ever so much more interesting than sport. It gives me an added reason to be proud of her, and greatly enlarges our common interests. Instead of being limited to our home and our children, and separating for my business and her social life, we have great times with all of them together. And there really isn't anything in the theory that our hours won't match. They do so much more than though I were working alone and she was amusing herself.

"As for warming my slippers, why should she? I don't warm hers.

"I suppose there still is some feeling that it is not seemly for women to work. But that is breaking down. A hundred years ago a gentleman couldn't go into trade without losing caste. To-day, in America, most people prefer that a man have some useful occupation. If he doesn't have to make money and doesn't want to, then his place is in some sort of public work. The same thing is happening to women. Fifty years ago almost no one who was a lady worked. Twenty-five years ago very few of them were making shining successes. And to-day the number of fine business women is constantly increasing. The world needs their work, and they need the world's work.

"I hope to see the time when men and women will do the work of the world together. That will mean shorter hours for everyone, more wholesome companionship, more opportunity for intellectual avocations and for recreation.

"Mrs. Reid often says that it seems unreasonable to her that business is not supposed to be discussed at home. She believes that there isn't anything which can't be discussed in the home. And in ours there isn't.

"I wonder if the people who are most afraid of having women work aren't the ones who haven't tried it or haven't thought much about it."

Editorially Speaking

On Being "Supported"

THE world is in a period of change today and in no direction is the upheaval more complete than in the relationships of men and women, especially their economic relations.

Men have accepted as an accomplished fact the entrance of women in the business world but they have not yet accustomed themselves to thinking of their own wives in that outside world. They can think of her at a matinee or motion picture show or playing bridge of an afternoon, but to picture her in a business office or directing a business organization, or behind a desk in a bank strains their imagination and fills them with fears of fancied neglect. They do not yet realize that changed material conditions have taken work very largely outside of the home. Unless a woman is responsible for young children there is not enough work inside the home today to occupy the brains and hands of most intelligent women completely. We discuss gravely the question whether a married woman shall work, as if her working were a new thing, but women have usually worked and worked desperately hard, married or unmarried, and as long as they continue to work inside the four walls of their homes, shut away from the public eye, they arouse no comment.

A man takes it for granted that his wife should work inside his household, but when she is earning money outside, he often feels his pride involved. Especially is this true of the young man of marriageable age. It is a fine chivalry that prompts his desire to "support" his wife as well as himself but isn't it mistaken?

In earlier days the home was a workshop and women manufactured with their own hands most of the things which were consumed by their households. These past generations of women contributed their full share toward the support of the family, but they did not get the definite money return for their work which the man enjoyed, and because they were dependent on what he chose to give them, the man had the pleasant feeling that he was supporting the woman, even when she was working much longer hours and often at quite as hard labor. It was a bit of fiction which women acquiesced in because it pleased men.

Nowadays great numbers of women are receiving a definite cash return for their work and the feeling of economic independence is a pleasant and healthy one. Obviously when a married woman who is also a housekeeper works outside the home there are serious and difficult adjustments to be made both for the husband and wife. The *Citizen* is carrying on this discussion with the hope that the actual experiences of men and women who have found certain adjustments possible will be of some practical help to others.

We believe that earlier and happier marriages will result from a recognition of the complete freedom of women to do the kind of work for which they are best fitted whether it is outside or inside the home. After all, why should an able-bodied person, man or woman, be supported in idleness by someone else?

100% Voter

BECAUSE the elections this fall are of minor officials, it is to be hoped that voters will not shirk their responsibilities and think of this as an off year politically. Sheriffs and county commissioners, members of town and county boards, justices of the peace, health boards and supervisors of poor relief are quite as important to the welfare of a community as are higher officials. In some respects they are more so. The health, the moral tone, the desirability of a community as a place of residence are largely in their hands. They spend enormous sums of money which come out of our pockets. County and Township expenses have increased alarmingly the past ten years. If the public were fairly sure that the money was wisely spent it would be willing to pay, but of how many county and township governments is this true? Are local roads repaired skillfully and economically so that they will wear well? Are the local courts where small cases are tried and where those least able to defend themselves come in contact with the law, conducted so that a fine ideal of American justice is maintained? Are sanitary conditions carefully safeguarded? Is the garbage in your town disposed of in a modern way? These are only a few of the problems which the men you elect have to meet. Isn't it obvious that to solve them wisely needs not only intelligence and honesty, but also a certain amount of expert knowledge? Government is becoming more and more a complicated business, and like all businesses it requires experience and training to be successfully conducted. Because a man (or woman) has been a party worker does not necessarily mean that he (or she) is qualified to fill an office.

Don't forget to register so you can vote in November.

Protecting the President

IT is to be hoped that the next Congress will adopt some provisions which will make the Presidency a job less dangerous to the life of the head of the nation. Everyone agrees that the duties and responsibilities of the office have been so multiplied of recent years that only a superman could fulfil them conscientiously and endure the burden. Since the days of President McKinley, the men who have held the office, including even the robust Theodore Roosevelt, have admitted that the strain was almost beyond human endurance, and each man has shown the heavy toll of his years which the work has taken. Senator Cummins proposes that the Presidency should be limited to one term, of possibly six years. But this would prevent the country's benefitting by the experience gained by a conscientious man in his first years in office, and might deprive it of the continued services of a particularly successful President.

There are several simple remedies which might easily be adopted.

The most obvious burden to be lifted is the custom that obliges the President to be on call for shaking hands. It is said that President Harding sometimes shook hands with as many as 1,200 a day. He should also be relieved of some of the drudgery and routine of desk work. The President has a tremendous number of decisions to make on important public questions—for him to be obliged to sign many thousands of papers, of which he is supposed to know the contents, is subjecting him to an inhuman strain. Then the entire business of patronage ought to be lifted from his shoulders. There is no doubt that the competitions for office, the consultations and strain of propitiating greedy party workers make a tremendous drain on the vitality as well as the time of the President. The appointment of postmasters alone is said to be enough to take the time of one man.

Walter F. Brown, chairman of the committee which is working on plans for the reorganization of the government, proposes a new official—an executive secretary—who would receive callers, sign routine papers and have authority to decide minor questions. While this would undoubtedly be

a help, the relief a single man could give would probably not meet the need adequately. It is likely that the United States eventually will have to adopt some modifications of its form of cabinet government.

At present the members of the Cabinet are only advisers to the President, they have little authority except as he delegates it and they have practically no official connection with Congress. The disadvantages of this lack of co-operation between Congress and the heads of departments have often been pointed out. It would be well if the Cabinet could be given direct responsibility and be required to meet on specified occasions with Congress.

The English form of cabinet government, with its responsibilities divided among a group of men, seems to be more practical and more democratic than the tremendous power which is concentrated in the single person of the President in the United States, and it may be the only solution of the problem.

"Seeing America"

EVERY time you see this heading you may expect a picture—sometimes pleasant, sometimes otherwise—of some part of our great country: not a generalization, but a spot-lighted particular place, where some good or some evil exists that ought to be widely known.

This time the spotlight is furnished by the Children's Bureau, and the place is a county in Georgia in the southernmost extension of the Blue Ridge Mountain belt. The Bureau begins with praise for the "rapid strides in public health achievement" made in Georgia and for the vigorous administration of the state Board of Health; but the picture shows the need of many more strides for the "twentieth century mothers and babies, facing hardships of seventeenth century pioneer life" in that mountain country.

The people are American by birth and descent: isolated by the mountains and the lack of good roads. Some of them had never seen a train. One man had not gone over the mountain range for his mail in a year; a woman had not been to the nearest settlement, six miles away, in twenty years. The county contained no hospitals—neither did neighboring counties. There were only seven physicians. Eighty-six per cent. of the mothers questioned went through pregnancy with no aid. Two-thirds were attended by physicians at childbirth; seventy-seven per cent. of these were not visited at all after the birth of the baby. Children were badly fed—sweetened coffee, syrup, cornbread, vegetables, even candy were fed to tiny babies. When illness followed, the answer was patent medicines, many of which contained alcohol, chloroform, ether.

The picture makes its own plea for remedies—a rural public health nursing service, a county commissioner of health, hospitals (and—obviously—roads). All of these are agencies women are working hard to promote—as witness again the Sheppard-Towner law—with the steady ideal of making the world better through making it better for children.

Better for Grown-Ups

IN spite of isolated communities like the above, the world seems to be making real progress in longevity, which also means reducing the amount of suffering and loss caused by disease. The average span of human life in the United States has been lengthened from forty-one years in 1870 to fifty-six in 1920. In the sixteenth century it is estimated that the average term of life was only eighteen to twenty years and at the close of the eighteenth century it was still less than twenty years. There is much yet to be done. Various authorities have estimated recently that nearly 50 per cent. of the illnesses of people in the United States and 75 per cent. of all accidents are entirely preventable.

The American Public Health Association believes that within the next fifty years at least twenty years more may be added to the average life. The United States Public Health Service in the bulletin containing the above figures says: "provided we maintain our present high standards of civilization and correct living, the average span of life by 1950 may reach the biblical three score and ten, but this can be accomplished only in an uninterrupted period of peace and prosperity."

It is not enough to live long. No one should be content merely to exist and not be sick.

The Woman's Health Foundation have the right idea. "Health Positive"—to be full of vitality, 100 per cent. fit, is possible for most of us and is what everyone of us should aspire to.

Vanity or Brains?

FRANCE still disagrees on the question of woman's intellectual ability. According to *La Francaise* only recently the Academie Francaise was asked to open its doors to women. This started a heated discussion. The French newspapers, without exception, took the women's side. The *Temps* published articles emphasizing the fact that the Academie had admitted women in its earliest days; that, way back in the epoch of Agrippa two famous women belonged to the immortal body, and that there are women members of both the Spanish and Belgian academies.

Against this appeared a letter written by Mme. Octave Mirbeau, wife of the well-known French writer, in which she expressed her strong disapproval. She claimed that there are no women of letters in France, and that there shouldn't be any; that to be successful in this field a woman must have brains. "There are some who put themselves in this class," she wrote, "but they are only vain." Which of course settled the question!

Perhaps before we smile at her remarks, it would be wise to point out that our American Academy has not yet opened its doors to women.

They Have Arrived

THE West Side Tennis Club at Forest Hills, which has become one of the accepted centers for both national and international matches, has a beautifully designed new stadium of concrete. It is the first of its kind in this country, and its opening is an important event in the annals of lawn tennis. To dedicate it the club chose—not Davis Cup matches, or an exhibition between Tilden and Johnson, none of the old standard headliners—they chose the first international matches between women's teams ever played in this country. It was a graceful gesture, but it meant more than that. It was genuine recognition of the place women have won in that finest of individual sports.

Sex in Sportsmanship?

TWO years ago the sport-loving public was amused by Suzanne Lenglen, the French woman tennis champion, her gowns, her rolled stockings, her ballet attitudes, and her tempers. And when, losing steadily to Mrs. Mallory, she abandoned the match "on account of illness," the air was full of, "Well, isn't that just like a woman! They haven't any sense of sportsmanship." This year other European invaders, the less advertised and less eccentric but very able English women's tennis team, is playing in national matches at the same place. Reporting the last set of the match between Miss McKane of England and Miss Wills of California, won by the latter with a score of 7-5, the *New York Times* says "Trailing at 1-5 in the set, tired in every limb and hardly able to keep her feet under her, Miss McKane gave a classic exhibition of fighting upon nerve, and evened the score at 5-all." Won't somebody please amend that old remark? It would be nice to hear, "Well, isn't that just like a woman! They show such a fine sense of sportsmanship!"

What the American Woman Thinks

Among University Women

By FANNIE FERN ANDREWS, PH. D.

Founder and Secretary of the American School Citizenship League

THE program adopted by the American Association of University Women at its annual convention in Portland, Oregon, ranks among the great constructive efforts of the year. Its central thought was the responsibility of the university woman for education and the public welfare.

The new educational policy adopted was an expression of this idea. Although discussions ranged from preschool education to the highest specialized forms of educational training, the specific program recommended related to the public elementary schools. The Association voted to devote itself to a study of public elementary education —"training ourselves by study and observation for leadership in our respective communities, and then exercising that leadership in an intelligent and disinterested way. . . . We must scrap much in the curricula that was once valuable, but now is useless . . . Old subjects were chosen in another age to educate children for an entirely different life from ours today."

Other measures endorsed were: A Federal Department of Education with Federal aid; an amendment to the Vocational Education Act, providing for increased appropriation for instruction in home economics; and a national physical education bill providing for the extension of physical education of children in states, through federal aid in the preparation and payment of supervisors.

The sense of responsibility for children's welfare was further expressed in the endorsement of a child labor amendment to the Constitution.

Plans too numerous to mention in this brief space were proposed for action by the Association in other fields besides education—in public health, citizenship, housing, social research, international relations. The Association accepted the invitation of the League of Women Voters to take part in a campaign for efficient citizenship, and recommended to the branches that they co-operate to bring the campaign to a successful issue.

A strongly marked interest emphasized in recent gatherings, which shows how the minds of women are working these days, was that in promoting better international relations

A number of proposals adopted by the World Conference on Education* were endorsed: the observance of the eighteenth of May as International Good-Will Day; that educational attachés be provided for all embassies and legations; that governments be asked to appropriate money for scholarships in education in foreign countries; that the International Federation of Educational Associations formed at the World Conference undertake a study of ways and means to assist national educational bodies to make sure that the information obtained by school children about other countries is presented with scrupulous honesty and in a spirit of fairness and good will.

The Convention also approved the plan of international exchange, proposed by the International Federation of University Women at its meeting in Paris, July 1922—the establishment of fellowships, interchange lectureships, and university clubhouses. With enthusiasm they voted to pay off the $200,000 debt on the national clubhouse in Washington by April 1, 1924. $28,160 was raised at the Convention.

As a climax to their enthusiasm for international friendship came the international banquet where four university women, representing India, Spain, Sweden and Canada, gave their messages of good will and co-operation.

With a unanimity that had marked their deliberations on international exchange they urged the entrance of the United States into the Permanent Court of International Justice and the League of Nations. They requested "the President of the United States at the earliest possible date to present to the Senate of the United States the Covenant of the League of Nations, for ratification on such terms as will be consistent with our Constitution and consonant with the dignity and honor, the moral responsibility and power of our Republic."

The influence of the American Association is shown by a glance at its organization. Its seventeen thousand members, in two hundred and forty-two branches covering forty-seven states, form a powerful factor in making public opinion. The Association has added sixty-four new branches with six thousand members since the last convention. Of the sixty-four new branches formed last year, thirty-nine are west of the Mississippi River, the largest number (eight) having been formed in Oklahoma. By states California has the largest number of members, New York, Wisconsin and Missouri ranking next. The goal of the Association is fifty thousand before the 1924 convention at Washington.

The women's university movement is strong and active, and the United States leads in membership and resources. The officers of the American Association rank high as scholars and executives.

For geographical reasons it was most appropriate to choose the new President from the Pacific coast. Indeed this wonderful section of the country, with its inimitable hospitality, fascinated and lured the delegates who went to Portland, and with one voice they elected as president the distinguished daughter of California, scholar and able executive, Dr. Aurelia Henry Reinhardt, president of Mills College.

* *See Citizen of August 11.*

To Prevent War

By RUTH MORGAN

Chairman Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War of the National League of Women Voters

THE people of the United States today are mourning the loss of their President and receiving the condolences of the whole world upon his death. The League of Women Voters while mourning with their fellow countrymen may well call attention to what President Harding said in his last speech, how much he had learned from the great "experience of being President." From that high peak of influence and authority the problem of world peace and the profound necessity for International Co-operation to Prevent War were described by him as the issues of paramount importance to us all.

This subject was the theme of many of his trans-continental addresses. In one speech he spoke of the figures showing the cost of wars, past, present and future, to the Treasury of the United States as set forth by the Bureau of Statistics.

These figures, quoted and published by the National Council for Prevention of War through its Executive Secretary, Frederick Libby, were hotly contested by the War Department, and the National Council was criticized severely for lack of candor and veracity. The solemn repetition of these figures by the President of the United States, namely: 85 per cent. of the American taxes go to pay for past, present and future wars, should be a sufficient answer to Secretary Weeks and give great weight to the figures themselves and to the inferences drawn from them by the National Council.

In another address the President referred to his proposal to the Senate, now

in the hands of the Committee on Foreign Relations, that the United States become a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice. He endeavored to calm the fears of those who could not believe that the remote connection existing between this Court and the League of Nations was not dangerous in the present and compromising as regards the future.

That those who advocate our entry into the League of Nations think that experience with the Court would modify American opposition to the League and pave the way for our entry into it, should at once be conceded.

A successful experiment in organized International Co-operation might demonstrate many facts not now evident to the public. But honest experiments must show honest results, and what would be actually proved to the American voters is still uncertain. What is certain, is that entry into this Court is just that—entry into this Court—no more no less—a Court without compulsory jurisdiction whatever over our affairs.

The merits of the first proposal were outstanding in two respects:

That nations abroad were already organized into the Court, thus providing the maximum of possible agreement in other continents, and that Democrats and Republicans are fairly agreed here as to the merits of the proposal, thus providing the maximum of possible agreement at home. Any serious modification would place the question outside the sphere of practical achievement.

It cannot be sufficiently emphasized that unless we amend the Constitution of the United States, Democrats and Republicans have got to agree in the Senate in spite of party prejudices, if we are to have a two-thirds majority behind any constructive policy in foreign affairs at any time.

The only practical substitute for war is law. And the forces for peace must be united to secure an effective World Court.

The foes of peace are wise enough to take advantage of our unhappy divisions.

The last messages of President Harding echo the hopes and prayers of Woodrow Wilson, who has lived to follow behind his bier, and of millions of people of all parties, that somehow and before it is too late the people of this country should join in bringing Law instead of War to reign over a whole distracted world and to a civilization bent on destroying itself.

An Appreciation

By Harriet Taylor Upton

Vice Chairman Executive Committee of the National Republican Committee

In the passing of President Harding, the women of the United States have lost a great and true friend. He more than any man with whom I have worked, understood the woman in politics. It was never necessary to argue any question pertaining to their interest. He seemed intuitively to know how to solve it.

He was proud and gratified that all women appointed by him to important positions, had made good. Recognizing women's value, he was anxious that the party should avail itself of their ability and service.

Personally I feel his loss, more than I can express and I shall miss his counsel and advice.

Guarding North Carolina's Welfare

FOR two years now, a woman has been directing a state-wide system of public welfare in North Carolina. The woman is Mrs. Kate Burr Johnson, the first woman ever to hold so high an executive position in that state.

In 1921, when the former Commissioner of Public Welfare resigned from an office created by the General Assembly four years earlier, for the re-invigoration of the old Board of Charities, Mrs. Johnson, who had served under him for two years as Director of Child Welfare, seemed to some the logical person to fill the vacancy. To some—but not to all. A woman was a woman, and public business, even charitable, was public business. Between the two, in the minds of the old-timers, there was a great gulf fixed.

The State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, which chooses its commissioner, "hung fire" four months. But the leading newspapers in the state came out strongly for Mrs. Johnson; the State Federation of Women's Clubs, of which she is an ex-president, unanimously endorsed her, as did the Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs; and Governor Morrison recommended her appointment. The Board of Charities and Public Welfare finally publicly recognized Mrs. Johnson's evident qualifications for the office, and a new day broke in North Carolina's administrative circles.

Kate Burr Johnson

The first thing the new Commissioner did was to organize thoroughly the work of the Board of Charities and Public Welfare. She divided this work under five bureaus (where one sub-division had been before). These bureaus are those of child welfare, county organization, institutional supervision, education and promotion, and mental health and hygiene.

The last, with a trained psychopathologist in charge, represented something entirely novel in public welfare work in North Carolina.

This past January, Mrs. Johnson for the first time came up against that bugbear of all public officials, a session of the General Assembly. In some quarters there appeared to be trepidation as to how she would emerge. Possessed of a natural gift for politics, Mrs. Johnson came through the session with a Mothers' Aid Law for North Carolina and an annual appropriation for public welfare increased by fifty per cent. Her only set-back was the defeat of a bill to abolish flogging of prisoners and their confinement in dark cells, for which, as the representative of the Welfare Board, she lobbied with members of the North Carolina Conference for Social Service. This bill was killed in committee.

But the Commissioner bided her time for prison reform. It came—in less than two months after the close of the legislature's session. On April 12, E. E. Dudding, president of the Prisoners' Relief Society at Washington, wrote the chairman of the Board of Directors of the North Carolina State Prison, charging brutal and inhuman treatment of prisoners there. The chairman publicly expressed himself as determined to treat this letter "with scorn and contempt." The Superintendent of the State Prison branded the charges as "a tissue of lies." Apparently, as far as North Carolina prison officials were con-

(Continued on page 20)

The Woman Voter

(This four-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.)

Edited by RUTH KIMBALL GARDINER *for*
THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
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The League's New Posters

THE five new posters prepared by the Publications Committee are now ready for distribution. The price of the set is $1.00 and the office of the first vice-president furnishes, for that nominal sum, everything but the thumb-tacks.

All the placards are effective, but one of them (Number 4) impresses all beholders who understand the printing art, as a masterpiece. If national headquarters were of a sporting mind it would offer to bet that no job printer anywhere in the United States will fail to stand before that poster in rapt admiration of its exquisite balance, its perfect arrangement, and the flawless harmony of its several type sizes. Possibly the Publications Committee could have made a better poster, but so far, nobody else has ever made one so good.

Like all other perfect works of art, it is simple. Like the other posters of the set is a sheet of heavy paper, tan-colored, 27 x 36 inches, with the National League name at the top. Below in perfectly proportioned big brown letters is, "What Do You Know About Your Town?" The body of the sheet bears eleven parallelograms, brown bordered, arranged in three rows, four at top and bottom and three between. The center bordered space has attached to it the famous pamphlet, *Know Your Town*, and in each of the other spaces is printed a question certain to stir the interest of all comers. "Do germs or children thrive in your town?" is one question. "Is it dangerous to work in your town?", "When did the first settlers come to your town?" and "Is it safe to play in your town?" are others. The woman who reads the poster in a League headquarters window, or on a League wall, or in a League booth at a county fair, or anywhere else, can not fail to want to know the answers and she will be attracted apparently wholly by what the poster says. The art which conceals art will not suggest to her how much genius and knowledge of what can be done with type and spaces went into the making of that poster.

The organization chart (Number 2) donated by the National Cash Register people, is a League *Who's Who*. It is the only white poster in the set and is printed strikingly in black and red. Across the top runs, "To increase the number of efficient voting citizens," with the League name below. Beneath that, framed in black lines, are portraits of Mrs. Park and Mrs. Catt, and below them, pictures of the five other officers. Across the sheet just beneath, the Efficiency in Government Department and the International Co-operation to Prevent War Department, with portraits of Miss Sherwin and Miss Morgan, and their programs, divide the page. Six spaces follow, one for each standing committee, its chairman, and its program in outline, and portraits of the regional directors complete the page. Every League will want this poster as a reference book. It tells at a glance more about the aims and purposes of the League and the women who make them effective than could be explained in half an hour's talk.

Number 1 of the series proves that much can be done with simple material properly displayed. To it are fastened League pamphlets, including an open and a closed copy of *What It Is, Seven Steep Steps*, and *Why Join*. Mrs. Park's world-known pledge for conscientious citizenship occupies the center of the poster, with *History and Principles* above and her 1923 president's address below. Local Leagues are free to arrange the pamphlets in different fashion, of course, but it is not likely they will do so, for the arrangement described cannot be bettered.

Number 3 is the official advertising sheet of the Efficiency in Government Department, the lively descriptive folder catalog of the department's publications, opened, and doubly striking because it is alone on the sheet.

Number 5 is the International Co-operation to Prevent War Department's poster. Five copies of Justice Florence Allen's classic address on the outlawry of war are arranged at the top like a hand of cards spread out. ("A full house," a visitor who knows poker called it, changing the term to "a royal flush" after he had read the matchless speech). The *Permanent Court Primer* and the *Outlawry of War Primer* below the unbeatable hand are supporters to two blue "Law not War" and reading-suggestion cards and the poster is completed by two sets of round-table questions and the suggestions made to the Minneapolis League.

The exhibit is so simple that anybody who can push a thumb-tack can assemble it and so astonishingly complete that it covers in the briefest possible space the whole field of the League. What the League is and why and how are all there. Headquarters expects to hear that local Leagues have persuaded cinema theatres to adapt the whole set for use and that many copies will be ordered for library exhibits. Leagues are advised to send their orders in early, for the supply is not inexhaustible and late comers may find themselves unable to obtain the greatest aid to membership and educational campaigns the League has ever issued. One dollar is the price of the set, pamphlets for attaching included.

The Story Mrs. Park Told

"IT was like the rush into Oklahoma when the land was first thrown open to settlers," said Mrs. Maud Wood Park, in telling of the race in which the ship bringing her back from Europe took part. "To begin with, we were told that the steamship lines have pooled. The law stipulates that no more than twenty per cent. of any one country's quota of immigrants shall enter in any one month. The steamship companies allot among themselves this percentage, agreeing to let one another know how many immigrants each ship is carrying, for every immigrant in excess of the quota must be taken back by the company that brought him over, and this means expense and loss. One company only, we were told, has not entered the pool and does not tell how many immigrants it carries. This makes the game like euchre with the 'joker' dealt.

"The day before we were to arrive there came a radio message. The 'King Alexander' not in the pool, and carry-

ing a ship-load of Greeks—the number was given—was twenty-four hours ahead of us. If it crossed the line first, and we second, seventeen of our Greeks must go back. There were bets that we could make only fifth place, and in that case, since we carried many nationalities, nobody knew how many would be refused admittance.

"At five in the afternoon of June 30th, the last day of the fiscal year, with every quota of all the nationalities on board exhausted long before, we dropped anchor down the bay. Our pilot had steered us in so that we—I mean our ship, the *Presidente Wilson*—lay nearest Staten Island. Ahead of us lay the *President Adams* and a French boat, and to port, our rival, the *King Alexander*. Other ships crept up and anchored, all as near the imaginary line as they dared, for if the swing of the tide had swept any ship across, the new fiscal year had not yet begun, and technically arriving in the old year, all its immigrants would have been sent back.

"The immigrants all understood what was at stake—America or deportation. They hung over the rail, they climbed the rigging; the bow was black with men all straining their eyes toward the great fairy-like city looming ahead. The port flags were broken out on the yards. A handsome Greek boy beside me, naturalized and speaking the atrocious English we allow our new-made citizens to acquire, fretted and swore because flag after flag went up and no Stars and Stripes among them. Suddenly Old Glory fluttered to the peak and caught the breeze.

"'There's the American flag,' I said to him. He turned to me with shining eyes.

"'O, Boy,' he said, 'don't it look great!'

"It did. It swung like a flame high above us, an altar fire. What it meant to the immigrants I could not know, but I could guess.

"At twenty minutes to midnight we heard anchors raised all about us. Engines began to throb. Other ships slipped up. Why didn't our pilot give the signal? We rushed from one side of the deck to the other. What was the matter with our pilot? Young, he was, we had seen when he came aboard. A ship behind us drove across our stern and began to steal between us and Staten Island. It was three minutes to midnight and on the lower deck there were curses and sobs, and on the upper deck we leaned forward as if we could push the ship ahead. Suddenly the *Presidente Wilson* leaped full steam ahead, and ran for the line. A great red light shot a path across the water marking the line. It touched the tumble of our screw astern. The *Presidente Wilson* had crossed with all its immigrants to safety. Every steerage passenger banged, with anything he could bang, tin pans, hob-nailed shoes, heavy sticks. A tremendous shout went up of thirty nationalities cheering together. The right to American citizenship was theirs, for the *President Wilson* had won the race."

Sugar Investigation

(Report of the Living Costs Committee, Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, chairman, continued from the Woman Voter of August 11)

THE question of monopoly or competition may also be of moment in connection with governmental investigations recently undertaken to determine the cause of the spectacular rise in the price of sugar.

There seems to be no doubt that this rise in price has been manipulated by speculators, who, in part, seized upon a statement of the Department of Commerce which seemed to indicate that the production of sugar has been insufficient to supply the demand. However, Secretary Hoover has recently and repeatedly stated that there is no sugar shortage. Some of the sugar refiners are protesting against the rising prices and a demand has been made upon the Department of Justice to punish sugar manipulators. It is hoped that such action will prevent a further increase of price,

It is the policy of the Living Costs Committee, as expressed in our adopted resolution, "To support all active work of the various governmental departments tending to prevent unfair acts by combinations which unduly increase the cost of living." If further action is necessary our committee could, under this authority, send resolutions to the President and the Department of Justice, requesting enforcement of the laws against manipulators and speculators, who are guilty of unlawful restraint of trade. If the present publicity leads to vigorous prosecution and the enactment of further legislation which will make speculation in food products unsafe for those who promote it, such publicity will have been worth while.

Boycotts, however effective, are little more than temporary expedients, that can hardly be expected to settle fundamental difficulties. On the whole, is it not farther-sighted to develop a public opinion that will insist on the enforcement of laws and the punishment of persons who gamble with the necessities of life?

Filled Milk

Anti-Filled Milk Bill: The Living Costs Committee at the annual convention in 1922 recommended federal legislation prohibiting the manufacture and sale of "filled milk." On March 4, 1923, President Harding signed the Ladd-Voigt Anti-Filled Milk Bill, which passed the Senate on March 1, without a record vote. As finally enacted the bill contained two changes from the measure which passed the House in May, 1922, by a vote of 250 to 40. One of these changes was for the purpose of clarifying the bill; the other to make an exception in the case of certain special combinations of milk and other substances prescribed by physicians and designed for feeding infants and young children.

The act declares that "filled milk is an adulterated article of food, injurious to public health and its sale constitutes a fraud upon the public." It forbids the manufacture and sale within the District of Columbia and possessions of the United States, and the shipment in interstate or foreign commerce of milk compounds in which any fat other than milk-fat is an ingredient. The act does not apply to the manufacture and sale of such compounds wholly within the boundaries of any state. It therefore needs to be supplemented by state prohibitory laws of a similar sort. Prohibitory or restrictive laws have already been enacted in Ohio, Wisconsin, California, Colorado, Maryland, Oregon, New York, New Jersey, Utah, Florida, Vermont, and Washington. Similar bills are pending in the legislature of Pennsylvania, Idaho, Kansas, Iowa, Illinois, Minnesota, and Connecticut.

The Institute at Columbia

WHEN Dr. Luther Gulick, director of the National Institute of Public Administration, wrote to Miss Belle Sherwin, vice-president of the League of Women Voters, asking why there had never been a school for citizenship in New York City for leaders, he started something and when Miss Sherwin, with the co-operation of Mrs. F. Louis Slade, of New York City, enlisted the interest of President Butler, of Columbia University, the success of the project was assured.

With the co-operation of Columbia University, the institute held its regular session during the last two weeks of July in the auditorium of Earl Hall on the Columbia campus. Miss Sherwin herself, with the assistance of Dr. Raymond Moley, of the Cleveland Foundation and the Columbia faculty, and Miss Helen Rocca, secretary of the Division of Training for Citizenship, of the League, directed the institute. Members of the New York State League and the New York City League acted as hostesses, among them Mrs. F. Louis Slade, Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt, Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, Mrs. Walter Timme, Mrs. William G. Wilcox, Mrs. J. F. Berman, and Miss Mary G. Hay.

"This institute was probably the first of its kind," said Miss Sherwin who is the League's Chairman of Efficiency in Government, "designed as it was for women leaders to receive from expert economists the fundamentals of government procedure and administration."

During two of July's most oppressive weeks, women from

fifteen states, many of them chosen by their state Leagues for qualities of leadership, sat for morning and afternoon sessions, their attention eagerly focussed upon the general program of the forms, the financing, and the elective, law-making, and administrative functioning of government.

Among the women present were four presidents of state Leagues: Mrs. Harriman Simmons, of New Jersey; Mrs. Henrietta Romine, of West Virginia; Mrs. Richard Williams, of South Carolina, and Mrs. F. Louis Slade, of New York. There was also the chairman of the Citizenship Schools Department of the Chicago League, Mrs. Mary Wood Simons. There was one woman of the colored race, Mrs. Lena Watters Hall, a leader among her people in southern Illinois.

The Five Points Discussed

The program of the two weeks' study followed five specific lines, identical with the League's Efficiency in Government program for the year. The first of these, "General Problems in Popular Government," was covered by two lectures each on the following subjects, delivered by the economists indicated: "Social Progress and the Constitution," Professor Arthur MacMahon, Columbia; "The Direct Primary," Harold W. Dodds, secretary of the Municipal League; "State and County Reorganization," Dr. Raymond Moley, of the Cleveland Foundation and Columbia University; and "Control over Foreign Relations," Professor Lindsay Rogers, Columbia.

In "State and County Reorganization," which touched the students of the institute most intimately, Dr. Moley emphasized the keynote of the entire school, that of the need for sincere and concerted participation in local government as the first step toward remedying the evils of all government. Dr. Moley presented for discussion the county-manager plan as a method for securing responsible administration of the county's business.

The question of how a county would proceed to reorganize its governmental machinery was launched by Dr. Moley. Mrs. Dyer and Mrs. W. G. Willcox, of Westchester County New York, reported that the leaders of their county had found it necessary to secure the consent of a majority of the voters in that county as well as the consent of the state legislature before they were permitted to begin reorganization.

The second general theme, "Efficient Law Making," presented in eight lectures and two round tables by Walter J. Millard, field secretary of the Proportional Representation League, Professor Thomas I. Parkinson, Columbia University, and Harold W. Dodds, secretary of the National Municipal League, proved among the most thought-provoking of the series. Mr. Millard handled in thorough fashion the methods of election and the forms of ballot now in use throughout the world. He concentrated attention upon the proportional representation method of electing and the Hare system of balloting. These Mr. Millard believes, are the best of their kind for expressing the will of the minority as well as of the majority of the voters.

Mr. Dodds' treatment of procedure within legislatures, was comprehensively documented with a comparative study of the legislative methods operating in the various states, and revealed some startling discrepancies in some of our present-day state governmental machinery.

Intimate glimpses into the processes of bill-drafting as they exist today in our state legislatures and in Congress, were the lively contribution of Professor Parkinson.

To those women interested in municipal problems, the four lectures and one round table devoted to the third question, "City Government," were exceedingly stimulating. These were conducted by Dr. E. D. Graper, of Columbia, and Professor A. R. Hatton, of Western Reserve University. The mayor-council, the commission and the manager types of city government were thoroughly analyzed and a spirited round table, led by Professor Hatton, resulted. Professor Hatton who is an expert in city government and who has drafted the charters for many of the country's largest cities, including the new Cleveland charter and the one now in process for Minneapolis, recommended the city-manager type as most worthy of study. This, as Professor Hatton indicated, has for some time been in successful operation in Dayton, Ohio, in Norfolk, Virgina, and in Sumter, South Carolina.

The fourth general subject, "Problems in Efficient Government," included government finance, under Doctor Luther Gulick, director of the National Institute of Public Administration, and "Public Employment" under William Mosher of the same organization.

Dr. Gulick's plea was for more business-like methods in government purchasing and for a centralized purchasing office for the city as well as for larger government units. Dr. Gulick was assisted by Mr. Russell Forbes of the National Association of Purchasing Agents.

In the argument as to the relative merits of the old spoils system for making government appointments to office as contrasted with the system of civil service now being developed, an informal debate occurred between Mayor Carlson, of Jamestown, West Virginia, who is unfavorable to the present system, and William G. Rice, Commissioner for Civil Service for New York State, who championed it.

On the second day of the civil service study, Miss Laura L. Tracy and Mr. Herbert E. Morgan, both of the staff of the United States Civil Service Commission, talked informally of some of the difficulties encountered by the commission and some of the methods used in maintaining the morale of its great army of government workers all over the country.

William Dudley Foulke, president of the National Civil Service Reform League and a man whose acquaintance with the problems of government employment ranges back over the time when the spoils system and the evils of patronage were most flagrant, delivered a stirring defense of the merit system as it is being gradually perfected in our civil service.

The last of the general themes presented during the institute, "The Popularizing of the Teaching of Government," consisted of three round tables under the direction of Dr. Moley, and served to crystallize the purpose of the entire institute, which, in the words of Miss Sherwin, was "for the leaders to get more information, not for their own pleasure or their own culture, but that they might give back information to their communities and so help to fix habits of good citizenship. After all," said Miss Sherwin, "this will be the most fundamental step we can make toward improvement in government."

Red-Letter Events

One of the red-letter events of the institute was the late-afternoon address given in the Columbia Gymnasium on Wednesday, July 18, by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the Pan American Association for the Advancement of Women, and honorary president of the League.

Mrs. Catt, who but recently returned from a trip through South America and southern Europe, spoke to the institute students and the students of Columbia University upon the subject, "Friends or Foes." Her address was a plea for a friendlier spirit upon the part of Americans for the people of other nations, many of whom look upon the United States with distrust.

Another significant address was delivered by Mr. Everett Colby, one of the country's distinguished lecturers on foreign relations who spoke of the Permanent Court.

Although the major part of the time was spent in the work of the institute, its attendants found time to enjoy two delightful social affairs.

On Tuesday afternoon, July 17th, the New York State League, with Mrs. Walter Timme and Mrs. Charles Tiffany as hostesses, entertained at tea at the Woman's City Club and with a motor trip about the city.

Tuesday afternoon, July 24, was the occasion for another delightful tea, when Mrs. Slade and her associate officers, were at home on the yacht "Aloha," for the New York State League. The yacht, which is owned by Commodore Arthur Curtis James, Mrs. Slade's cousin, was anchored in the Hud-

son, off the Eighty-Sixth Street pier. While tea was being served, the yacht made a cruise of four hours up the Hudson to West Point and back.

It was on occasions like these, as well as in the spirited sessions of the institute that these women from many states had opportunity to discover the comradely spirit which exists among women who are co-operating in a great cause.

The institute, unique among citizenship schools, has proved one of the big steps of the year for the League of Women Voters. It has demonstrated to leaders the more comprehensive types of citizenship school in action, and might well serve as a model for countless similar institutes; and it has put into the hands of leaders authoritative information, the best that the country can give, on the big problems of efficient government.—ELIZABETH B. CANADAY, Iowa.

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What Leagues Are Doing

MRS. PARKER MADDUX, president of the San Francisco League, sends word of her League's latest achievement toward efficiency in government, the appointment of an eminently qualified woman, Dr. Theresa Meikle, as Assistant District Attorney in San Francisco city and county, to take charge of the work of the Woman's Court. This particular advance is the result of the two-years' service of the League's court observer, Mrs. Ernest Wallace, and her assistants. Virtually all the women's organizations in the city really believe, Mrs. Maddux says, that "they picked the candidate," and if every one of them did not, at least every one of them, drawn by Mrs. Wallace's non-political, non-partisan, diplomatic, and wholly unselfish work, lent the aid of hearty good will and devotion to a common cause.

THE Kentucky League is going ahead by leaps and bounds. There has been a school of citizenship at Lexington, and another at the University of Kentucky. Letters setting forth the aims and purposes of the League have been sent and read at all the summer normal schools throughout the state and Mrs. E. L. Hutchinson, state president, has spoken repeatedly before such schools and from Chautauqua platforms. Mrs. Herbert Mengel, vice-president, and Miss Mildred Andrews, state treasurer, took the normal schools of McLean and Muhlenberg Counties for their lecture field. The state League has sponsored the organization of a joint legislative committee made up of representatives of twenty women's clubs, leagues, unions, orders, and associations.

World News About Women

A Survey of Women's Occupations

A RECENT survey made by the Women's Bureau proves the fact that women are rapidly entering fields hitherto confined solely to men. In transportation the number has doubled in the last ten years; there has been an increase of 50,000 or more during the same period in clerks, stenographers, typists, bookkeepers, telephone operators, trained nurses. In the skilled trades they are slowly advancing, a few classifying themselves as machinists, brick and stone masons, toolmakers, iron molders, plasterers, plumbers, gas fitters, and even blacksmiths, forgemen and hammermen. Public service is claiming them, for there has been an increase of 60.7 per cent. during the decade. The number of county officials, federal officials and postmistresses has grown from 275 in 1910 to 652 in 1920; probation and truant officers from 188 to 780. The report shows 8 aeronauts, 27 inventors, 41 technical engineers, 137 architects, 2 forest rangers, 25 landscape gardeners. The number has trebled in chemists, assayers, metallurgists, clergymen, draftsmen; lawyers, judges and justices; college presidents and professors; religious, charity and welfare workers, and teachers of athletics and dancing. The only occupations which have decreased are farm laborers, dressmakers, milliners, and domestic and personal servants, the latter falling from 31.3 per cent. in 1910 to 25.6 in 1920.

Police Women

COLOGNE and the occupied area of Germany now have a complete organization of women police. It was formed by Commander Allen, head of the Women's Auxiliary Service, on the invitation of the British War Office. Frau Lindermann, a prominent German feminist, and representative German women, aided by Commander Allen, selected the women. The force consists of five British uniformed women police and three German policewomen. Their duties are to attend to the thousands of young girls between fifteen and eighteen who congregate in Cologne.

Equality in Divorce

BOTH Houses of Parliament have passed a bill whereby the grounds for divorce in Great Britain will be equal, regardless of sex. Formerly a man wishing a divorce merely had to prove adultery, while a woman the additional charges of cruelty and desertion. Now infidelity is sufficient in either case.

Congratulations

THROUGH Minnie Brewer, editor of the Mississippi *Woman Voter*, we learn that in the Democratic primary, held August 7, Nellie Nugent Somerville, of Greenville, Mississippi, was elected to the House of Representatives. She will be the first woman to sit in the state legislature. Mrs. Somerville has been an active suffrage worker, serving as the first president of the Mississippi Suffrage Association.

A Junior Enterprise

WHILE the "Home Sweet Home" house at Washington was being visited by many people, another house was causing comment in Port Huron, Michigan. This was a house to be planned, supervised and furnished by one hundred and fifty junior high-school students of the Community Civics class at the Washington high school, as their share of the national Better Homes campaign, and then to be thrown on the open market for sale. Mrs. Katherine B. Heavenrich started the children with $5,500 to their credit in a Port Huron bank, with the understanding that they could build the house as they thought wisest and if the sale price was insufficient to cover this amount, their financial backer would stand the loss. Three plans were drawn before one was found that fitted their bank account. The construction was minutely watched by the children, and also by the grown people of Port Huron, who speculated as to the result, and incidentally learned much regarding home-building.

When everything was completed, the day for the auction was set. Bids at first were low, and the children's hopes were dashed. Little by little they rose until the tense moment when the words —"Sold to Nelson Moore at $5,800" broke the strain. The idea has proved successful, and now the children are hoping that one of the seven money prizes of $500 or less offered by the *Delineator* for the seven best demonstrations during Better Homes week this year may fall their way.

Consider the Children

GRACE ABBOTT, head of the Federal Children's Bureau and unofficial American observer on the Commission on International Traffic in Women and Children of the League of Nations, has made the plea that a guarantee for the happiness and welfare of children be included in whatever machinery for co-operation among nations is set in motion as a result of the $100,000 American peace award offered by Edward Bok. She says: "It might well be argued that the problem of securing world peace is a fundamental problem in child welfare . . . To prevent war, we shall need certain guarantees for children. They must be educated, healthy, happy, trained in self-discipline, to respect the right of others, and to respect differences in others."

THE American Child Health Association has only lately published a fascinating little book, *A Parody Sport Book by Happy*. It has attractive line cuts and sage advice, and is recommended to all teachers who wish to interest boys and girls in health habits.

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THE WOMAN WE WOULD LIKE TO BE—By Sarah Field Splint

EACH of us knows some woman with amazing *charm.* She stands out distinctly from all the other women of our acquaintance, a vivid personality, her face keenly alive, her gaze direct and interested, her sympathies attuned to everything vital that is happening around her. Yet so sincere is our admiration for her that we accept her graces of mind and spirit as a matter of course and never wonder how she acquired her priceless gift.

Magnetism and charm must come as the result of intelligent and patient training. Golden possibilities are in every woman but their development rests upon the energy and ambition of the individual.

If the woman of today has any quarrel with the world, it seems to me it lies just here, that even when she has longed unceasingly for a richer, more expansive life, no helping hand has been stretched out to her. Systems without number have been devised for developing the personality of men, but only one, so far as I know, ever considered the building of a woman's individuality as of any *real* importance.

A Woman Can Develop Personality

PELMANISM is that shining exception. There is no magic or mystery about it, yet it has changed the face of life for many a woman. It simply searches out a woman's latent talents and shows her how to make the most of them. Pelmanism is a perfectly clear and definite lesson course which takes a woman's thoughts out of their daily rut, and stimulates all her mental faculties.

Charm has a mental base. It implies interest—an intelligent interest—in people, in things, in life, in living and in the world that is about us. No such interest can be manifested unless the mind has color and force. What we call *personality* is another possession that goes right back to the brain. The very word itself breathes a suggestion of the vitality, the originality, the zest that are its true meanings.

So I say that the woman who lets herself sag mentally, who permits her mind to run in ruts, who fails to keep her wits polished is a woman who faces the future without hope of charm or personality.

How, then are these qualities to be developed? Psychologists agree that first of all there must be decision as to one's *purposes in life.*

Have You Counted Your Good Points?

THE old precept, "Know thyself," is as binding today as when it was first uttered. We must *know* our good points in order to strengthen them, just as we must know our weaknesses in order to overcome them.

Every woman has something to offer her friends and the world, and a talent need not be a big one to merit cultivation. Even if it is only an *inclination* it should be cherished and nurtured. Often the use of that one talent breeds other talents.

There was never a time in the history of the world when women were in better position for this development. Old barriers are down and every gate of opportunity swings wide open. Also the Twentieth Century has seen full twenty years added to the *youth* of women. Where once they were old at thirty, it is now their privilege to be young at *fifty.* Age is largely mental.

SARAH FIELD SPLINT

FORMERLY EDITOR TODAY'S HOUSEWIFE AND CHIEF OF DIVISION OF HOME CONSERVATION, UNITED STATES FOOD ADMINISTRATION.

The mind that keeps its color, its tone and its vitality, is a mind that can be depended upon to escape the horrors of middle age.

All of which leads naturally to Pelmanism, for it is a course in mental training that gives the mind drive and precision, doing away with wool-gathering and mind wandering. It is, in effect, *applied psychology,* put into twelve lesson books by the foremost psychologists of Europe and America, and reinforced by the experience of twenty-five years during which more than 500,000 men and women have realized its benefits. It is based upon the sound principle that the mind has got to be exercised just as much as the body.

"We Are Dealing with Human Hopes"

AFTER careful examination of the twelve books, I made a thorough investigation of the offices. I have never seen an institution more impressed with its responsibilities, for as the Director of Instruction said, "We are dealing with human hopes." Every lesson has a work sheet that must be filled out by the student, and this work sheet is gone over by trained psychologists with painstaking care.

What surprised me, more than anything else, was the number of women students. Virtually every trade, profession and calling is represented on the books of the Pelman Institute—housewives, business women, "society leaders," professional women and workers—all possessed by a common desire for a richer, more interesting life.

I think the war is partly responsible for the eagerness these women displayed to master the science of right thinking. It taught them, together with all their sisters, to look for the short cuts and to take them: to walk through obstacles instead of timidly steering around them; *to reach out* for their share of the world's work rather than to wait for circumstances to bring it to them.

On every hand women are rebelling against monotony and mediocrity. Pelmanism comes as an Open Door. It does not make life more difficult but actually simplifies it. The small amount of time required daily can be found by any woman who really wants to grow.

I know women who have trained themselves to think of interesting and worth while things as they washed dishes or prepared the vegetables for dinner.

My Wonderful Friend

NOT long ago I knocked at he door of a lonely farmhouse. It was answered by a woman whom I had seen many times on the lecture platform, a wonderful personality who always made a deep and lasting impression on those who had the privilege of hearing her speak. I found to my surprise that she did all her own work and made her children's clothes and helped her husband at some of the lighter farm tasks.

"I never lose a minute," she said, "I think only of things that will help me. I spend the long evenings reading. During my busy days I think of the things I have read. I never allow my mind to go wool-gathering."

There is comfort in the thought that no conditions, however hard, can really hold one back. What this woman has done for herself, Pelmanism will do for others.

Every woman cherishes in her heart the image of the woman she would *like* to be. I believe the realization of that ideal is contained in Pelmanism.

(Signed) SARAH FIELD SPLINT.

NOTE: As Sarah Field Splint has pointed out, Pelmanism is neither an experiment nor a theory. It has stood the test for twenty years. Its students are in every country in the world. Its benefits are attested by hundreds of thousands of men and women in all walks and conditions of life.

Pelmanism is taught entirely by correspondence. There are twelve lessons—twelve "Little Gray Books." The course can be completed in three to twelve months, depending entirely upon the amount of time devoted to study. Half an hour daily will enable the student to finish in three months.

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The Bookshelf

By M. A.

HOWEVER much the interests of women may have broadened in real life, in fiction they remain pretty much the same. Love, a husband, children, those are their chief goals. Viola, of Michael Sadlier's "*Desolate Splendour*" (Putnam, 1923) uses the old technique to attain hers. Beautiful, passionate, fainting at the proper moment among the correct English surroundings, she twines herself around the object of her love in the best romantic manner. The book is well-written, and full of the authentic odor of old manor houses, decayed nobility, and the power of love to reform. The one outstanding figure is Mrs. Plethern, dead-white, sluggish, perverted old woman, with her endless intrigues and her still wickedness.

D. H. Lawrence is another who paints the traditional woman. "*The Captain's Doll*" (Seltzer, 1923) contains three long stories, of which the first gives the book its title. His heroines, Hannele, March, and Daphne, wouldn't think of going in for politics or public welfare. Men are their occupation and their avocation. All three stories contain the sense of vivid color, of breathless suspense among intangibles, of life within lives, which pervades Mr. Lawrence's work. They are at once less involved and less thickly sexual than some of his novels, and therefore more pleasantly readable.

Grant Overton's "*Island of the Innocent*" (Doran, 1923) is chiefly the story of Dace Sherrill's search for a husband. Left penniless after three years of college, Dace gets a job as kitchen maid in "Waterside Hospital on Little Sister Island, above Blackwell's." The author leaves you wondering whether there is any symbolic connection between that living graveyard and his biblical island of the innocent. The picture of life in a hospital full of drug addicts, drunks, incurables, and grafting officials leaves little to the imagination. Dace works because she has to, finding neither satisfaction nor inspiration. And the next job which calls for brains rather than hands is equally deadening. The book gives one the feeling that Mr. Overton is trying to be both frank and honest. That he sometimes jerks the strings too obviously is a misfortune.

Gilbert Cannan's "*Annette and Bennett*" (Seltzer, 1923) is a welcome relief, in that all its women have either acquired a husband, or given up hope. Annette, Catherine, Miss Lawrie, are all strong types between whom a struggle is inevitable. And of these the most dangerous is the old woman Catherine. "If she had only been either old or a woman: but she was majestic, enthroned, insisting so meticulously upon the obstinacy, the brittle, meticulous obstinacy which she paraded as her will." The book is uneven, involved, almost confused. It holds up people acting and reacting upon each other, and the insistence is on their relationships rather than on a central orderliness of plot.

Washington

(*Continued from page 7*)

when he said in Spokane the other day, "Give him a chance to make good. There are very difficult problems demanding attention. The agricultural situation is extremely serious. The coal problem in my opinion will soon be acute. Transportation also requires consideration, and the foreign situation will bring into view the mad policies now plunging Europe into deeper misery.

"If Coolidge makes good he will certainly be nominated. What the people want is results. I think he is an able man. No political party can survive the next campaign which does not have a clear, definite, constructive, and inspiring program. If there ever was a time when the office should and, in my opinion, will seek the man, it is now. The voters do not care two cents for parties and individuals. They want results. Give the man at the helm a chance."

President Coolidge, however, begins his term with the sympathy of the whole Capital, because Washington really thinks of both the Chief Executive and his wife now in terms of what the Presidency will do to them rather than of what they will do to the office. The keynote to Mrs. Coolidge is the fact that when her husband became Governor of Massachusetts, she kept her small home in Northampton rather than move to Boston. When Mrs. Coolidge has played the Washington game until it is no longer bearable, she announces with a great deal of pride that her boys need her. She either goes to them or they come to her, and society waits.

The same solidity which underlies the character of President Coolidge is present in his wife, but she is light-hearted and gay, takes life less hard, has a ready smile, and is extremely friendly and unimpressed with herself. She has the simple mind of a well-grounded person with a good intellectual background and wholesome New England culture. The superficiality of social life does not get under her skin. She enjoys it, but looks on. Her heart is back in the hills of Vermont and her tastes are those of the hills, the people and the more vital part of life. It is nothing to her to prefer a made-over gown to a new one, or to wear the same dinner dress a half a dozen times, nor if you knew Mrs. Coolidge would you care if she wore the same gown a dozen times. She is human and full of life and the very mother block of the chips of boys who said not long ago that they were not at all keen to live in Washington where they did not "know the fellows."

Guarding North Carolina

(*Continued from page 13*)

cerned, the matter was entirely closed.

As the executive officer of the board which has the power of investigation and supervision of the state's entire penal system, Mrs. Johnson wrote the chairman of the Prison Board that, in her opinion, Mr. Dudding's charges were so serious that in justice to the prisoners and in order to clear the name of the state, they should be investigated immediately.

Upon which, the Prison Board met and unanimously refused to investigate them. The press of the state was thrown forthwith into one of the liveli-

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est hurly-burlies which has animated it in recent years. Public opinion became thoroughly aroused. A storm broke which rocked the state. When it cleared, the lash and the dungeon had been abolished as punishment for state prisoners and the indeterminate sentence had been adopted at Governor Morrison's instigation.

During the whole of this violent controversy, which raged for five weeks and ended in unquestioned victory for the "abolitionists," Mrs. Johnson gave striking evidence of knowing when to speak and when to keep silent. She wrote the letter to the chairman of the Prison Board which precipitated the agitation. She issued a statement congratulating the Governor and the Prison Board on the reforms. Except for these two communications, she remained throughout the most close-mouthed woman in North Carolina. Her influence was audible only through its effects. Mrs. Johnson came out of the prison controversy with the confidence and commendation of scores of people who previously had been ignorant of her mettle.

This incident well illustrates one of the Commissioner's most valuable characteristics—excellent judgment. Joined to this is her possession of remarkable poise and a mind singularly clear and intrepid. By disposition, she is admirably equipped to keep sentimentality out of a branch of public service where such a quality becomes its greatest weakness. Under her shrewd and level-headed administration, the North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare is taking rapid forward strides.

Before her appointment as Commissioner of Public Welfare, Mrs. Johnson had long been interested in social work in her city and state. She was one of the most active workers for the establishment of a state reformatory for delinquent girls in 1917. She was also a vigorous suffragist.

Out of office, Mrs. Johnson is a champion cook. A vein of robust humor lightens for her a type of work which is often depressing. To the reassurance of persons unalterably convinced of the necessity for woman's essential domesticity, she is the mother of two sons, eighteen and fifteen years old.

The press agency called the Pathfinders of America at 404 Hodges Building, Detroit, Michigan, sends out frequent press material. A friend has sent me a copy in which I am quoted as saying, "University and College trained women disregard their marriage vows more than any other class of women, and their immorality is increasing all the time." It goes without saying that I not only never said what is credited to me, but I never thought it and most firmly disbelieve that statement.

—Carrie Chapman Catt.

The Stooped Person

By Gulielma F. Alsop

Physician at Barnard College

"HOW often do I have to tell you to sit up straight, Jane? You're just all stooped over like an old woman." A punch in the middle of the back, followed by a backward pull on two shoulders, accompanies the words. Jane wearily straightens up. "I'm sorry, Mother. My back's so tired, I just can't think of it all the time."

And we all of us, like Jane, fortunately rebel at remembering to stand up straight, and hold our chins in, and walk on the balls of our feet, and hold our stomachs back. The human mind was meant for more elevating thinking. No matter what our ailment, we should never have it on our mind. We should, of course, cure it. But the crux of the whole thing is, that no one ever stands up straight by thinking of it, any more than one grows tall by thinking of it. A tall class in society, as for instance the English nobility, owe part of their tallness to inherited qualities and part to a better nutrition, including an ample supply of growth substances, than that of the shorter lower classes. Just so, those who stand up straight do so from inherited and environmental causes. Certain classes of people are always erect—children and fat people. A bent child is so abnormal that he is a sick child. A fat person, man or woman, has to stand up to balance excessive girth.

The stooped people are the thin, and those whose occupation keeps them bending over all day. The thinness naturally results in fatigue, and the stooped posture is the fatigued posture.

The heart is swung from the spinal column by ligaments at the top. At each diastole, or rest of the heart, the tip of the heart, otherwise pendent in the chest, touches the diaphragm, and for an instant rests its weight upon the diaphragm. In some tall, thin people this moment of cardiac rest is never achieved, on account of their build, but in other thin people, if all the tissues of the body have their necessary covering and padding of fat, the connection between the tip of the heart and the diaphragm is made possible. A thin person who stoops should, then, not be told to stand up straight, but to get fat.

A stooped person is one needing several kinds of treatment: first, as to diet, to give sufficient fat between the organs of the abdomen, and to give good muscular nourishment; then, as to exercise, to strengthen the muscles of the back. We hold our backs straight by muscular strength, not by will power. Of course, it's a much simpler thing to say "stand up straight," than to induce a person to take the exercise which will make it possible to stand up straight.

The arches of the feet are strong, due, first, to good inheritance, and second, to good environment; the environment of the feet being, of course, shoes and pavements. The strongest arch will break down if cramped in a deformed shoe with a narrow-pointed toe, stiff shank and high heel. A shoe like that throws the body out of balance.

Poor posture is, then, as much an outward and visible sign of disease as a red rash on the face. It demands definite muscular exercise for its cure.

Not any more than we can live by last year's food, can we live by the exercise of our youth. Our exercise has to be daily, like sunrise.

WE MAY BE WRONG

in thinking that the summer time is the right time—and the *Woman Citizen* the right medium—for advertising school books. But the summer time is a free time for many—if not the school book publisher—with leisure for thinking of other than the usual things. And the readers of this paper—if not actually engaged in teaching—or in some way connected with school work—are certainly interested—more than most—in the present work of the coming generation—the boys and girls who will soon be taking up, or helping on, their work.

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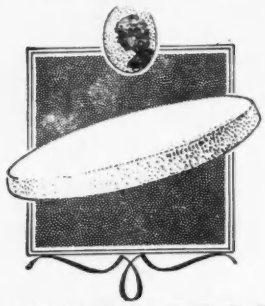

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The Advertisers' Corner

"I THINK the Citizen the best woman's magazine I have ever taken," writes a subscriber. And among the things she likes best in the magazine she mentions the "reliable advertising."

Well, we admit it. We are proud of our standards. And we are eager that our advertisers shall feel as well assured of the interest of the readers in the advertising columns as the readers may be of the quality of the goods advertised. Please prove it in every possible way.

—o—

A lithe young teacher of dancing spoke about them first. "They are the most satisfactory summer sandals I ever wore," she surveyed her trim gray-clad foot. "They give me all the fun of going barefoot without the danger of stepping on glass or sharp stones." That is why the Pediforme people are making them. They are shaped like a moccasin, with a sandal-strap around the ankle. The same piece of leather which forms the side also forms the inside sole, and an outside sole of flexible leather is sewed on for better protection. For feet which need more support, Pediforme is making, on their regular corrective last, smart sport shoes of gray and of tan, cleverly strapped with contrasting leather.

—o—

The fact that substantial modern investment houses—like Hamilton A. Gill, in another column—are seeking women clients, is one more proof of the growing power and place of the gentle sex. Women are earning money these days, they control it themselves, and they are not lacking in clear-headedness about its investment, either. This firm reports an increasing interest on the part of investors of moderate means in municipal bonds. Possibly because of their safety plus the additional fact that they are free from all federal income taxes.

—o—

Do you remember what magic there was for you in the name and the sight of the Waldorf Astoria when you came to New York? It is probably unique in its field—the Mother of Hotels naturally would be.

Few people know that it has a special diet system for sick patrons and for children of various ages; that it makes a point of registering the whims of guests, whether they be boot-jacks, or chocolate eclairs, or wild rice, or baby blue comforters; that it remembers its child visitors with birthday gifts years after—and that the thirteen stories of the Waldorf were due to a wish of Mrs. Boldt, wife of its first famous manager.

Is it any wonder the CITIZEN *is proud of its friends? A little over a year ago we told of the generous offer of Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett of* $10 *for subscriptions to the* CITIZEN *"for the people who ought to have the* CITIZEN *and for some reason have not." Among the subscriptions which were sent from the fund was one to a* CITIZEN *friend in Ohio who had sprained her hip and whose money had to go for doctor's bills. In a recent mail came a letter from her saying, "It has been a helpful gift to my body and mind. And now I have recovered. Although over eighty I can walk a quarter of a mile. And now also I am able to do what I want to do." Enclosed were five subscriptions to the magazine and a return of* $2 *to the Frances Hodgson Burnett fund. "It was a lovely gift and letter that came to me last October. The* WOMAN CITIZEN *is the best kind of a visitor." The Ohio friend is Mrs. Charlotte W. Boalt.*

The Woman Citizen

Volume VIII SEPTEMBER 8, 1923 Number 8

News Notes of the Fortnight

The Italo-Greek Crisis

OUTSTANDING in a fortnight of troubled news, domestic and foreign, are the appalling earthquake in Japan, the menacing break between Italy and Greece, and the failure to stop the anthracite coal strike.

The Italian-Greek situation developed with startling suddenness. On August 27 the Italian members of the commission appointed by the Ambassadors Council to fix the boundary line between southern Albania and Greece, were murdered by persons unknown, on Greek soil a few miles from the Albanian border. At once the Greek Government sent to Italy a message of regret and began an investigation. Instantly Premier Mussolini of Italy came back with a note that charged the Greek Government with responsibility, took it for granted the murderers were Greeks and made extremely drastic demands—a note that has called out wide condemnation for its severity and its speed. It demanded elaborate ceremonials of apology, an official funeral, honors for the Italian flag, a full inquiry, death for the criminals, and an indemnity of about two and a half million dollars, to be paid at once.

In its reply the Greek Government refused to assume final guilt for the murders, accepted the terms that had to do with ceremonials, offered "just indemnities" to the families of the slain, refused the indemnity to Italy, and said that it would lay the difference before the Council of the League of Nations. Italy found all this inadequate, and on August 31 Italian warships bombarded the fort on the island of Corfu, killing and wounding a few refugees who were sheltered there. The next day they ordered the channel closed, seized two more islands, and were in command of the Ionian Sea. Premier Mussolini explained that all this was not intended as an act of war, but as a peaceful occupation, to provide Italy with guarantees and to show her "unshakable determination" to get the reparations demanded. Corfu, incidentally, just west of the Greek coast, is supposed to be neutral ground.

Greece asked the Allies to appoint an international commission to inquire into the murders, and submitted the whole case to the League Council, now in session at Geneva. The Council asked a truce for a few days, while the Italian representative at Geneva, who had raised the question of the League's technical right to act, sought word from Rome. At this writing, it is reported that the Italian Government will refuse a League settlement, and may withdraw from the League if it insists.

Help for Japan

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE asks for relief funds to aid the Japanese in their overwhelming distress. Send to the Chairman of the American National Red Cross at Washington or to any local Red Cross chapter. Five millions are needed at once.

Very Briefly

HUNDREDS of immigrants will be sent back because the ships that were rushing to make sure of their inclusion in the September quota in their zeal crossed the line a few minutes before midnight, August 31. This threw the unfortunate aliens back into August quotas, most of which were exhausted.

Secretary Work has come out, first of the Cabinet, in endorsement of President Coolidge for the presidential nomination next year.

Tulsa County, Oklahoma, is under absolute military control—in an attempt to stamp out mob activities and bring to justice those guilty of numerous floggings during the past two years. Four floggers, all admitted members of the Ku Klux Klan, have already been convicted.

The Commissioners of Conciliation of the Department of Labor, Secretary Davis says, have been called upon in 534 strikes and industrial disputes this past year and have adjusted or settled more than 500.

The Federal Council of Churches has issued a call to 120,000 pastors to observe the week of November 5-11 as World Court Week, and Sunday, November 11, as World Court Sunday.

Despite the improvement in general conditions in Russia, the American Jewish Relief Committee reports that more than a million stray and homeless children are wandering in the Ukraine, and without money for relief will die during the winter or live in conditions of practical savagery.

The Hard Coal Strike

THERE was hope of averting the threatened hard coal strike when Governor Pinchot, of Pennsylvania, volunteered to try mediation. The situation, when he entered it, was a deadlock: the miners demanding a 20 per cent. wage increase, the eight-hour day and continuance of the check-off, by which union dues are deducted from their wages when paid; the operators refusing all these things and calling for arbitration. Governor Pinchot began a series of secret conferences with both miners and operators, employing a fact-finding commission of his own. His proposal, made on August 30, was for: recognition of the basic eight-hour day, an increase of 10 per cent. to all employees, to take effect September 1; full recognition of the union by the operators, without the check-off but with the right to have a union representative present when the men are paid; recognition of the principle of collective bargaining. And he asked a truce to prevent the strike.

Both sides rejected the terms, and the strike, already called, proceeded. The hopeful thing is that negotiations continue. The two sides agreed only on the eight-hour day, which had already been granted in principle by the operators about two weeks ago. The miners seem willing to accept the ten per cent. increase for the contract workers, but are insistent that the 40,000 day men shall receive a higher proportionate increase. The miners want a one-year contract, the operators four. On these points there might be compromise, and some think the miners might give up the check-off if the operators will surrender the demand for arbitration rather than collective bargaining.

Meantime, the strike is 100 per cent. effective—all but 4,000 of the 158,000 miners have walked out, only those remaining who are needed to keep the mines in safe repair.

If Governor Pinchot's efforts at mediation should fail the thorny problem would presumably be passed back to the Coal Commission and to the President.

Wrangel Island

TWO years ago a party of four white explorers, with an Eskimo woman, led by Alan Crawford, undertook to stay on Wrangel Island, which lies north of Siberia. until it could be claimed for the British. They were financed by Stefansson, the explorer. The island had been discovered by the Russian, Baron Wrangel, but he had not even set foot on it; both Americans and British had visited it, but had not stayed long enough to establish occupation. The company of explorers was left with a year's provisions, but an unusually severe winter piled up the ice so that the relief expedition sent out last year could not penetrate. But last month another expedition, under Harold Noice, set out from Nome, and its leader has just reported all the party dead save the Eskimo woman.

Who owns Wrangel Island? British, Americans and Russians claim it. Russia protests the other claims on the ground that during the war she openly gave notice that she considered Wrangel Island and other territory on the Siberian coast as her property, and that no one then challenged the declaration. Stefansson's idea for Great Britain was that the island would make an excellent aviation base for the shortest distance journeys from America to Europe and Asia—over the roof of the round world.

Friends With Mexico

AT last the United States has decided to recognize the government of Mexico, after a break that has lasted since the assassination of Carranza in May, 1920. This decision results from the American-Mexican conferences held in Mexico City this summer. Ambassadors will be appointed, and meantime diplomatic affairs will be carried on by the chargés d'affaires of the two countries. Mixed claims commissions will settle claims of the two countries for damages of one sort or another.

What was it all about? Briefly, oil: the interests of American investors in Mexican oil lands. Carranza included in the new Mexican Constitution of 1917 an article claiming that the subsoil wealth of Mexico was the property of the state, regardless of who might lease or own the surface. Of course this meant confiscation of American oil and other properties acquired in Mexico before that time. This has been met by arranging that the article shall not apply to titles acquired prior to May, 1917. Further, President Obregon has issued two decrees which practically nullify the Carranza position. A similar point was similarly handled with regard to agrarian lands. President Obregon had repeatedly said that the Government had no wish to confiscate property, but he objected to signing on the dotted line without assurances of recognition—to giving guarantees in advance. The recent conferences took care of that difficulty by conditional promises.

Bilbo's Defeat

THE recent primary election in Mississippi, which, as in any one party state, is equivalent to an election, saw the last of the old machine built up and run for years by former United States Senator James K. Vardaman. The days of his strength were days of factionalism that split the state, of mud-slinging and bitterness and strife. One of the old-time Vardaman supporters—Theo G. Bilbo, formerly governor—ran in this primary for nomination as governor, and was well defeated. Henry L. Whitfield, former president of the Mississippi College for Women, was chosen. Bilbo had left Vardaman in the Vardaman-Harrison contest for the United States Senate a few years ago, when Vardaman lost. At the height of the present campaign, Vardaman, unforgiving, came out with an endorsement of Whitfield—so, technically, this time his side won. Vardaman lost last year a second time for the Senate, beaten by Hubert D. Stephens.

In this same election Miss Belle Kearney was nominated state senator—another victory over the machine.

" Little mother of etchers " is the name often given Mrs. Bertha E. Jacques whose " Duneland " makes our cover for this issue. Founder and secretary of the Chicago Society of Etchers—the first organized body of etchers in the country—she has always held out a helping hand to those who struggle. Her lectures before clubs, arts and crafts societies, universities and schools have taught many a person the value of etchings and the methods of production.

While her chief interest is in promoting the art, she is no mean etcher herself. Most art institutes and exhibitions can boast of at least one example of her work.

Mrs. Jacques began etching at the time when tools and equipment were scarcely obtainable, and it is interesting that much of her equipment has been made by her inventor-husband in moments stolen from his profession of surgeon.

The Ruhr—Still a Deadlock

THE dramatic news that Germany was ready to withdraw passive resistance in the Ruhr, unconditionally, turned out not to be news at all. At least it is denied in Berlin, and insiders there report that the Stresemann government would not survive such a surrender a day. In a recent speech, however, Stresemann recommends that local bodies interpret passive resistance for themselves.

The German mark has plunged to almost incalculable depths—a recent report of a coming understanding with France sent it *up* to 10,300,000 to the dollar! Plans are being made to discard it and establish a gold standard, and there has been the announcement of a financial administration which will undertake a forced loan, designed to bring to light some of the hidden wealth of the capitalists.

Recently talk of direct conferences in place of notes has been popular. That was the suggestion in the note with which Belgium answered the Curzon note, and practically all it contained, except an affirmation of the legality of the Ruhr occupation and a fresh resolve to sit tight. Neither conferences nor notes have followed, though it was expected there might be interviews between Poincaré and Baldwin while the British premier was on the continent.

Meantime prophecies of civil war are thick in Germany, and the monarchists have just had a demonstration at Nurenberg calling in gory terms for revolution.

The Irish Election

RETURNS on the Irish parliamentary election show that the Free State will have a majority of two to one over the Republicans. What will be done about the imprisoned Republicans who have been elected is an interesting speculation. These have pledged themselves not to sit in a Free State Parliament, but may assert their rights to release. Of the five women reported to be elected deputies, four are Republicans, Mary MacSwiney among them. Over sixty per cent. of the electorate voted—more women than men.

The election was conducted by proportional representation and went off quietly, with small disturbance and almost no personation and election frauds. "P. R." was introduced into Ireland by the British to protect the interests of the Unionist minority in the South—since it gives every political group the same share of the members elected that it has of the votes cast. Nationalists as well as Unionists liked it and, after sound tests in municipal elections, when the Free State was established it chose P. R. as its election method. It was used in the election of the Provisional Parliament.

All of the Cabinet then chosen has been re-elected. *Sept. 4, 1923.*

What Have Women Done With the Vote?

Remember this picture of Mrs. Catt? It is a symbol of the starting point for this summary—

The celebration that followed ratification of the suffrage amendment by the thirty-sixth state.

WHAT have women done with the vote since 1920?

"A dangerous question," we are told, and we admit it; freely. Dangerous, and unreasonable.

Unreasonable because the time is too short for anything like a demonstration—counting out and making allowance for the states where women have voted for many years, and, as one of them says, have got past the spectacular stage. Seventy years it took women to get the nation-wide vote, and they have had it to exercise less than three. To throw millions of people into new and unfamiliar activities and expect them to furnish a Q. E. D. in a few years, would be absurd.

Both "dangerous" and unreasonable—because in the very nature of the case there is, in a wide range of political activity, no way to distinguish between the work of women and the work of men, and we run the risk of claiming for women what belongs to men *and* women. "Women haven't accomplished *anything*," said a prominent feminist interviewed on this point. "Men and women together have accomplished something, and they are going to accomplish more." It isn't even possible to count the women's vote separate from the men's, though the number of persons who have demanded just that information would surprise you.

A Natural Question

Yet, on the other hand, it is the most natural thing in the world to ask (as people constantly do) what women are doing with the ballot they struggled for so hard—now that they have won it. And there are tendencies—directions—to be discovered. It is possible to sum up the lines of interest that women have followed which indicate what they are to do next, to estimate the psychological effect of their entrance into political life. It is even possible to isolate certain actions that would not have taken place without the work of women fortified by votes, and it is certainly possible to estimate where the opportunities lie ahead.

Thinking all this was true, some months ago we sent out a questionnaire to officials of all the state Leagues of Women Voters, as the woman's organization in fullest touch with the political situation—to be supplemented by information from other sources—and asked them the following question:

What legislation in your state has been secured through women's influence? What legislation has been prevented by women?

How many women are there in important public offices?

How about women in jury service?

Have women gained an important place in party organization?

Do they undertake more responsibility in local matters—schools or city clean-ups—than before they had the vote?

Do the politicians in your state consider them an important factor?

In short, do women count in politics and government?

The questions really boil down to two—what have women tried to do? and how far have they succeeded in penetrating into the centers of political influence? And the answers have varied all the way from warnings against claiming too much, to full and rather proud lists of achievement. But in no case have they shown an inclination to draw final conclusions, to overlook the men's share in women's work, or to think that women won, with the ballot, a full and secure place in political life. Neither they nor we are out to prove a case. We are out to gather up as many as we can of the straws that may indicate which way the wind blows. And it may as well be admitted right here that we could have done it more substantially if forty-eight instead of twenty-eight states had responded with letters.

Even without dipping into the piles of letters and bulletins, from these and other sources, there are very sizable straws to be gathered. There are, first, the national measures that have been put over; the national measures women have worked for, still unwon; and the great interest they have taken in political education.

When one speaks of women's national legislative work, one means that Washington group representing fourteen national organizations which make up the Women's Joint Congressional Committee. And, since we want to realize who are the women seeking to influence government, it may be a good thing to line them up right here:

American Association of University Women, American Home Economics Association, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Girls' Friendly Society in America, National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations, National Consumers' League, National Council of Jewish Women, National Council of Women, National Federation of Business and Professional Women, National League of Women Voters, National Women's Christian Temperance Union, National Women's Trade Union League, National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association, Service Star Legion.

Besides these, there is the National Woman's Party, also exerting political influence at Washington, whose contribution will be discussed later.

For Mothers and Babies

It was these organizations, numbering millions, concentrated in the Joint Congressional Committee, that put their strength into the campaign for the Sheppard-Towner law—a measure, as every *Citizen* reader knows, designed to secure through a combination of Federal and state aid the protection of mothers and new-born babes from death, through lack of information and care. It is, if you like, a measure for women, won by women; but it is more than that. We are thinking now of a letter written to us by a man after the second election in which women voted,

A group of 1923 state legislators—Reba Hurn, Senator in Arkansas; next, Effie Yantis, of New Hampshire. On the other side, Hannah Kempfer, one of Minnesota's four; and Marion Griffin, of Tennessee—all representatives. Washington, center; at the far left, Erle Chambers, of

berating the sex for following the precedent of all other "blocs" and seeking legislation to its own advantage.

"Your supposed greater understanding of life's real values," he says, "has led you only to fight primarily for the advancement of your own group, for essentially selfish ends, at the cost, of course, of the people as a whole, just as man has always done." But the advancement of one's own group is not *necessarily* selfish. It may be a direct means to the advancement of society as a whole. Certainly it was in the belief that the lives of mothers and babies were important to society as a whole, economically and humanly, that women fought for the Sheppard-Towner act.

Married Women Citizens

The Cable bill for the independent citizenship of women — another victory —was a measure of straight feminism, and the campaign was more of a fight for "rights" than that behind the humanitarian Sheppard-Towner bill. Comparatively, too, it was an easy battle. Establishing the right of a married woman to citizenship independent of her husband's, it asserted an obvious human right, and marked a logical step beyond political enfranchisement. It has stirred other countries to renewed or new activity along the same line. Belgium and Soviet Russia already have somewhat similar measures; and at this moment one of the chief interests of the International Suffrage Alliance is the promotion of a world agreement on the subject. It would be unfair not to take account of the objections that have developed to this measure in its bearing on the foreign-born woman, cut off from the shelter of her husband's citizenship and not at once able to secure her own; but, whatever modifications may be proposed, or suggestions brought for meeting temporary conditions, the principle stands and seems likely to be universally established.

But before these two campaigns were won, there was another, which climaxed in the first legislative measure put over by women after the suffrage amendment was ratified. This was the making permanent of the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, a measure originally proposed by the National Women's Trade Union League in 1909, which had lain dormant during the war. Practically every woman's organization in the country backed this bill. Every year since there have been increases in the appropriation for the Bureau—after, each year, strenuous resistance on the part of Congress. It is safe to say—and the Trade Union League does say—that without the vote the appropriations would have been smaller.

Besides these, there is to the credit of the women's organizations *help* in securing the bill for reclassification of the Federal civil service—a measure both feminist and humanitarian, which embodies the principle of equal pay for equal work in government service irrespective of sex; some assistance in winning the Voigt bill to prevent the shipment of "filled milk" in interstate commerce—for the protection of children and therefore of society in general; some pressure exerted to get a Coal Commission appointed.

Other lines of women's interest are shown in measures not yet won—the Department of Education in the Cabinet: a matter of the deepest concern to practically all great women's organizations; their work to insure the continuance of the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board by its transfer to the Department of Justice; their insistent demand for a child labor amendment; the Fess Amendment, to increase appropriations for training in home economics. There is the individual piece of work being carried on by the General Federation of Women's Clubs for Indian welfare—an up-hill fight with the Indian Bureau to preserve the titles of Indian lands and to enforce Government health regulations in Indian reservations, and there is the Federation's pressure for a uniform divorce law, besides much local and state work along many lines.

They Certainly Study

Then there is the other great development, not spectacular but strongly marked—the eager interest many women are taking in political education. This is not a thing our disappointed critic of women would even know about from an outside point of view. He is seeking something spectacular. Here is something very quiet, unobtrusive, with no parade or publicity about it—a regular getting down to brass tacks. And it is by no means limited to the League of Women Voters, whose interest is, of course, especially marked since political education is one of its principal objects. Nearly every woman's organization has some civics or citizenship department in its scheme of study. Since 1920 the General Federation has added training in citizenship to its wide range of interests, and many clubs give a great deal of attention not only to the abstract subject but to the concrete following-up of civic situations.

The Colleges Join In

As for the League, its schools of citizenship—their number, success, enthusiasm—have been a vivid expression of the determination of women to get going —and going right—in their new line. The schools for women have been held in almost every part of the country, and the alliance of great colleges with the women's schools has been a rapidly developing feature in the past two years. Yale, Hartford, Chicago, Northwestern, Radcliffe, Winthrop, Louisiana, Columbia and many others have given good men, good places, good work in co-operation with women for their training in government. The *Woman Voter* recently listed citizenship schools held during the past three years in twenty-five different states, many states having several.

ONE measure of how far women have got would naturally be the number, and kind, in important office. That whole question depends—on where you look. There is much to be pleased about, both locally and nationally, until one reflects that there is only one woman to sit in the next Congress—Mrs. Mae E. Nolan, of California; that all told there have been only four actually seated — a humiliating contrast with many of the European countries; no one at all seated in the Senate, except

for Mrs. Felton's courtesy moment—and that at the elections last fall, out of more than a score nominated, no woman was chosen—the politicians, apparently, having taken care that none should be nominated where there was any strong chance of success.

But this does not mean that Washington public and political life is destitute of women, prominent and distinguished. Even the most pessimistic about the distance women have got in these matters admit the outstanding quality of the women in official positions. Meaning not women who are the heads of organizations, but women appointed to high place by men, and in recognition of their new power. There are Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, vice chairman of the Republican National Executive Committee; Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee; Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, the first woman Civil Service Commissioner; Mabel Walker Willebrandt, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, who succeeded Mrs. Annette Abbott Adams; Mary Anderson, Director of the Women's Bureau; Mrs. Bessie Brueggeman, chairman of the United States Employees Compensation Commission; Miss Grace Abbott, who succeeded that other remarkable woman, Julia Lathrop, as head of the Children's Bureau; Dr. Louise Stanley, chief of the newly created Bureau of Home Economics in the Department of Agriculture, while Miss Lucile Atcherson has the distinction of being the first American woman diplomat.

Women in the State Legislatures

The state legislatures offer more encouragement than the National Congress. The *Citizen* counted up to more than eighty women elected last fall, in thirty-one states (there were something over thirty women in 1920) and because there have been so many requests for a condensed list we publish on page 23 the names of the women elected in 1922, who served in the legislatures the past year. In this number, as you will see, there are five senators — in Vermont, Ohio, Oregon and Washington. Pennsylvania has the largest number of women legislators—eight; Connecticut comes next, with seven; Ohio next with six, while California, Vermont and Washington each have five. The activities of some of these women have been reported in the *Citizen* and more are coming along for fuller treatment than is possible here. Among the larger groups, it seems clear that Pennsylvania's eight have made a fine record and have fully established the effectiveness of a *group* of women in the legislature. Of conspicuous ability, Mrs. Lottie Holman O'Neill, of Illinois, has been a true representative of public-spirited womanhood, though the legislature balked most of her most constructive efforts. The moral is clear, by contrast with Pennsylvania. Arkansas women approve Miss Erle Chambers, who was influential in getting the Sheppard-Towner Act accepted, and Ohio boasts of her sextette. Other states do likewise, and some, please remember, we haven't heard from. Mrs. C. B. Simmons, a trained and able representative in Oregon, saw pass into law several bills which she had introduced or sponsored. One prohibits the possession of stills or worms without registration under federal laws, and two or three have to do with child welfare. Minnesota's four, which includes Mrs. James C. Paige, has a fine record.

It must not be assumed that all of the eighty or so are of one mind, merely because they are women. Mrs. Tom Gates, of West Virginia, for instance, introduced the " blanket " bill which other organization women fought, though on much other legislation she was in harmony with them. One of Pennsylvania's eight disappointed by falling out of step on the constitutional convention measure for which Pennsylvania women worked. Some of the letters pass by their woman legislators in a silence that seems eloquent.

Mrs. Effie Yantis, a League-approved legislator of New Hampshire, expresses admirably the attitude of the best of these women toward their work.

" The greatest need, it seems to me, is the mother viewpoint. The men are interested in tax reform, highways, building of bridges, animal industry, and all the things that have to do with money. They are not so much interested as we women are, in child welfare and public health. . . . We women are there to work for the interests of all, but especially for the interests of women and children, for prohibition, for proper care of those in our state institutions, for better school and public health measures." She tells an interesting incident which perhaps has some illuminating values, if not forced to prove overmuch.

A look ahead, toward women candidates in 1923. Miss Sally Peters is on the Republican primary ballot for the New York State Assembly

" We all want to eradicate bovine tuberculosis. The men consider it an agricultural measure to improve the dairy herds. We women want to get rid of tubercular cows as a child welfare measure. A bill came before our public health committee last week, requiring creameries to pasteurize their by-products, unless their milk came from tubercular tested cows. These by-products are fed to animals. There was no requirement that the milk which goes to children should be pasteurized. I added an amendment to the bill by adding the words milk and cream to dairy products."

All Sorts of Offices

When it comes to city, county and other state offices, there is no telling where to begin or end. Just for a starter, notice that nine states have women state superintendents of education. Not all since 1920, of course, as witness Mrs. Josephine Corliss Preston, superintendent in the state of Washington since 1913. There is a large number of county superintendents of education—this being a fairly easy way to break the ice for office holding in conservative states. For instance, Miss Josephine Fitts, a county superintendent, was the first woman elected to an office of any importance in Mississippi — until August 7, 1923, when Mrs. Nellie Nugent Somerville, of Greenville, was elected to the House of Representatives. Women have been appointed on state boards of education, notable among them Dorothy Canfield Fisher, of Vermont, and there are thousands of women on local school boards through the country, while women college trustees are no longer thrilling. Alabama has a list of forty-seven women in responsible positions connected with education.

Women are not uncommon on state commissions. New York has a fair list and there are a number of women heading such commissions. For instance, Mrs. Alice Curtice Moyer-Wing, head of the State Industrial Inspection Department of Missouri—the first woman in this country to head a state department; Mrs. Charles Bennett Smith, president of New York's Civil Service Commission; Dr. Ellen C. Potter, Commissioner of Public Welfare of Pennsylvania; Kate Burr Johnson, Commissioner of Public Welfare of North Carolina; Mrs. Carina C. Warrington, State Probation Department head, Indiana; Mrs. Katherine Phillips Edson, Executive Commissioner, Industrial Welfare Commission in California.

Other important posts on state boards and commissions are filled by women —assistant commissioners; secretaries. Women county and city commissioners, aldermen, councillors make up a company far too numerous to pass in review here. But we must insert the latest item—that the arch-conservative old city of Charleston, South Carolina, has just

elected two women to the Council! Two women city managers are on record. Women mayors must have totalled about a score, and in both Kansas and Wyoming (maybe elsewhere) there have been instances of every office in a town being held by a woman. So far we have heard of no women mayors in the East. Justices of the peace, town clerks, treasurers, sheriffs, must run up into the high hundreds.

Illinois has a specially impressive list of women recently appointed or elected to public office. It includes the Federal appointment of Mrs. Mabel Reinecke as Collector of Internal Revenue; Mrs. E. W. Bemis, first and only woman Commissioner of Cook County; Mary Bartelme, assistant to the judge of the Juvenile Court, Cook County; Miss Ada Cartwright, Assistant Attorney General; Miss Mary McDowell, Commissioner of Public Welfare of Chicago; Mrs. William S. Hefferan and Miss Grace Temple, members of the Chicago Board of Education; Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch, Master of Chancery, Superior Court; Mrs. Mabel Bailey, Assistant United States District Attorney, and four trustees of Chicago University.

So far, there has been no woman Governor, though Alice Lorraine Daly made a good campaign last year in South Dakota. Judge Jean Norris, of New York, is probably the only woman city magistrate; and though the number of women judges of juvenile courts and courts of domestic relations is slowly growing, there is just one woman judge of a State Supreme Court. But Florence E. Allen, of Ohio, makes a proud climax for anybody's list of women in office.

WHAT legislation have women won, worked for, or headed off? Don't be alarmed, gentle reader, we are not going to tell you all. We couldn't if we would, and we wouldn't if we could. But running through letters from a few states gives one a very fair idea of all, and of the tendencies of women's interests.

At the Des Moines convention of the League of Women Voters last spring a condensed digest of the measures these women had worked for in their last legislatures was given, and as in many instances state programs are co-operative affairs, after the model of the Joint Congressional Committee, they have a value at least roughly typical of women's interests and undertakings.

The digest showed that the leading measure sought was acceptance of the Sheppard-Towner Act. Twenty state programs included other child welfare measures—mothers' aid; children's code commissions; child labor reforms, juvenile courts and courts of domestic relations. Twelve emphasized educational needs. Twelve of the twenty-four states in which women are not eligible for jury service asked the right to serve. Coguardianship figured, and eligibility to office. Six states worked for prohibition enforcement, the appointment of women to various boards, and the 50-50 bill, by

Among high posts held by women are Civil Service Commissioner
Helen H. Gardener

which men and women have equal representation on party committees. Legislative protection of women in industry was sought in a dozen programs, and social hygiene measures—raise in age of consent, health examination before mar-

Superintendent of Education
Mary C. C. Bradford, Colorado

riage. Retention of the direct primary was a feature in a number of programs.

Child welfare, then, was undeniably first in order of interest, various social measures and efficiency in government dividing second place. By their pro-

Master of Chancery, Superior Court
Catherine Waugh McCulloch, Illinois

grams it was the human welfare aspects of politics that engaged women's attention.

One group stands alone—fighting for a clearly defined program with a single-minded purpose. This is the National Woman's Party, which is working for the removal of all legal discriminations against women, and has carried on an extensive survey of the laws, state by state, on all points of inequality between men and women. In some states the Woman's Party and the other groups have co-operated in campaigns for the removal of certain discriminations; but when it comes to the use of "blanket" measures, the Woman's Party has stood on one side and all the other groups on the other. Texas, West Virginia, Maryland, South Carolina, Virginia, Minnesota groups count it to their credit that they defeated the "blanket" bill.

The difference is partly one of theory, partly of method. The Woman's Party believes in uncompromising equality. The League of Women Voters, the Consumers' League, etc., believed that biology is against the theory, and that for the sake of the whole race certain protections must be thrown about women, especially in industry, at least until the standards for both sexes are raised to a point far beyond present possibilities. Practically, these other organizations fear that blanket legislation will cause serious confusion in the civil law and endanger protective legislation. They believe the piecemeal method will bring equality safely.

This division of opinion is a hard thing for the outsider to grasp, especially as the goal, generally speaking, seems the same. It is a pity—but to make more of it than would be made in the case of men is rather unfair; it would hardly be human that there should be complete mental agreement because of common sex. All groups agree, at any rate, that the vote doesn't spell equality.

But what have the states actually won—not merely planned and worked for?

"What Has Been Done to Remove Legal Discriminations Against Women"—a compilation made by Mrs. Carina C. Warrington, of Indiana, lists gains made for and partly by women in the legislatures of 1921 and 1922. It shows eight states added to the list of those in which parents are equal guardians of the persons and property of their children; the removal of various legal disabilities in eight; equal representation of men and women in political parties in two; plans for the reorganization of state government in two; laws fixing the age of consent in seven.

Many of our letters respond only in terms of this year, which is certainly a welcome sign if it indicates a crescendo of success. Leafing through the letters, we pick out a few states in different sections and a few typical triumphs:

First, forty states have accepted the provisions of the Sheppard-Towner act, and as it is easier to name eight states than forty, we list here those that have *not* yet accepted:

Connecticut, Illinois, Kansas, Louisi-

ana, Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Vermont.

In Illinois, Kansas and Vermont the governor accepted, but the legislature did not ratify the acceptance. In Maine the governor vetoed the measure after the women had won through the legislature.

Some of the state spokesmen are careful to give chief credit to the state board of health for securing acceptance; but even with due allowance for other agencies, this achievement in forty states is the clearest possible indication of what women are doing in government.

Triumphs for jury service bills are recorded elsewhere in this issue.

Missouri, Tennessee and West Virginia rejoice in the recent passage of 50-50 bills, thoroughgoing ones, which make equal representation compulsory.

Massachusetts offers a clear and impressive list of legislation furthered by women since suffrage was won. It includes laws making women eligible to all municipal, appointive and elective offices in the state; a law giving women the right to register from the address where they actually reside, in case they are living apart from their husbands; equal guardianship; legislation extending the eight-hour day to women workers in the telephone industry and to women workers in laundries; a law providing school nurses in all public schools, one for physical training of school children in all public schools. Women have been an important factor in frustrating all attacks on the forty-eight-hour week for women and in maintaining the present status of the minimum wage laws of the state.

Rhode Island is confident that women's influence has been a very big factor in winning a Mothers' Aid bill and a Child Labor bill; while Virginia reports no less than eighteen child-welfare measures won—two-thirds of a program proposed by a Children's Code Commission. New Jersey lists its 50-50 bill, its city manager bill for cities of the second class, and its measure prohibiting night work for women in factories, laundries, bakeries.

Offering testimony for ten years of suffrage, Oregon reports many things done in the interest of child welfare and of women. Since 1920 the chief accomplishments have been women's jury service and defense by the women of their child labor laws. The latest addition to Wyoming's long list is a child labor bill and shorter hours for working women.

The achievement claimed this year by the able women of Pennsylvania as their greatest was the passage of a bill providing for a popular vote in next year's general election on the question of a constitutional convention in 1926. Missouri women, two years ago, were influential in securing a constitutional convention, and had women delegates.

Minnesota women this past year secured a conservative law for women in industry, and better school laws. Ohio women won equal guardianship, and

(*Continued on page* 23)

A Suffrage Team

By Carrie Chapman Catt

I AM not sure that I ever set out to have a career, and I am not at all certain that I have had one. If I have, it came about incidentally and not by intention. Possibly if fate had not set me upon the track it did, I should have chosen a career, but I do not know. I think careers belong more appropriately to the women of the present generation, whose wings of ambition found the atmosphere of aspiration already prepared for them. I belong to the past generation.

My life was decided for me by a presidential election long, long ago. I named my four kittens for the candidates of my father's and the rival party. The handsomest represented my father's party, and as the campaign grew in intensity I vented the general feeling of distrust and contempt for the rival candidates upon the innocent and unloveliest two. On election day my father drove away in a "three-seated buggy," carrying with him all the "hired men," as they were called on Western farms. I was astonished that my mother did not go to vote and shocked when she told me she had no legal right to do so.

That night I climbed upon my father's knee, where I was accustomed to cuddle down and get sleepy over the telling of familiar tales; but this time I gave my father a very uncomfortable half hour by putting to him some questions he couldn't answer, the main one being why mother couldn't vote, while Mike, Hans, Peter and all the rest could. His replies were far from satisfying, and directly I stood before him challenging all his assertions and declaring that the real reason mother couldn't vote was because no one had ever thought about giving the vote to women, and that when I grew up I should tell everyone it ought to be done. My father laughed and doubtless felt as my mother in after years said she did, "like a hen that had hatched a duck."

Mrs. Catt wrote this bit of reminiscence for that symposium of married women with careers that began in the last issue, and will be astonished to find herself appearing alone. But what is more appropriate for an issue all about woman and her vote than an intimate glimpse of this woman who had so much to do with winning the vote? So here is Instalment Two, with more letters to follow.

When I grew up, never having forgotten my childish vow, I began telling anyone who would listen of the ridiculous discrimination in barring women out in a government professing to be by the people. I am sure this program would have led to no career had the people of this great land not been so stupidly long in agreeing with me—and with the distinguished galaxy that preceded me as well as the brilliant army who were preaching the same doctrine at the same time. You see it was fate, not a career, that took me in charge. I could never forget that rank injustice to my mother.

In time I married. I was busy telling people about "Woman and her disfranchised," as Miss Anthony used to say, and I thought I couldn't stop to get married. My husband-to-be replied that he was as good a suffragist as I and that we would make a team to work for the cause. So I married and we did make a team. The only dispute we ever had, rather a jovial one, was over the question which one became a suffragist at the earliest stage. My husband contended that he enjoyed a complete conversion by reading an editorial by George William Curtis in *Harper's Weekly* when he was eight years old. I scouted the idea of any boy of eight being able to read and understand an editorial of Mr. Curtis's. He never would budge from his stoutly maintained belief, so I antedated his conversion by claiming to have been born a suffragist, which I verily believe I was.

My husband used to say that he was as much a reformer as I, but that he couldn't work at reforming and earn a living at the same time; but what he could do was to earn living enough for two and free me from all economic burden, and thus I could reform for two. This was our bargain, and we happily understood each other. It was a partnership which did not balk or goad either partner and worked so amiably that I was unaware that there was any career involved in the process. I was

just telling people what their own common sense should have told them without any help from me or anyone else. If there was a career, it was my husband's and mine together, and not mine alone. After his death it was still the fruit of his energy that mostly relieved me from the tax of self support, and without the consequent independence I would not have been free to go on telling the story.

No woman can really determine how a separate career for the wife affects marriage unless two factors exist: first, the career must provide her entire support, and, second, she must have children, for this is the normal result of marriage. Unhappily I had no children, and I have not been supported by my public work. No, I can claim no career. What little I did was quite possible within the conventions of the oldest of old-fashioned ideals. Those who would know how careers for wives affect marriage must listen to the experiences of younger and newer women than I.

"Ladies of the Jury"

By Mildred Adams

TO be tried by jury of one's peers is a right; to serve on such a jury is a duty. Curiously enough, the right has long been granted to women, but in many states they are still refused the duty.

There are only twenty-four states in which we know that women are allowed to serve on juries, though in some states the right to serve (as an implication of suffrage) has been taken for granted without challenge, while in others it has not been sufficiently tested. Some of the states in which women are eligible put them on exactly the same basis as men—California, for one—and in such states women's service is neither experimental nor controversial; others make women's jury service optional, excusing them upon request. Among these are Washington, Kansas, Louisiana, North Dakota, Wisconsin, Arkansas. South Carolina puts women in the "exempt" class.

The method of securing eligibility to juries varies. In certain states—Pennsylvania, for instance—as soon as the suffrage amendment was ratified, the Attorney General ruled that enfranchisement carried jury rights with it. Mississippi's Attorney General ruled the opposite, and the League of Women Voters has been working ever since—in vain—to get the ruling reversed. Some state legislatures have passed laws making women eligible—Oregon's jury bill was won last year, and people and courts seem more than satisfied with the service women have rendered. So with Minnesota, where the women won their law in 1921, and New Jersey. In most of the states still on the negative list the statute governing jury service, or the constitution, contains the word "male," and specific legislation, or a constitutional enactment, is necessary. Organized women in Connecticut, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, and New York tried to put through jury bills this year, but failed.

With a full half of the states refusing to permit women to serve as jurors, thus robbing themselves of splendid jury material on the one hand, and preventing citizens from doing their duty on the other, it becomes highly desirable to know what is happening in the more progressive states. Are women serving where they have the opportunity? Do courts and the public find them able jurors? What kind of verdicts do they render? Do they bring to the jury box qualifications which men do not possess?

The letters which have come in response to the *Citizen's* request for jury experiences would indicate that large numbers of women are gladly undertaking jury duty.

Without exception, all of them remarked on the amount of interest the service held. "For a short course in the humanities nothing equals being present in the courts as a juror." "I am most grateful for the experience. It was both interesting and instructive." "Twice I have served on juries, and those experiences have taught me what an important duty it is; not only for women, but for men; not alone for the service which an intelligent and conscientious juror can render, but for the education one receives." That is the way they write, from the Wisconsin woman who served on a coroner's jury to the two from Pennsylvania who were members of Federal juries.

Numerous newspaper interviews testify to the satisfaction of judges with this new jury material. Judge Burton Hart, of the Circuit Court of Michigan, says: "If all jurors were as intelligent as the two women who served during this term I would have no reason for complaint. They were attentive and seemed to possess a thorough comprehension of the points of law. I am in favor of having more women jurors."

Justice Florence Allen, of the Ohio Supreme Court, says: "Women from all classes come into the jury box. They are all eager to play their part in administering justice. They are more willing to serve than men. Educated women have more leisure, unless they have young children, than business men, and, therefore, we find them less apt to evade jury duty than men of the same class. This means that in calling women to serve as jurors new sources of intelligence are opened and intelligence is surely needed on a jury. The women on the jury follow the evidence well and are unusually conscientious in the verdict."

The kind of verdicts women render, and the special qualifications they bring, are best indicated in their own accounts of their experiences as jurors. Their services varied from three months to a few days, depending on the kind of court and the kind of case. The longest experience was that of Miss Mary Gayer, of Akron, Ohio, who served as petit juror in the Court of Common Pleas for three months and a half. Next in length was a twelve weeks' service in a North Dakota district court. Probably the shortest term was that of Theodora Youmans, of Waukesha, Wisconsin, who served on a coroner's jury which heard a single case of simple accident.

Speaking generally, juries fall into two broad classes—those which investigate and either return indictments or recommend that cases be dismissed, and those which hear cases and bring in verdicts, the traditional "jury of one's peers."

The Federal Grand Jury belongs to the former class. Mrs. Edith Kenninger was one of two women who served with seventeen men on a Federal Grand Jury in Philadelphia. They sat in the none too clean room for two weeks, and heard cases which concerned violations of Federal acts, such as bootlegging, using the mails to defraud, embezzlement from national banks, sending of obscene literature through the mails.

Investigations of crimes within the county fall to the lot of the County Grand Jury. Mrs. Jane Roach served her Ohio county for a week, with seven other women and seven men. Her description of her fellow jurors sounds as though it might be typical, though trial juries are not always so fortunate. "There was the foreman, upright, honorable, in private life president of a bank, seeking the best for the good of society; there was the woman 'agin' gun toting' on the principle that no guns, no shooting; there was the woman who always gave the boy another chance because her sons were once boys; there was the man who was

always counting up the costs and would not indict unless he was dead sure of a conviction; there was the woman who sniffed moonshine in every case; there was the reformer who thought everyone ought to be punished a little, 'just as a lesson, you know, so he won't go wrong again'; there was the soft-hearted woman, who every time an indictment was returned consoled herself with the thought that the judgment of the grand jury was not final; there was the man with the judicial mind, and the man who tried to jump with the rest of the frogs as soon as he saw the splash in the pond. But, take it all in all, they were just folks doing their duty to the best of their ability."

"Worth a College Course"

A woman on a trial jury serves with eleven others, men or women or both. Trial jurywomen reported their experiences in police courts, circuit courts, district courts, justice of peace courts, criminal courts, courts of common pleas, etc., and they heard even more different kinds of cases than there were courts. Some of them were funny and some were tragic, some were commonplace and some were sordid. They ranged from misdemeanor and breach of promise to murder, arson, burglary, negligent homicide, and white slave cases. All the punishable sins of humanity marched before these women for judgment. No wonder one of them "found jury duty interesting, sometimes entertaining, occasionally harrowing," and another felt that it was "worth a short college course."

The bugaboo of discourtesy from jurymen, attorneys and judges, which was stuffed and paraded as a reason women would not want to serve, seems to have vanished much as it did from voting booths. Miss Mary Kellogg, of Minneapolis, who was so interested in her experience as petit juror that she wrote a booklet describing what other women might expect, reports that she "found the men uniformly courteous." Mrs. L. W. Coste, of Missouri, says that "the men did not object in the least to having a woman among their number, and they extended the courtesy of electing me foreman of the jury." But the prize for extensive courtesy goes to the Montgomery County Courthouse in Pennsylvania. Miss Margaret Wilcox who served there says "we met with the greatest courtesy, particularly from the judges, who extended the hospitality of the courthouse with dignified cordiality. Their attitude was reflected also by the attendants, who gave constant and willing service and information. Fans, ice water, every comfort was forthcoming, including very substantial and permanent looking signs calling upon the men to refrain from smoking if there were women jurors present."

Perhaps it is this same courtesy which is responsible for the apparently common custom of excusing women from serving on cases of sex offence. Jurywomen who have met this seem to feel that, kind as the intention is, they do not wish to take advantage of it. Mrs. Jessie Cramer, of Kansas, thinks that "it is a mistake to keep women from serving on statutory cases, as they are needed in such life problems as come up then." A bill before the Minnesota legislature which provided that if a case was "salacious" women could be excused from jury duty was killed by the prompt opposition of the Minnesota League of Women Voters, which objected that such a bill would operate to keep women off the very juries on which they were most needed.

Mrs. Kenninger says: "The District Attorney gave us permission to leave during the presentment of a case of obscene literature having been sent through the mail. We refused to be excused, for we were there through a sense of duty and felt our sex should not interfere with this duty." Several others were sure that the presence of women in the jury box made the atmosphere more bearable for girls who were testifying.

Where Women May Be Jurywomen

Arkansas	Missouri (Limited)
California	Nevada
Delaware	New Jersey
Idaho	North Dakota
Indiana	Ohio
Iowa	Oregon
Kansas	Pennsylvania
Kentucky	Utah
Louisiana	Vermont
Maine	Washington
Michigan	Wisconsin
Minnesota	Wyoming

One of the legislators in New Hampshire, which refuses to allow women to serve on juries, said: "We have a great deal of trouble to get a jury to convict in cases of statutory rape, so we are trying to make it possible for women to serve on juries in order to help protect young girls."

There was no unanimity of opinion as to whether or not the decisions of women differed from those of men. About half the jurywomen thought that they would differ only as the opinions of any two people disagreed.

The reaction of the men and women on the Michigan juries on which Mrs. Kate Knight served were exactly opposite. First she served as the only woman on a jury trying an auto driver for a collision which caused the death of a woman. "I believe I went into the jury room with a mind as devoid of sentiment as the judge himself. Not so, however, with nearly every man present. 'Too bad to send up such a young fellow.' 'Of course he didn't mean to do it.' These were the arguments (?) presented. When the vote came it stood eleven to one in favor of acquittal. They had not followed the evidence and the judge's charge, but rested solely on their feelings and sympathy." Later she served with another woman and ten men on civil cases. "In those the men were ready to listen to our opinions. In one particular suit we brought over seven men to the minority side. The truth of the matter was they had left the courtroom without having formed any opinion of their own that they could substantiate, and so were easily open to conviction."

Practically all the jurywomen expressed definite opinions and criticisms of the entire system. Waste of time was the most frequent charge. "We women are used to making things move right along, and the delays and pauses in court work were surprising to us." "Lack of time and thought were impediments to sane decisions by the grand jury upon which it was my privilege to serve. The insignificant cases crowd out proper investigation of the more important ones." The dearth of good jury material was another cause of comment, for intelligent women object to seeing jurors chosen who cannot understand distinctions between English words. One woman was told, "The prize juror around here could neither see nor hear, yet he was never scratched once." And another comments dryly, "At times I was reminded of Dr. Shaw's courthouse, 'A place where justice was dispensed with.'"

More far-reaching were suggestions for abolishing the whole jury system because of its waste of time and money, its inefficiency and its lack of justice. Mrs. Elizabeth Hutton, of Sioux City, suggests that "a commission of judges, perhaps three, could save time and untold expense, and I believe their decisions would be more just."

What They Contribute

But reforms are slow and painful things, and these criticisms were not made as excuses to refuse jury duty, but as possible paths for future action. Women are contributing far more than mere numbers to the jury system as it is, with all its inefficiency. They bring a respect for law, a courage, a conscientious attention to duty that will not be content with "playing cards or throwing dice" to decide their verdicts. The frequency with which these jurywomen speak of their experiences as "education" indicates a fresh viewpoint, a lack of bias, that leaves them free to decide cases on their merits. These are the things they contribute now to the admittedly faulty system. And their contribution to the cause of justice will increase as more and more states take advantage of their willingness to serve until the customary phrase of address throughout the whole country becomes "Ladies and gentlemen of the jury——"

Editorially Speaking

No Miracles, but Gains

THE results of equal suffrage thus far have been neither so good as its friends hoped nor so bad as its enemies feared. Today the lurid predictions of disaster, so passionately made by its opponents, read like the ravings of delirium. On the other hand, when we read the speeches and writings of its fervent apostles, as, for instance, Lucy Stone, it is impossible not to see that the pioneers expected, with absolute conviction, a more speedy and more marked change for the better than has actually followed.

The advocates of every reform have taken an unduly rose-colored view of its probable consequences. This was so with the abolition of African slavery, with the introduction of universal compulsory education, and so on all down the line. Each step of advance brings with it solid gain for the human race, but never the full amount of gain that its ardent champions expected.

Among the gains already brought about by woman suffrage is a greatly stimulated interest on the part of women in public affairs, and a greatly quickened sense of responsibility. There is also a much increased respect for the feminine point of view on the part of the politicians and a wholesome fear of giving it too flagrant offense.

On great national questions—with the exception of peace and prohibition—the women have generally divided much as the men do. The same has been true usually, although not always, in state elections. It is in the field of local affairs that the women's vote has most often turned the scale; and it has done this in a much greater number of cases than most people realize, since local elections do not generally attract notice in the press outside of the immediate neighborhood. But I was impressed at Des Moines by the many local victories for good government which the delegates to the Convention of the National League of Women Voters reported in their private conversation. At dinner or supper, women from the most widely separated states, seated together by chance, would tell their experiences, and it was most cheering and encouraging to hear them.

Wider and better results may reasonably be expected in the future. Equal suffrage has thus far been tried in the United States under most unfavorable conditions. The women secured nation-wide suffrage at a time when there was no clear-cut issue between the great parties. In Massachusetts the newly-enfranchised women invited two prominent politicians of opposite parties to come and explain to them what the differences were between the principles of the Republicans and the Democrats. They came, but were unable to do it. Ever since women got the vote, moreover, the country has been suffering from the evil after-effects of the war-psychology, and from skillful propaganda conducted on a colossal scale by the corrupt interests which have poisoned all the chief sources of public information. On some highly important questions women are natural progressives; but it is only as we work out of this befogged condition that they can make their progressiveness effective. It is up to the National League of Women Voters to help them do it.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

How to Improve the Government

IN his speech at the opening of the Convention of the American Bar Association, its president, John W. Davis, former Ambassador to Great Britain, urged certain changes in the national Government which the *Citizen* has often advocated. He asked first that the Congress when elected should come into existence immediately in December instead of waiting for thirteen months as it does now; then that the President should be inaugurated without the present delay; that the President should have the power to veto single items in an appropriation bill without having to veto the entire bill, and thus avoid great waste, and that foreign treaties should be ratified by a majority vote of the Senate instead of the two-thirds vote now required. The present necessity of a two-thirds vote in a Senate divided into partisan camps almost precludes any action at all.

These are all changes the *Citizen* believes would add much to governmental efficiency. And if we may vote which one should come first, we choose the last.

None of these points, it would seem, ought to be specially controversial. To soothe the feelings of reverent constitutionalists, on one point, Mr. Davis explains that the framers of the Constitution never intended the present long delay after election. Like many other things, these points need to be understood, studied and emphasized. Along all these lines women might help.

The Primaries and the Insurgent

BEFORE the passage of the direct primary law, all candidates were nominated in a convention by delegates who were practically chosen by the party leader. The corruption ensuing from this system and the power that it gave to a few political leaders brought about the demand in many states for a more democratic system and the direct primary resulted.

The direct primary provides that candidates shall be designated by petition, that is, that every candidate who can get the requisite number of enrolled voters of his party to sign his petition has the right to enter the contest for a primary nomination.

This takes the control away from party leaders, as what actually often happens is that a small group of members of a party organize themselves into a club and try to control all the nominations. They call together the members of the county committee in an Assembly District before the petitions are circulated and pick out party candidates satisfactory to their small group, making no attempt to find out the desire of the enrolled voters of their district.

Any member of the party who is not satisfied with this decision and desires to present himself as a candidate is called an "insurgent," treated as an outcast, and forever shut out of the inner circles of the party.

Neither party has shown any indication of desiring women as active members of county committees, or as candidates—and particularly women who show independence of thought and action. A recent incident in a rural county of New York State is typical. A prominent party woman was appointed on the county committee. The chairman and the county sheriff called on her to arrange for the work of election day. They told her how much money she would be allowed. "But," she said, "my women don't expect to be paid for their work. They are busy farm women but they will give their time on election day as a public service." The men objected that it would establish a bad precedent. Since that day, although an official member of the county committee, she has never been notified of a committee meeting nor been recognized in any way.

New York City has just supplied another illustration. Women candidates both for the State Legislature and the Board of Aldermen were told that all they had to do was to get the required number of signatures on their petitions

and their names would be put on the ballot in the primaries. They secured these signatures according to law, but when they attempted to get a designation in the legal way they were told they were "insurgents" and irregular and were working against the interests of the party. This is manifestly unfair to the women who, more unselfish in their stand than men, will yield rather than risk disaster to their parties.

Now, who are the real "insurgents"? Those who are following the letter and spirit of the law, or those who are attempting to nullify the law by designating in a small group rather than in the manner that the law prescribes? Is not the so-called "regular" irregular? Ought we not to fight with all our might any group that takes the power out of the hands of the voter and tries to establish autocratic control?

We are constantly preaching that our democratic form of government can be preserved only by respecting our institutions and obedience to the laws of our country. What is the result when laws which have been regularly put upon the statute books are nullified by those who are the leaders in the parties? We should see to it that the word "insurgent" is pinned on the right person.—MARY GARRETT HAY.

Your Chance at the Primaries

PRIMARY elections would attract more attention if the voters knew the importance of the primary, and realized their own powers.

One important business of the primary is the election of the members of the party committee. This committee usually decides who shall be the candidates, which, in the case of a dominant party, means who shall be elected, and they hold in their hands the practical control of government locally. These committeemen are our actual political bosses for good or evil. What the party is locally is dependent on their character and ability. The average of both in the usual county committee is startlingly low. Frequently, as Miss Hay shows, the party committee is actually controlled by a small group which is working for itself alone, is tenacious of power, and prevents wherever possible any independent thought or action.

The remedy lies in the voters' hands, and the condition is far easier to change than voters realize. Even a small group of women in a voting precinct can clean up such a condition and succeed in electing their own candidates. The first step is to get the right person to be willing to serve, and here is the chief difficulty. The position does not offer money or prestige except when used corruptly, but it does give an opportunity for public service of high importance. The next step, where a petition is necessary, is to get the few names the law demands signed to the petition—but this is easy. Finally, it is necessary to get out a sufficient vote on primary day to insure the election of the right candidates. This again is not difficult, as the total vote cast at the primary is usually so small that even a weak concerted effort may carry an election. Where vacancies exist, as they do very frequently on the county committee, the name of the right person can be written in on the primary ballot in sufficient numbers to elect.

A public-spirited New Yorker, Mr. Wilbur F. Wakeman, has recently issued a list of the voting precincts in his assembly district with their boundaries, so each voter can tell in which one he lives. He also gives the name and address of the present members of the county committee, urging each voter to investigate for himself, and see if his own representatives on this committee (both a man and a woman serve in each district in New York State) are the kind whom he wishes to act for him.

The power of the political boss rests on a very uncertain foundation. He knows it, but most voters do not. If each of us realized the power for good or evil that lies in the hands of these local party representatives of ours, there would be much more interest in them and a very much larger primary vote.

Woman—the Question Asker

AS might be expected, there is much difference of opinion as to the results that have come with the addition of women to the electorate. The political boss loves to say: "Women don't count," but he shows his fear of them by taking every precaution to see that they are rendered as nearly powerless as possible. To me one unmistakable result of the entrance of women in Government is the extraordinary increased interest which has been taken the past few years in Government and Government problems. It is manifest on every hand. The war had its share in proving, even to the unthinking, that Government is a matter which vitally concerns the governed, but interest in Government has been emphasized in many direct ways by women voters. Citizenship schools are only one manifestation of this interest, but they were unknown until they were instituted by enfranchised women.

Another sign I see of new interest is the way politics has been put on the defensive. Men politicians, accustomed to a tamed electorate, now find themselves obliged to give an accounting of their actions.

More questions have been asked by women during the past three years about men and parties and measures than probably ever before in the entire history of the country. Men notoriously do not like to ask questions. A man has a sex pride which seems to prohibit his admitting that he does not know. Every wife who has sat beside her husband when he is driving a motor car knows that this is true. A man would rather drive round in circles than ask the direction. I believe that therein lies woman's best value—in certain qualities she possesses which men do not have. Too often she does not realize these characteristics are an asset. Too often she tries to suppress them and imitate the man.

For a well-balanced judgment, the world needs both the masculine and feminine viewpoint, expressed frankly and fearlessly. The enhanced importance which Government has assumed in the public mind, the increased study being given to its problems, and the constant questioning and probing of its effectiveness is only part of the contribution women have made to popular government, but if it were all, it would have justified giving women the vote.—G. F. B.

Equality at Home

WHEN I was a very little girl scheduled to speak a piece at a Sunday-school entertainment, another girl got up and spoke my piece first! It was a tragedy. Now because I was last to answer the question which two others in these editorial pages have consented to put to themselves, they have spoken my piece, fully. But this time it isn't a tragedy. There is left for me to tell one reason why I *like* woman suffrage. It struck me hardest when before last election time I was in a household where there is a bright little boy of ten. A local contest was on in which the choice was difficult, the issue not quite sharp; each candidate had good points, and to decide one had to do a lot of weighing. One, for instance, was stronger on prohibition and the other on real freedom of speech. The boy was interested in his parents' opinion, and for about an hour one evening he sat questioning first one and then the other, much intrigued when he discovered they meant to vote for different candidates. And the marvel I watched was that there wasn't the slightest sign of that man child's thinking it *must* be his father whose political opinion was right. His mother's views got exactly as much attention and weight. Mother had held minor office herself, mother counted just as much in this whole political business as father. There was real equality for you—for no one is quicker than a boy of that age to push a woman out of the "man's world."

A small matter, but pretty important in its significance for human fellowship and for working things out on a real joint human basis.—V. R.

What the American *Man* Thinks

Edwin Lefèvre

Novelist and Special Writer

YOUR questions cannot be answered with the statistical exactitudes that so many people demand in order to acquire strong convictions.

Of course, woman influences politics and government today. But she always has done so—and always indirectly. Today in the United States she has the votes, but she does not have the political power that those same votes entitle her to have. The politicians will cheerfully admit that woman must be reckoned with these days, but not to the extent they feared when the suffrage was granted her.

Why is this? Because she is not playing politics. Why doesn't she play politics? Because she doesn't know how. Her ignorance is not the result of inexperience. It is that woman has never been a political animal—certainly not in a democracy. Her influence in a monarchy has always been greater than in a republic. The reason is obvious.

Woman is much more individualistic than man in her prejudices. The sad part is that woman and her prejudices are precisely what this country most needs politically. Woman's chief prejudices are against ugly things, against incompetence and dishonesty, against graft and narrow partisanship, against all the political faults of our present system.

It seems to me that what woman needs is to become a true citizen, a real voter. To be a Republican or a Democrat means merely to be a not oversuccessful imitation of a not very intelligent male voter. In a government of parties the extreme individualism of woman has no place politically. Parties believe in the rule of the majority, with only a moderate regard for the minority. Woman is much less concerned in abstractions than in concrete benefits.

The prospects for the growth of woman's influence in politics and government are not bright. The reason they are not bright is that the women voters of this country do not wish them to be bright. I take my life in my hands when I urge woman to stop being a follower. She has nothing to learn from Republican politicians or from Democrats. Woman is logical, and, therefore, primarily concerned with good government. Now, practical politics says that woman has a marvelous opportunity because she is naturally a mugwump; an independent, if you like the label better. She could utilize her strength, which is very great, and capitalize her opportunity, which is right under her nose. Woman should not delude herself that she can elect the candidate she favors, but she can easily keep out of office the candidate she opposes. Her chance, politically, is in being herself, in being free to vote as one, because she possesses the deciding vote today. It is no wild dream to say that woman can make it impossible for either of the great men parties to nominate an unworthy person; but remember that she would have the deciding vote only if and so long as she voted as one.

The woman citizen can make or break slates and dictate planks of platforms, and that is much more important than electing a woman to one or another office just to show the men what she can do. I am not thrilled or even interested in the possibility of a woman being elected to President of these United States. But I am exasperated by the sight of so much political power going to waste.

The American Woman Who Thinks in these pages has for once surrendered her special place to a group of eminent thinking brethren. We asked a number of men, without regard to their suffrage pasts, this question, "Do women count in politics and government? If so, how? If not, what are the prospects of their counting?" Here are the answers, which gain added interest by their contrasts.

George Barr Baker

Member Executive Committee and Director American CHILD HEALTH *Association*

HERE is my idea of what women have accomplished with the vote since 1920:

Nothing of importance, excepting to create an atmosphere of decency around the polls. But that marks the beginning of a new era in our national life. Few women can have an adequate conception of the disgraceful conditions that surrounded our voting places until comparatively recently. In a high percentage of cases they were located at points of varying degrees of dirt and disrepute; the prevailing spirit inside was one of suspicion at best; often of coercion, and frequently of what amounted to intimidation of voters. There was very little in the best of them to inspire any first voter with a feeling of respect for the sacred ballot. The advent of the woman has brought about a miraculous change.

How much longer the majority of voters will walk up like cattle and vote either Republican or Democratic, in total ignorance of who nominated the candidates and how and why, is the great question now before the women. The men can't and won't meet it. They tried to break loose under Roosevelt, but sneaked back into the big tents, glad when T. R. withdrew and the struggle was over. From what went on at the meeting of the National League of Women Voters in Des Moines I am led to feel that there is hope.

The women can force the Senate of the United States to permit the President to take us into the Court of International Justice.

They can then go a few steps farther and force the selfish and more or less ossified irreconcilables, and the demagogues who find it easy to fight the League of Nations with misrepresentations, to back down and permit the United States to throw off the devastating burden of war cost, in men and in material. All the women of the country have to do is to organize the cry for peace by negotiation in each state where there is a recalcitrant senator, and they can force *some* League through. It cannot be done by shouting; only by organizing and showing greater strength in the home district of each senator than the senator can gather from his present course. The churches will be with you; the men will follow.

Women know how to organize, don't forget that.

Once the women have accomplished these two big, but easy, things, their power will be the determining factor in politics and they can insure us against wars for another century.

Francis J. McConnell

Bishop, Methodist Episcopal Church

I MUST confess that I have not been looking for distinctively feminine results from giving women the vote. I have, for a longer time than I can remember, been urging the vote for women; but not especially on the ground of a distinctive contribution they would make by their votes. I believe in the entrance of women into politics, at least to the extent of voting, because it is only just that their political opinions should be allowed to count.

I do think I see, however, a raising of the level of political appeal to voters in the past few years. The women are fast becoming the distinctive intel-

lectual class in this country—so far as any intellectual appreciation of public questions is concerned. In contradiction to the common opinion I feel that women are more likely to ask for reasons why they should vote in a particular direction than men are. It may be all fancy on my part, but I think I see an improvement in the intellectual quality of our political speeches, and I attribute this to women in the electorate.

William Hard

Washington Correspondent of The Nation

I THINK I can put my impressions of my observations of the influence of women in national politics into the following formula:

1. The game of politics, in its essentials, remains necessarily precisely what it was before women came into it. The delegates to the next national conventions, for instance, are being selected in precisely the same way, in the matter of the mechanics of it and in the matter of the spirit and the temper of it, as before.

2. The granting of the suffrage to women is making it more and more difficult for them to speak as a united submerged class and more and more necessary for them to speak as individuals. Each one of them now increasingly has the opportunity to speak for herself through the customary avenues of political expression. Thus the woman "bloc" does not tend to become more and more solidified, but tends to become more and more disintegrated. Women at the polling places in Vermont turn out to be different from women at the polling places in Iowa; and the differences of locality and of class turn out to overshadow the difference of sex. In the end, accordingly, at the polling places, the social gain is one of a greater release of individualities rather than one of a different determination of issues.

3. Certain special privileges for women in politics—such as, in certain states, the obligatory election of women colleagues for the men members of state party committees—instead of a free choosing of either men or women by the voters—remain presumably necessary as long as so many voters, both male and female, are frightened by the idea of having their district represented on such committees by a woman only.

4. In the management of party machinery—which means in the management, after all, of government itself—women gradually are making progress toward the stage at which special privileges will not be needed or wanted. Quite a few women now have devoted themselves to the practice of politics in the essential manner in which it immemorially has been, and unendingly must be, operated; and, in proportion as they do so, they increasingly are able to contribute to the counsels of their party the thing which primarily—and, indeed, uniquely—produces political power; namely, practical ideas verified by subsequent results at elections.

Dr. Frank Crane

Editor, Current Opinion

YOU ask me whether I believe women have made any impression on public life since their enfranchisement. Frankly, I do not know. My opinion is yet unformed. I am waiting and hoping.

Of course, there is one great big question; in fact, the very biggest in all the world, upon which the influence of women, if it can be concentrated, could be tremendous and decisive. That question is the League of Nations. I don't think that will ever be settled right until it is settled religiously and ideally. Politics is too small to reach the question. Women, if they would, could push this question away from party politics and out into the field of humanity where it belongs. I am waiting to see what they are going to do.

A woman is a more passionate idealist than a man, but unfortunately by the same token she is a more bitter and stubborn partisan. Will women be governed by idealism or partisanship?

James J. Davis

Secretary Department of Labor

I AM one of those who find a great consolation for the present, a great hope for the future, in the advent of our American women into political life, through the exercise of the right of suffrage. I am confident that the woman of America is taking with her to the polls on election day those sterling qualities which have made American home life, through generations, the basis of a great republic. I find justified the belief that I long have held, that women in politics will uplift politics, not degrade women. For, after all, government affairs succeed or fail only in so far as they are based on essentially human consideration. And no group is closer to the heart of humankind than the mothers of the nation.

Women have come into politics in the United States at the right time. We never needed them more. Before them lies a great task. They can translate into terms of government the principles which they have learned through long generations of family life. They can give us in America the things that are vital to us today. They can rear anew the virtues of love, of home, of respect for family life, of the sanctity of the marital tie, which seem to be failing in this fast flying age of ours.

The women of America bring to public life an intimate knowledge and a profound interest in some matters which have in the past escaped the view of the man in public life. They are close to the heart of humanity, and it is my belief that they bring into the public affairs of the United States more of the essentially human side of affairs. But I am likewise confident that they will make better progress, will accomplish higher results, if they fit themselves into the traditional machinery of government in the United States. I have an abiding faith in the party system control under the institutions of representative government founded by our fathers. I am convinced that American womanhood can reach the highest point of public service through partisan politics.

George Creel

Formerly chairman Committee on Public Information

NEVER once, in my many equal suffrage campaigns, did I make any claim as to the miracles that would be worked, for it seemed plain to me that the voting woman would be subjected to the same prejudices and confusions that muddle the voting man. This has proved to be the case.

In matters directly touching the home and children, there can, of course, be small question that the woman vote has bettered conditions. Municipal government today is on a higher plane than ever before, for in only a few aldermanic bodies is there a survival of the low-browed ward heeler type that used to make and administer law in virtually every community. More is being done for education and the humanities, and greater interest is being taken in sanitation, pure food laws and allied importances.

In the larger fields of political action, prohibition is the one outstanding achievement of equal suffrage. Even this, however, was communal in its essence, for the corner saloon directly menaced the home. Universal disarmament and the prevention of war are still "Utopian fantasies," the nation's natural resources are still stolen and squandered, and the despotic rule of the party organization is more rigid than at any time in years. The woman vote, as a matter of fact, presents few points of difference from the man vote, but it is gaining in courage and vision, and may yet energize the democratic process out of its stagnancies.

Charles E. Merriam

Chairman, Department of Political Science, University of Chicago

THERE can be no serious question that women are a force of very great significance in American political life. If we consider the personnel of government, it is evident, although no

For the rest of this and a letter from Senator Capper *turn to page* 28.

The Woman Voter

(This full-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.)

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Proportional Representation

Last spring something very important happened which received such scant attention from the press that it is safe to assume League members, outside a small group in Ohio, know nothing of it. Proportional representation was declared constitutional by the state supreme court, the opinion being written by our woman member of the court, Justice Florence E. Allen. Mr. Walter Millard is almost as familiar to our members throughout the country as are their own officers, state, local and national, and he has explained proportional representation to us in his own inimitable way, making it so vivid and so vital that the story of the court decision which appeared in the April number of *Proportional Representation Review* is reprinted herewith because we know it will be of keen interest to the readers of the *Woman Voter*.—ELIZABETH J. HAUSER.

ON March 6, the Supreme Court of Ohio rendered its decision that the Hare system of proportional representation as prescribed in the new Cleveland charter is in conformity with the constitution of Ohio and the Constitution of the United States. The decision upheld the previous decisions of the lower courts in the cases of *William Reutener* v. *the City of Cleveland et al.*, and *Hile, a taxpayer* v. *the City of Cleveland*.

The opinions in the two cases were written by Judge Florence Allen, of Cleveland. The opinion in the Reutener case was her first opinion as a member of the state supreme court. It seems peculiarly appropriate that the first supreme court decision granting to men and women alike the right to an effective ballot should have been the first opinion written by the first American woman to sit on a supreme court bench.

The opinion in each case was concurred in by Chief Justice Marshall, and Justices Wanamaker, Jones, Mathias, and Day, Justice Robinson dissenting.

The plaintiff in the Reutener case held that Cleveland's new charter, adopted at the polls as an amendment to the old charter in 1921, was too voluminous to constitute an amendment in any proper sense; that the question had not been properly submitted on the ballot because it had been condensed into eighty-six lines, and that the Hare system violates the provision of Article V, Section 1, of the Ohio constitution, that every citizen of the state having certain qualifications shall be "entitled to vote at all elections." The plaintiff contended that this language should be interpreted to give every voter the right to have votes counted for as many representatives as are to be elected within his geographical district, citing as authority, the previous Ohio case of *State ex rel.* v. *Constantine*, in which a form of limited restricted voting was held to be unconstitutional, and the decisions against proportional representation in the courts of Michigan and California.

The court decided that a general revision of a charter could be submitted as a single amendment; that the amendment had been properly submitted to the voters of Cleveland, and that Article V, Section 1, was inapplicable on account of the home rule amendment of 1912, which granted to municipalities "all powers of local self-government."

Although the decision was thus based, in the first instance, on provisions which are not paralleled in other state constitutions, Judge Allen's opinion also took up the charge that proportional representation is an abridgment of fundamental electoral rights, in a way that should prove a most valuable precedent in other states. It directly contradicts the reasoning of the California and Michigan courts and the earlier ruling of the Ohio supreme court in the Constantine case, in the following language:

"Plaintiff in error can hardly contend that a voting system which may at times deprive a ballot of its full effect is necessarily unconstitutional. That the effect of a vote is often nullified in our elections is axiomatic. It is a matter of common knowledge that national presidents have been elected upon an actual minority. . . ." That is to say, votes of a plurality of electors are not always counted so as to be effective in national elections. It is also a matter of common knowledge that through the gerrymander, districts may be practically deprived of the right to have their votes effective in elections. That is, a majority may be so districted as to become a minority without power of electing its candidates.

"The vote of an elector may, then, under our present form of state and national government, be shorn of its effect, so far as the actual election of the elector's candidate is concerned, without invalidating the method of election. However, does the fact that the elector under this system votes a first choice for one office only, there being from five to nine to be elected in the ward, violate the provision of Article V, Section 1, of the Constitution, that every elector shall be entitled to vote at all elections?

"On the face meaning of this section, the Hare system of proportional representation does not violate the Ohio constitution for the elector is not prevented from voting *at any election*. He is entitled to vote at every municipal election, even though his vote may be effective in the election of fewer than the full number of candidates and he has exactly the same voting power and right as every other elector.

"The plaintiff in error, however, claims that the *State* v. *Constantine* is an authority binding upon this court in his favor. The second and third paragraphs of the syllabus in this case read as follows:

2. Where an office is filled by an election, the election must conform to the requirements of the constitution, and each elector of the district is entitled to vote for a candidate for each office to be filled at the election.

3. A statute authorizing the election of four members of the police board at the same election but which denies to an elector the right to vote for more than two members is in conflict with Article V of the Constitution.

"This case is certainly an authority against the proposition of the defendant in error. The slight circumstance that limited voting was condemned in the Constantine case, while it is proportional representation that is here attacked, does not greatly differentiate the cases.

"*State ex rel.* v. *Constantine*, however, extended the plain language of the constitution far beyond the word meaning of the provision contained in Article V, Section 1. To the clause 'shall be entitled to vote at all elections,' it added a clause, 'and for a candidate for each office to be filled at each election.'

"To hold valid this system of voting adopted by the people of Cleveland is merely to carry out the plain meaning of the

constitutional provision that municipalities shall have all powers of local self-government, and to give effect to the power which rightly takes precedence over all statutes and court decisions—the will of the people, as expressed in the organic law. Electoral provisions similar to these have lately been upheld in other states.

"In the case of *Commonwealth* v. *Reader*, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania held constitutional an act providing for the election of a given number of judges, notwithstanding the fact that an elector was not allowed to vote for as many persons as there were places to be filled."

Judge Jones concurring added a sentence which brings out a point of fundamental importance to other states as well as to Ohio:

"Section 1, Article V, explicitly pertains to, and controls the qualifications of electors at all elections, but it does not attempt to control the mode of elections nor the personnel of municipal officers."

The opinion in the Hile case refutes certain technical objections to the Cleveland charter under the state and federal constitutions. In particular, it holds that "the adoption of the city-manager plan of government, together with the Hare system of proportional representation, in a city charter, under the home rule amendment to the Ohio constitution, is not a denial of the republican form of government" or "of the equal protection of the laws."

In view of the supreme court's action, the city of Cleveland is looking forward to its first proportional representation election of the city council next fall. Nominating petitions are already being circulated and plans are being made by civic organizations to carry on an intensive campaign of education in the new method, similar to that which preceded the first election in Sacramento.

The New Organization Secretary

AFTER most successful service in the sustaining membership campaign in Kentucky, Ohio, and Minnesota, Miss Marguerite Owen has come to headquarters as secretary to the Department of Organization. As her name indicates, she is of Welsh extraction, fourth in the line of descent from an early settler of Wisconsin. South Dakota is her native state, but except for a number of years in a Massachusetts boarding school, most of her life has been spent in Minneapolis. Sociology was her very considerable minor subject in the University of Minnesota, of which she is a graduate, and she was scarcely off the campus when she plunged into volunteer work for civic betterment. Everybody who was "chairman of anything"—the phrase is her own—called on her for help till at length Miss Marguerite Wells, president of the Minnesota League, enlisted her for work at the state capitol, where she saw many measures safely through legislative shoals. Miss Ludington claimed her early this year for the membership campaign and she begins organization work with a wide acquaintance among League women. The smile that helped so much in the membership campaign translates itself into letters quite as effective and League work of organization is already beginning to respond to her capable touch.

Indefatigable Iowa

A LISTENING world is well aware that Iowa's where the tall corn grows, but not everybody knows that since the National League convention in Des Moines, the work of the Iowa League for international co-operation, the World Court, and peace has outstripped even the corn in its growth. If any other state has done so much let it speak up at once, for at present Iowa claims the banner. Justice Florence Allen, whose memorable speech on the outlawry of war Iowa heard with such rapt attention, was called back to the state in June for an "Allen week," under the auspices of the League, during which time she spoke in eight different cities. Later in the month the League secured Mrs. Lewis Rose, president of the Hartford (Connecticut) League who spoke for peace in twenty-eight different towns in less than twenty-one days. Iowa expects to have Justice Allen for another peace tour after she returns from Europe this month, and Mrs. Rose has been urged to come again for an autumn speaking engagement.

In the "Law, not War" demonstration, July 28-29, the Iowa League joined heartily. Twenty-three thousand posters as well as fliers and cards were displayed and distributed in the state. Clergymen, Chautauqua lecturers, and special speakers emphasized the need for the World Court and the outlawing of war. In Des Moines thirty-two women's organizations worked together arranging for a tremendous luncheon with which the observance began. Two hundred men and women leaders of the state were present and listened to an exceptionally good speech by Harvey Ingham, editor of the *Register*, on the World Court. All the street-cars bore placards, "Help end war," and windows blossomed out with "Law, not War" devices of many kinds. On Sunday there were peace sermons in one hundred and thirty-five churches and distribution of "Law, not War" posters. In the city park, which was beautifully decorated, there was a mass meeting, a concert and a community "sing," all as a demonstration for peace. The Iowa League is not bragging, but national headquarters can't refrain from saying that Iowa's reply to the recent questionnaire ("I. Q.") was one hundred per cent. perfect. Iowa has a working chairman for every department of League work and every chairman has attended a national convention.

Muscle Shoals

(Report of chairman of Living Costs Committee, Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, continued from Woman Voter of August 25.)

THE Senate Committee on Agriculture, on July 20, 1922, after extended hearings, introduced a joint resolution rejecting all bids for the acquisition of Muscle Shoals. The committee decided unanimously against all bids except that of Henry Ford. Upon the latter, the committee stood seven in favor of its acceptance and nine for its rejection. Five members of the committee were in favor of the passage of S-3420, the Norris Bill. On June 9, the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives reported in favor of the offer of Henry Ford, subject to modification of its terms. Two minority reports advocated other modifications.

Congress adjourned without acting upon any of the pending bills relating to Muscle Shoals.

The Norris Bill provided that the nitrate plants and all other property owned by the government of the United States at Muscle Shoals shall be retained in the name of the government of the United States. It provided that Dams Nos. 2 and 3 shall be finished and completed by the government, and that all property owned by the government, including these dams, shall be operated and controlled by a governmental corporation. In order to keep this corporation out of politics, it was provided that a board of directors shall be appointed by the President, confirmed by the Senate; that they shall hold office during good behavior, but that any member of the board can be removed at any time by concurrent resolution of the House and Senate. They were directed to operate these dams and steam plant at Muscle Shoals for the purpose, first, of supplying explosives in time of war, and second, fertilizer in time of peace. They were authorized to sell any surplus power that may be developed. They were directed in the sale of such surplus power to give preference to states, counties, and municipalities, and the regulation and charges were properly provided for. They were directed to operate Nitrate Plant No. 1 as an experimental plan, to employ chemists and experts for the purpose of developing improved methods of the extraction of nitrogen from the atmosphere. In case of war, Nitrate Plant No. 2 would be operated for the benefit of the government, and if desired, the President could take possession of it without any cost or expense to the taxpayers. The Ford offer provided:

That a company be organized by Mr. Ford, to complete

Dam No. 2 and build Dam No. 3 as speedily as possible at cost and in accordance with plans and specifications of the Chief of Engineers (Secs. 2 and 6); to lease both dams for 100 years from the date when 100,000 horsepower is installed and ready for service at Dam No. 2 (Secs. 3 and 7); to pay the government four per cent. on the entire cost, whatever it be, of completing Dam No. 2 and building Dam No. 3, including both locks and power-house facilities, except that no interest is to be paid while the dams are building, and payments are not to be made at the full rate of four per cent. during the power-loading period of six years at Dam No. 2 and three years at Dam No. 3 (Secs. 3 and 7); to set up a sinking fund which will return to the government the entire cost of both dams so that at the end of the lease period the government will receive the full amount of its investment in these dams and thereafter the water power will be free from interest charges (Sec. 10); to pay the maintenance and operation costs of the locks and dams to the extent of $55,000 annually (Secs. 4 and 8); to furnish without cost to the government all power required for the operation of the navigation locks during the period of the lease (Secs. 4 and 8); to pay $5,000,000 for Nitrate Plants No. 1 and No. 2, together with their steam plants, the Waco quarry, and only such rights and ownership as the government may have in the steam plant at Gorgas, Alabama, transmission lines, etc. (Sec. 11); to maintain Nitrate Plant No. 2 or its equivalent in its present state of readiness for immediate operation in the manufacture of materials necessary in war for production of explosives (Sec. 15b); to manufacture nitrogen and other commercial fertilizers, either mixed or unmixed, with or without filler, using the most economical source of power available.

The annual production of these fertilizers shall have a nitrogen content of at least 40,000 tons of fixed nitrogen, which is the present capacity of Nitrate Plant No. 2. This is equivalent to 250,000 tons of Chilean nitrate, which is the entire amount of Chilean nitrate used annually by American farmers in normal times (Sec. 15); to limit the profit made in the manufacture and sale of all fertilizer produced, so that it shall not exceed 8 per cent. of the fair actual annual cost of production (Sec. 16); to determine by research on a commercial scale the methods of fertilizer manufacture by which fertilizer compounds of higher grade may be produced at a lower price and to reasonably employ such improved methods as are found successful (Sec. 15);

To see that the fertilizer provisions of Mr. Ford's contract limiting his profits to a maximum of 8 per cent. and providing equitable distribution of the products are faithfully carried out, he agrees to a board of nine voting members, of whom seven shall be members of the three leading national farm organizations, nominated by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The board is to determine whether or not prices charged are fair and to have power to regulate both prices and distribution of the fertilizers produced (Sec. 16).

Arguments Against

Supporters of the policy of conservation have recently presented the following arguments against the Ford proposal embodied in the Ladd bill:

That the Ford offer is not mainly a fertilizer proposition, but is seven parts water power to one part fertilizer, even if the fertilizer part should work out, for, if Nitrate Plant No. 2 were to be permanently employed in the manufacture of fertilizer, it would consume but 100,000 horsepower out of the 850,000 installation; that, as a water power proposition, the Ford offer is in every important point directly contrary to the water power policy of President Roosevelt, which after fifteen years of struggle was finally enacted into the Federal Water Power Law of 1920; that the Water Power Act provides that all water power leases shall be limited to fifty years, whereas the Ford offer asks a lease of 100 years; that the Federal Water Power Law provides for return to the government of title at the end of fifty years, whereas the Ford offer provides for indefinite private possession of the government works; that the Federal Water Power Law provides for the regulation of prices for the benefit of power consumers, but the Ford offer, so far as the United States is concerned, provides no check on the prices power consumers must pay; that the Federal Water Power Law provides that public water power taken for profit shall return compensation to the public, but the Ford offer asks the free gift of many hundred thousands of horsepower; that the amount of power which can be developed under the Ford offer is greater by half than all the power now being developed at Niagara Falls and, if paid for at the rates charged by the government to other companies which build their own works, it would cost the Ford Company about $150,000 a year, which under its offer that company will not be required to pay.

Home Economics

Of course, the most important aid to home economics would be the passage of a bill which still sleeps in Congress, providing for increased appropriation for vocational training in home economics. Of state legislation, the Chief of the Home Economic Service in the Federal Board for Vocational Education says:

"Practically all the state legislation for home economics is tied up with that for vocational education as a whole, and cannot easily be expressed except in terms of the whole program. It is safe to say, however, that vocational education has fared best of all phases of education at the hands of the legislators this year.

"From reports recently issued, it appears that few of the states have proposed any new legislation dealing with vocational education during the present sessions of the legislatures. This has been due to the wave of economy which has swept the country, causing a feeling on the part of the state authorities that in view of the circumstances probably the most desirable action that they could take would be to attempt to retain their relative position in the states and continue appropriation on the same basis, rather than attempt to ask for increases either in appropriation or in functions. All the states have held their own on the appropriations which have been actually voted through, with possibly one or two exceptions where a slight cut was made, as in the case of New Mexico. This is, however, counterbalanced by several of the states which received slight increases over their previous appropriations, as in the case of Wyoming.

"According to the information available, only three states proposed enacting compulsory part-time general continuation laws during the present session of their legislatures. In Kansas such a bill was introduced and according to our last information seemed to have a good chance of being enacted into law. In Minnesota a compulsory part-time bill was introduced covering cities of the first class. According to a recent newspaper clipping, the educational committee of one of the branches of the legislature has just voted eight to three to report the bill favorably. The educational authorities in Texas had expected to attempt to secure the enactment of a compulsory part-time law, but it is my understanding that they have decided to drop any attempt to secure passage of such a law in order to concentrate their efforts upon securing appropriations."

Home Demonstration

The number of home-demonstration agents co-operatively employed by the United States Department of Agriculture and state agricultural colleges, January 31, 1923, totaled 760, an increase of seventy-two over the same date in 1922. The ideal standard calls for a home-demonstration agent in every county of every state. No state has reached this goal. Two states have no home-demonstration agents. In each of twenty-nine states the number of agents was increased during the year; in each of twelve states there was a decrease; in six states the number remained the same. (Table of states with decreases and increases will be furnished on application to national headquarters.)

THE END

Leagues and League Women

MRS. RICHARD WILLIAMS, of Greenwood, president of the South Carolina League, was one of the students at the recent school of politics and government at Columbia University. The course, she says, surpassed her highest expectations.

"I had never dreamed," she adds, "that we should have so many eminent speakers or that the instruction would be so very practical. It seemed to me that we got just what we needed to help us meet the every-day problems of government, and I found myself wishing that all the men and women of my state who are interested in progress, efficiency and the general welfare of our people could have the opportunity of hearing the lectures which were given."

Without comment, Mrs. Williams goes on to say that soon after she returned to South Carolina she was discussing city finance with one of Greenwood's most prominent men and referred to Dr. Gulick's talk on government finance. The prominent citizen was obviously surprised that women voters should be studying such a question and asked whether there would be another school of the kind next summer at Columbia for he would rather like to attend its sessions himself. Then, carried away by the enormous progress of women, and wishing to point to the highest goal attainable, he said: "If you women keep this thing up, you'll soon know more about governmental matters than we men know."

THE success of the Manhattan League's thrift shop is expected to lead to the establishment of similar shops in many another city of New York state. Twenty-nine West 125th Street is in the heart of the Harlem shopping district and in the heart of the district, also, wherein women are accustomed not only to make but to make over their own clothes. Everything the human mind can imagine finds a ready sale in the shop and the women who conduct it are always asking for more. Indeed, they do say that some of their friends, setting things aside to be called for by the shop, refer to those asking ladies as the "D.H.L." for Scripture declares that the "daughters of the horse-leech" it was who cried, "Give! Give!"

THE Kentucky League, at its last board meeting, decided to publish both sides of questions which will come up at the next session of the legislature, and is seeking the help of Kentucky newspapers in this work of making its unpartisan educational work understood. Mr. Desha Breckinridge, of the Lexington *Herald*, has already helped by getting out an issue making a special feature of the pros and cons of the rural police question and it is not doubted that other newspapers will join hands with the League. The president of the League, Mrs. E. L. Hutchinson, has just given the state furiously to think in regard to its primary laws. Mrs. Hutchinson, who lives in Lexington, was appointed to the election board for the primaries held last month. In her acceptance she suggested that she might be ineligible, as she could not vote.

"At the last regular election," said she, "I made a conscientious choice, selecting the best person, . . . though not in the Democratic fold. Therefore, I am classed among those persons who cannot take part in the primary. As our iniquitous primary law requires persons wishing to function in a primary to support every single nominee of their party, party fealty is substituted for conscience and patriotism. The primary law thus becomes the 'big stick' to herd voters under an emblem and vote groups instead of individuals. When our primary law allows us the liberty of choice enjoyed under the primary laws of other states, every party will have to bid for the popular vote by putting up the best possible candidates."

IN April, Alabama League women appointed Mrs. Solon Jacobs chairman of a committee to examine into prison conditions in order to obtain unanswerable arguments in the campaign for abolition of the present convict-leasing system. The report was presented in July. In telling how bad conditions are Mrs. Jacobs is careful to point out that they are the fault of the system and not of the leasing companies. Petitions have been circulated throughout the state and all League members have been working hard to get signatures to present to the legislature that the law, which dates from a period when prison reform was a mere name, may be repealed and something better substituted.

TWENTY-FOUR ward chairmen and 241 ward workers have secured 2021 members for the Saginaw (Michigan) League, which, as its secretary, Miss Edna Wright says, can't "have even a social gathering without doing a piece of League work." For example, the League lately gave an "acquaintance tea," inviting 400 workers and sustaining members to an informal entertainment. The day set was also the day of a special election to vote on a street-car franchise and it was a day when the thermometer climbed on its highest perch, like a frightened cat, and declined to come down. At noon the vote was reported as alarmingly light and women who came to the tea were told this. In fact, at the end of the entertainment they were asked to rush home and get all the women on their lists out to vote, hot day or no hot day. That is why the vote was particularly heavy between late afternoon and poll closing time, and the franchise, incidentally, carried, three to one.

NATURALLY enough, the San Francisco League will pay special attention to Oriental problems in the study of international conditions which has been arranged for this autumn. Foreign students from the University of California will lead the study groups, in rotation, the small groups combining once a month into a large unit under the leadership of Professor Kenneth Saunders, a Scotch-English member of the university faculty who made the course of eight lectures he gave last spring so interesting that although the San Francisco League, which was responsible for the course, fixed a price of admission nearly a hundred women enrolled and many more are ready to enroll again. Professor Saunders has spent many years in the Orient and speaks as one having genuine knowledge.

THE Sixth Ward (Chicago) League feeds both mind and body, so Mrs. E. M. Wever, a member who has been calling at Washington headquarters, says. The League meets once a fortnight in the Sunday-school room of a Baptist church and at half-past twelve on each meeting-day luncheon is served. It is a very good luncheon and cheap enough for anybody's pocket. Often as many as three hundred League women sit down together and when the meeting, which is always addressed by somebody worth while, opens an hour later, everybody is in the best possible frame of mind to hear and learn. Volunteer waitresses serve the meal and many a South Side woman finds the bi-weekly luncheon a delightful diversion.

THE week of October 22 has been selected for a second institute of political education which the Buffalo (New York) League and the University of Buffalo working together will carry to the success that attended the first one.

NOT long ago Mrs. M. L. Fisher, chairman of the Tioga County (New York) League gave a luncheon to members from five of the nine townships in the county. Each guest was provided with a pencil and piece of paper and asked to write—after, not before, luncheon—a suggestion for a new county slogan. The various suggestions were collected and discussed and the one finally adopted by vote was that from the alert mind of Mrs. L. R. Bradley, of Spencer, "For Political Purity and Justice."

World News About Women

Congress of Working Women

THROUGH the National Women's Trade Union League, we learn that the Third International Congress of Working Women, held in Vienna, August 14-21, has adopted a resolution declaring for labor laws for women, irrespective of whether such laws apply to men or not, wherever the organized workers of the respective countries advocate such laws. The Congress, representing some fifteen countries, believes in establishing standards of employment, such as the eight-hour day, by law or by trade union agreement, or by both, according to the needs of the workers and their opportunities.

It has often been said by opponents of women's labor laws that the International Federation opposes them. This action of the Congress disposes of that contention. It is also in interesting harmony with the action taken by the International Woman Suffrage Congress held in Rome last May.

Women Lawyers Organize

WOMEN lawyers from all over the country have met at Minneapolis, Minnesota, for the purpose of organizing a National Woman Lawyers' Association. And it has been done. National officers were elected and a plan for state councils with vice-presidents was launched by nineteen women lawyers in Minneapolis, who form the first council.

Of the national organization, Miss Emilie M. Bullowa was elected president, Mrs. Katherine Pike, of Washington, corresponding secretary; Miss Marion Gold Lewis, of New York, recording secretary, and Miss Henrietta Newhaus, also of New York, treasurer. Mrs. Rose Falls Bres is to continue to serve as editor of the *Women Lawyers' Journal*, which will appear quarterly.

An Honorary Degree

MISS CHLOE OWINGS received the degree of "doctor d'université" from the Faculty of Letters of the University of Paris, as well as very honorable mention—a distinction rather rarely won by a foreign student—upon the conclusion of a brilliant defense of her thesis, "The Children's Court." Miss Owings, who is an American, has done important social work on both sides of the Atlantic. She was very active in raising the building fund for the American Hospital in Paris, and before going to the other side was assistant secretary of the State Conference of Charities and Correction of New York. Her thesis was based upon actual investigation, as she has spent a great deal of time in courts, prisons, and the homes of delinquent children. Her knowledge of child-welfare questions in America has given her a broad outlook and the possibility of making interesting comparisons in her French studies.

One Proof

PERTINENT to our note in the August 25 CITIZEN reporting that England now has equality in the terms for divorce, comes a statement from the *Woman's Leader* which points out that in Scotland the rate of divorces sought has greatly decreased since equal terms for men and women were established.

For Regulating Women's Work

MRS. SIDNEY WEBB, who was a member of the British War Cabinet Committee on women in industry—we quote from *Life and Labor*—has been asked by the National Consumers' League her attitude on industrial legislation covering women under such circumstances as exist in the United States today. Mrs. Webb writes:

"I have always supported the regulation of women's work as a good thing in itself. So long as the British trade unions were against regulating the hours and other conditions of men's work I was still in favor and took an active part in the agitation for the regulation of women's work; and if the trade unions had continued to oppose regulation I should have gone on advocating the regulation of women's work. But, as a matter of fact, the question has completely changed, seeing that the male trade unionists are almost as eager for regulation as the women trade unionists, and it is therefore quite unnecessary to make any sex distinction.

"Now it has become a question of distinguishing individuals and not classes—for instance, persons who are particularly susceptible to lead poisoning, and these include nearly all women and some men. There are still, however, questions such as pregnancy and the time after the birth of a child in which special legislation is necessary. So that you are quite at liberty to say that I am in favor of regulating women's work, whether or not the men agree to having similar regulations."

In the Department of Justice

WE are indebted to Ellen Spencer Mussey, Honorary Dean of the Washington College of Law, for the information that Miss Maud Fellheimer has been appointed an attorney in the Department of Justice at Washington, and assigned to the War Transaction Section. Miss Fellheimer graduated from the Washington College of Law in 1920 and was admitted to the District of Columbia bar immediately. Since that time she has been in active practice. She was also secretary of the Women's Bar Association of the District of Columbia.

Child Labor Increases

MISS GRACE ABBOTT, chief of the Children's Bureau, makes an interesting report concerning the increase in child-labor during the past three years. In January, 1920, according to Miss Abbott, one million children were employed in the United States. In 1923, in the eastern cities alone, there was an increase over 1921 of 24 per cent. and a *general* increase of 57 per cent. These are the facts upon which Miss Abbott bases her plea for an amendment to the Constitution giving Congress power to prohibit and regulate child labor.

Birth Control

THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE will hold a Birth Control Conference of the eight middle western states at the Hotel Drake, Chicago, on October 29-30-31.

To Help the Deaf

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN has made remarkable progress during the last three years with its work among the deaf through the country. Council Sections have made thorough surveys of the deaf in their local communities in order to establish relationship with existing institutions, to render personal service, to provide classes in lip-reading, and night classes for the foreign-born deaf.

Feminists in Mexico

YUCATAN, Mexico, has its women's movement and women office-holders, too. There the name which stands forth is that of Rosa Torre González. Graduated as professor of higher primary education from the Literary Institute for Girls, for six years Miss González worked for a master's degree. Her love of children won her over, however, and she abandoned her first course to specialize in kindergarten teaching, giving her services for five years in the kindergarten annexed to the Normal School for Teachers. Here she was when the feminist movement came to life in Mexico.

The first step in this movement was the formation of the Rita Cetina Gutiérrez—the feminist league—organized at the beginning to secure the progress and emancipation of women through purely educational channels. This was the organization into which Miss González threw herself heart and soul. Seeing that the league was not

gaining the end desired by thus limiting itself, it soon broadened its scope to include the entire political field, and before long succeeded in the right to place one of its members in the Ayuntamiento, which corresponds to what we term a city council, at Merida, the capital of the province of Yucatan. The logical person for this position was, naturally, Miss González, and the league was unanimous in proclaiming her its candidate.

Victory was assured and the first of January this year Miss González took her place as councilwoman. Her duties deal with the press, charity, pageants or spectacles, health and hygiene. She has presented two measures, one relating to the construction of a slaughter house which conforms with all hygienic conditions, and the other the regulation of the traffic of vehicles. She also, as a special duty, gives audience to all women applying to the Ayuntamiento for permission to sell fruits, sweets, etc.

The term so far has been very successful. Her work has not been hindered in any way by other members of the body, in fact she has had the greatest consideration and co-operation.

BERTA CAMARA

Women's Activities

THE Women's Activities Exhibit—put on by the New York League of Business and Professional Women last year—proved so successful that it is to be repeated this year. The place is to be the same—the Hotel Commodore—and the dates are September 24 to 29. To show women's progress both inside and outside the home is the purpose. The organizations which have already taken space are varied in interest, among them being the Consumers' League, Girl Scouts, League of Advertising Women, Y. W. C. A., New York League of Women Voters.

At the Fourth Assembly

MRS. FLORENCE GUERTIN TUTTLE, president of the Women's Pro-League Council, and Miss Sarah Wambaugh, at one time an under secretary in the Secretariat of the League of Nations, have sailed for Geneva to attend the Fourth Assembly of the League.

A School of Democracy

THE WOMEN'S DEMOCRATIC CLUB of New York City will hold a School of Democracy at the Hotel Commodore beginning September 17. There will be tri-weekly lectures for five weeks. The first hour of each session will be devoted to a school of public speaking in charge of Gustav Schulz, Professor of Public Speaking at City College. (Anyone wishing to attend should write to Mrs. Charles D. Hirst, 137 West 75th Street.) In the second hour there will be speeches by prominent persons. The whole course costs only $1.00.

Legislators Elected 1922

Alabama
Mrs. J. G. Wilkins

Arizona
Rose McKay, Nellie Bush, Freda Marks

Arkansas
Miss Erle Chambers, Mrs. Frances M. Hunt

California
Miss Esto B. Broughton, Mrs. Anna L. Saylor, Mrs. Cora M. Woodbridge, Mrs. Gladys S. Dorris, Miss Eleanor Miller

Connecticut
Mrs. L. M. Frink, Mrs. Marie Emmons, Mrs. Helen Lewis, Miss Mary B. Weaver, Mrs. Clarissa Nevius, Mrs. Annie Vinton, Elizabeth Green

Georgia
Mrs. Viola R. Napier, Miss Bessie Kempton

Idaho
Mrs. Mary George, Miss K. Abercrombie, Mrs. Lucy E. Beardmore

Illinois
Mrs. Lottie Holman O'Neill

Indiana
Miss Elizabeth Rainey

Kansas
Mrs. Minnie J. Grinstead, Mrs. Ida Walker, Miss Nellie Cline

Maine
Mrs. Dora B. Pinkham

Massachusetts
M. Sylvia Donaldson, Mrs. Susan W. Fitzgerald

Minnesota
Mrs. Mabeth Hurd Paige, Mrs. C. M. Dickey Hough, Miss Myrtle Cain, Mrs. Hannah Kempfer

Missouri
Mrs. Edward T. Smith

Montana
Mrs. Catherine McCartey, Mrs. William Hamilton, Mrs. M. Tracey, Mrs. Jessie Roscow Butte

Nevada
Miss Alice S. Towle, Miss Marguerite Gosse, Mrs. Rita D. Millar, Miss Louise Hays

New Hampshire
Mrs. Gertrude Caldwell, Mrs. John H. Bartlett, Mrs. Effie Yantis

New Jersey
Mrs. Katherine W. Brown, Mrs. J. R. Schermerhorn, Mrs. Mabel C. North

New Mexico
Mrs. Bertha Paxton

North Dakota
Miss Nellie Dougherty, Mrs. Minnie D. Craig

Ohio
Nellie B. Loughead (S.), Mrs. Maude G. Waitt (S.), Mrs. Nettie M. Clapp, Mrs. May M. Van Wye, Mrs. Lula T. Gleason, Mrs. Adelaide Ott

Oregon
Mrs. W. S. Kinney (S.), Mrs. C. B. Simmons

Pennsylvania
Miss Alice M. Bentley, Miss Sarah M. Gallaher, Miss Helen Grimes, Miss Gertrude MacKinney, Mrs. Martha G. Thomas, Mrs. Martha G. Speiser, Mrs. Rosa de Young, Mrs. Lillie H. Pitts

Rhode Island
Mrs. Isabelle Ahearn O'Neill

South Dakota
Miss Gladys Pyle

Tennessee
Miss Marion Griffin

Texas
Mrs. Edith Wilmans

Vermont
Miss Edna L. Beard (S.), Mrs. Catherine A. Buck, Mrs. Flora E. Cooper, Mrs. Jessie Dow, Mrs. Leoline A. Meech

Washington
Reba J. Hurn (S.), Mrs. Maud Sweetman, Mrs. Harry John Miller, Mrs. Belle Reeves, Mrs. Jessie Bullock Kastner

West Virginia
Mrs. Thomas Gates

S. = Senator

Women and the Vote

(*Continued from page* 11)

report that "undoubtedly the most important piece of legislation passed in Ohio through women's efforts since 1920 has been the Bing law relating to school attendance and child labor." Wisconsin, too, has reduced the number of hours women work, placed women working in hotels under the care of the Industrial Commission—a progressive step, secured equal guardianship. Its "blanket" law—the only one in the Union—is still under discussion and test.

Down in the Southwest, Texas says: "The legislation which we feel has been secured by the women's efforts in our state includes an educational survey of the entire system of the state; a survey of the prison system; laws strengthening the prohibition act; the six-million dollar emergency appropriation for the public schools, and the nurses' registration bill."

Is it enough? The tendencies seem to be the same whatever place on the map we pick—child welfare, removal of discriminations against women, protective legislation for women; education; protection of the direct primary, and enforcement of the prohibition law.

There has been nothing spectacular about this last, but a steady pressure, in many states, to prevent weakening. For instance, North Dakota women "have been more effective in helping defeat repeal measures than in causing new legislation to be introduced—especially for the retention and enforcement of prohibition." Ohio women were active in holding to enforcement in last year's struggle, and California women are said to have been the decisive factor in putting through that state's enforcement legislation. In Pennsylvania the Women's Christian Temperance Union is itself raising the enforcement fund which the legislature refused to the Governor.

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AMY L. COGSWELL, Principal
Groton, Massachusetts

Everybody grants that women elected Pinchot to be Governor of Pennsylvania—from the Governor himself down. They organized a campaign and put it through in the interests, as they believed, of good, sound government. The point seems to be, not that women have unfailingly determined election contests in the right way since they sprang into being as voters, but that they *can* do a thing like the Pinchot nomination, and that when they pitch in hard they get results.

The Pinchot case is outstanding; but there have been numbers of local contests throughout the country in which women have played a decisive part. As this is written, a little story floats in from Tennessee to illustrate. A Democratic primary was held August 4 to nominate candidates for five county offices, one of them being Superintendent of Education. This official had previously been elected by the County Court, but a new bill this year gives the people the right to elect. There was dissatisfaction with the present incumbent's record, and a general knowledge that he was an important part of the "county machine." His opponent—a progressive, well-qualified young man—had no organized force behind him save the women, under the leadership of one whom the present incumbent publicly disparaged as "only a little music teacher." But this music-led organization brought out on election day the largest vote ever polled in the county; and the young opponent and his backers are receiving congratulations upon the first "licking" ever given to a supposedly invincible county machine.

We can't roam all over the continent, picking out incidents. But, for one, there was the story of a Missouri county's rebellion of voters in which women played a large part. It began when the County Court—part of a corrupt machine—had the effrontery to make up a list of election officials sown thick with criminals, gamblers and non-residents. The Clean Election League fairly sprang into being—and a woman started the springing. In a fight that lasted for weeks the Clean Election League broke this machine, won, and went on to permanent organization.

The breaking of ring rule in Savannah (Ga.) is another: Ring-rule here had been notorious—elections stolen by the use of names of the dead, the sick or absent; by palming the ballots and stuffing the ballot box. Some weeks before a municipal primary a group of men and women decided to run a reform candidate. The League of Women Voters drafted a questionnaire, to which every one else added, and a campaign started. When primary day came, the forces of corruption put all sorts of obstacles in the way of the reformers who had organized to detect ringers. "The advantage of women watchers," says the account, "was that they could not be knocked down by the police or other toughs." Well, the ring won by eight votes, but a petition was secured, largely through the women's efforts, to get an independent candidate's name on the ticket, and—to cut the story short—the reformers won. A pretty good instance of "men and women working together"—to "accomplish a little."

On the same order, though even more purely women's work, was that story of the Birmingham (Ala.) women's clean-up of disorderly houses, in which a number of women outraged their men folks' feelings by airing their city's sins. It involved days of patient sitting in court rooms, organization to get evidence, and a lining up of all the forces of right and light in Birmingham. It worked.

One may add that all these instances—and others—involve that deadly feminine weapon—the questionnaire. And this is as good a place as any to say that one measure of women's influence in political life might be the discomfort of questionnaire-d, heckled candidates. Logically, another measure is the heightened sense of the man in office that he is being *held responsible*. Very extensively, the women see to that, and if it isn't a wholly new phenomenon, the degree of their persistence is.

But how far have politically interested women penetrated into the centers of influence?

In an interesting article in a recent *Century*, Ernestine Evans refers to a woman in political life who writes about women. When she was asked if they have real influence in politics she said: "Oh, dear, no! Women haven't any political power that amounts to anything. Men don't share anything with them. The politicians just hand them all-day suckers. They give them busy work."

No one in our list of letters went that length of pessimism in answering our question, Do politicians consider women a real factor? But a number said frankly that the politicians do not yet regard the women as important. The Connecticut spokesman made the point that though women had technical representation on the political committees, they did not have "a very complete representation of ideas." The lady from Indiana entertainingly offered that the fact of Indiana's equal representation bill having been defeated "by trickery" seems to be proof that politicians consider women in politics a most important and "alarming" factor. Another said, "Yes, I do think women count in politics and in government, but that they are just at the beginning of their real worth." Mississippi says: "It is a constant source of surprise to me that women count as much as they do in this state in politics. The men encourage them to vote and will give them full representation on committees if they will only demand it." Massachusetts speaks the opinion of several states in saying, "When it comes to the real inside, authoritative group in both parties, I have great doubts about women yet being important factors. Politicians are most anxious to consult them and use them as a factor in lining up women for both parties. Both parties are also promoting political clubs for women. . . . My present judgment is that men politicians encourage these club activities in order to keep the women contented so that they will not ask for more direct and important authority within the actual political group."

Which comes pretty close to that

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shows that it touches the floor at the heel, ball and along the outer side. This means that the weight of the body bears down on the foot, not only at heel and ball, but along the outer side as well. If you went barefoot all your life you would have no foot trouble because the ground would support the outer side of your foot as well as the heel and the ball.

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— Bends where the foot bends

"all-day sucker" opinion just quoted.

But the women are headed in, at least. Nationally, they have had equal representation on the Democratic Committee for years, and it was big news a few weeks ago that the Republicans had made practically the same arrangement. An "associate member"—a woman—is now being appointed from every state in the Union. The same representation is what women of the states seek in their campaigns for 50-50 representation on all party committees, and they want the genuine article—not the makeshift employed in some states where the men are elected by the people and the women appointed by the politician. A number of states have won it, and it is one of the lines of activity women in politics seem sure to keep up.

Whatever the temperature of the politicians' welcome of women may be—the men in the electorate who have long been working for better conditions greet them as a fresh force, encouraging and stimulating. So far, the women have hope, faith, courage. They have not hardened along partisan lines, nor adopted all the old political habits. They are full of concern for matters of good government, and, according to one congressman, they are "more ruthless and persistent" than men in demanding results. And, again, they still see government, not as business, but as a very human affair with a direct bearing on their children's world.

We say "women"—meaning, not all the women of the country, but those that are politically awake to their responsibilities. It is true they are only leaven in the great mass not yet astir; but everyone knows what leaven does. To be active, agitating political leaven is the big ambition of the woman-citizen who appreciates what 1920 gave her.

We have had to omit great amounts of interesting and valuable material. To all who sent in reports, our hearty thanks. What isn't used here, will not be wasted, but will form a good reservoir of helpful information. We wish those who were asked and didn't answer would do so, even now. Without their help, summaries on some interesting points could not be made. We shall be grateful for fresh news along any line touched in this number.

Your Investments

Buying Public Utilities

By ELEANOR KERR

PUBLIC utilities is the term generally applied to corporations which furnish services to the public, such as electric light, gas, street railways, water, power, telephones, etc. Although the term may be used in other ways, it usually means privately owned corporations and does not refer to plants which are operated by a municipality. This would be especially the case in speaking of bonds or stock: a public utility bond means a bond of a corporation, and not the bond of a city which owns, we will say, an electric-light plant and has issued its own bonds in order to raise money for it. In this latter case the bonds would be "Municipals," but would probably be spoken of as the "City of —— Electric Light Bonds."

In the past ten years public utilities have made great efforts to have their users become part owners through the sale to them of bonds and stock in large and small units. In general, this has been a wise move, producing a sense of responsibility among the consumers and a willingness to pay the cost of the service. It has been of value in the past few years, when it became necessary to raise rates unless operations were to be carried on at a loss. The telephone subscriber who is also a stockholder, can plainly see the point that increased cost of operation means decreased dividends unless the company is paid more for its services.

The earnings of public utilities are, as a whole, more stable than those of manufacturing corporations, and they are not so completely at the mercy of strikes. Many public utilities, such as hydro-electric power companies (who manufacture electric power from water falls, which is sold to street railways, electric-light plants and factories in surrounding territory) employ very few workmen in proportion to the volume of their business.

In considering investment in a public-utility bond or preferred stock, one should investigate not only past earnings, but also the territory in which the company operates, to see whether or not it is one in which there is plenty of room for expansion, whether there is direct competition, and whether fair political treatment seems assured. It is poor policy to buy securities of a public utility corporation that is disliked by those who use it, as sooner or later this dislike is likely to crystallize in legislation antagonistic to the company. For obvious reasons, a security should not be considered where the field of the company's operations is decreasing in wealth or population.

Many circulars dealing with these securities, while they give the financial position of the company with considerable detail, may not mention anything concerning the territory in which it operates beyond the conventional phrases. Before buying the investor will do well to ask for a more detailed report on this side of the matter, for where the bond issue is a sound one, the bond house offering it undoubtedly has much information along these lines obtained during its own investigations, which it will be glad to pass on to prospective purchasers.

Sources of raw materials and other supplies are an important consideration. These should be near by, continuously available and at reasonable prices. If you are considering a company which produces and uses oil or natural gas, make sure that due amortization and charges for depletion are made, since, of course, it is like a coal mine in that the property is being worked out and worth less every year of operation. New sources of supplies should be acquired, from time to time, well ahead of the time when they will be needed.

It is particularly essential that a public utility should always be maintained in first-class condition and therefore a considerable part of its earnings should go into "maintenance," which is the keeping of its property in a first-class state of repair and with all up-to-date improvements. Reserves must also be set aside to take care of future expansion, as it becomes necessary, due to increasing population or demand for the company's service. These are items which may be checked on the balance sheet. A little inquiry will show wheth-

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er or not they are of sufficient size. All these points and many others are carefully covered by a high-grade bond house or bank before such securities are placed before the public, and full information on all of them is readily available when a sound security is being offered.

The Bookshelf

By M. A.

DO you want to stretch your mind, to rest it with far countries, to expand your consciousness and fill it with the fresh air of new, yet very old, horizons? Then read Rose Wilder Lane's "*Peaks of Shala.*" It's a singing title, possible for moonlight-and-cavalier romanticism, and really indicates even more excitement than that. Shala is part of northern Albania, and the book is Mrs. Lane's account of her first trip into those mountains which so few strangers ever see. But it is more than just a travel book. It holds a picture of pre-Greek civilization, legends that have never been related, an account of breathless adventure, an exploration into a code of manners and morals of a high order, and a plea for understanding of a little-known people.

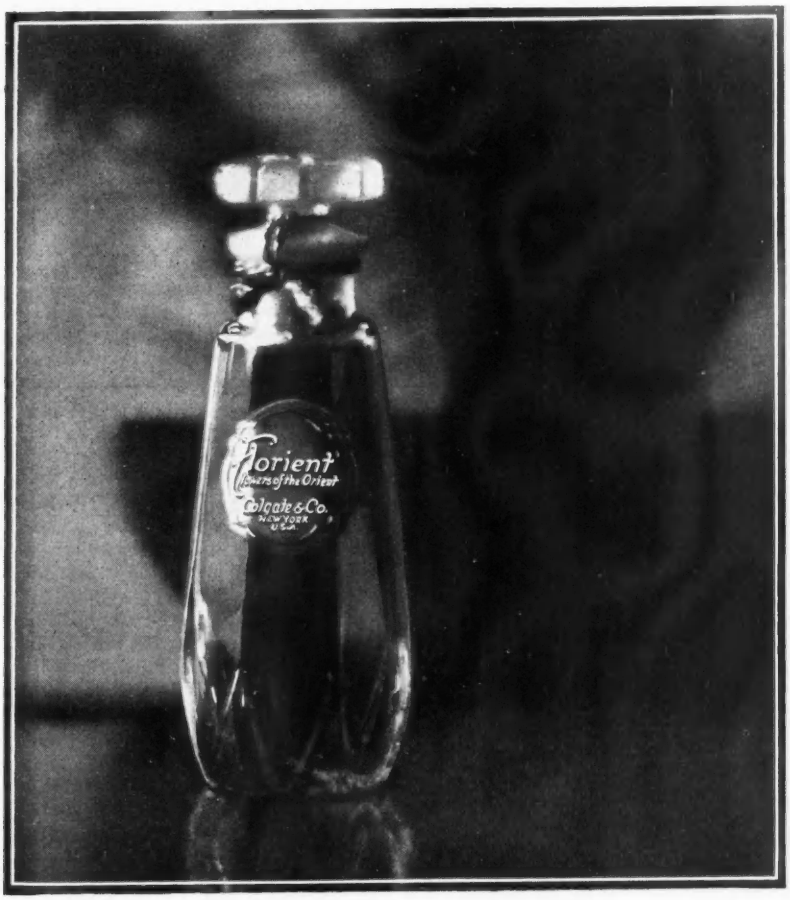
Besides containing fascinating material, the book is exceptionally well written. Mrs. Lane is a good reporter, but more than that she is an adventurer, a philosopher, and an artist in words. Her book " should be read as the adventures in it were lived, with a gayly inquiring mind, a taste for strange peoples and unknown trails, and a delight in the unexpected."

Thomas Boyd's horizons in "*Through the Wheat*" are somber and smoky. The book is his account in fiction form of the war as it seemed to the marines who fought at Belleau Wood and Soissons. It is composed of a series of incidents, which carry along with the dead level of actuality experienced by a tired or bewildered mind. It is annoying at first. Events rise to ant-hill height and fall back. Everything focuses on an attack, then sinks back and life goes on just the same as though half of them hadn't been left dead. The marines he pictures are neither incredible heroes nor neurotic philosophers. They are ordinary American youths under fantastically extraordinary conditions. No one who has not been there has a right to say whether or not the war was like that. But certainly that is the way it seems as though it must have been. And the worst of all was the day-after-dayness of it.

Padraic Colum paints a cloudy Irish sky, with long beams of golden light slanting through the gray. His "*Castle Conquer*" is a story of the traditional Ireland, its folk-lore, its political intrigue, its wistful humor in the face of danger, and its idyllic lovers. Like his poetry and his legends, this book is beautifully written, with an Irish earnestness that winds you deep in its fascination.

In case you want more facts concerning the history of Albania and Belleau Wood than Mrs. Lane and Mr. Boyd give, if you need light on early Irish uprisings and English policies, look them all up in the new edition of "*Larned's Ready Reference History.*" It is printed in clear type on thin paper, and bound in twelve handleable volumes. Only the first four books have appeared yet, so no one has become intimate enough with it to know what its compilers think of the League of Nations, political parties, suffrage, or the woman movement. So far we can only be educated up to FROB. But if the editors act according to their expressed theory that "whatever has influenced and helped to shape or enrich the common life of mankind must now be counted as history" they should produce exceedingly valuable reference books.

Peaks of Shala. Harper, New York, 1923. $3.00.
Through the Wheat, Scribner, New York, 1923. $1.75.
Castle Conquer, Macmillan, New York, 1923. $2.00.
Larned's Ready Reference History, C. A. Nichols, Springfield, Mass., 1923. $96 and $159 for 12 volumes.



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Heart-to-Heart

THE AUTUMN DRIVE

"THE *Citizen* comes like a fresh breeze this summer," writes Mrs. W. Norma Stuart of Alabama. "I shall get actively to work on subscriptions just as soon as the weather gets cooler."

The weather *has* been cooler, and immediately the summer stagnation which pervades a magazine office during the hot weather was broken, and things began to hum in the *Citizen* office. Nearly every letter that has arrived the past two weeks has carried new subscriptions sent by subscribers to help our goal of doubling the *Citizen's* subscription list. They came from many states, and from both individuals and organizations.

Mrs. James C. Layne, the Vice-President of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs, who sent in two new subscriptions, wrote: "I talk the *Citizen* to all my friends." From Miss Blanche Townsend, a Chicago friend, came: "I don't suppose either the *Woman Citizen* or I will become rich through any subscribers I may send in, but if I finally get all my friends and acquaintances to subscribe, I may look forward to the time when I may have at least one number and feel it is all my own."

From Kenyon, Minnesota, Mrs. R. Mable Leland writes: "It may interest you to know that $3.15 of the $3.50 I am enclosing was paid me by the village for service rendered as Judge of Elections in March. I have not used this money before and consider this purpose particularly fitting, as it was my first experience."

Following the example of Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett and Mrs. Charlotte W. Boalt, Miss Charlotte Kohlbury of Bronxville, New York, sends $2.00 for a subscription for someone "who ought to have the *Citizen*, but for some reason has not." Even from abroad come letters of appreciation. From upper Norway Mrs. E. D. Prendergast, who is conducting a party, writes: "Several of us have met in this out of the way place. Over here it is so hard to know what is going on. We agree that the News of the Fortnight in the *Citizen* is just what we want." The Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair in Scotland, who sends a subscription, writes, "I have seen some numbers of the *Woman Citizen* and am much struck by its excellence."

In both Florida and Georgia, the Leagues of Women Voters are making drives for subscriptions and are running neck and neck, with Georgia in the lead at present. Fifteen subscriptions came at one time from the Fort Pierce League in Florida. The Atlanta League is making such a remarkable record that it deserves a story all by itself.

I wish it were possible to write each one a personal letter to tell her how much we appreciate her co-operation. We can only tell you so here.

A friend who ordered a number of copies "for use in my slow but beloved Kentucky," says: "Our women are not yet aroused to the importance of their new privileges and obligations, and are giving too much time to things that have engrossed them for years to the neglect of the paramount issues of the day."

That's the keynote of the reason for the *Citizen* drive—the need of arousing women to their responsibilities. What kind of a world are your children going to find? Will it be a nightmare of conflict between classes, and war between nations, or will they be assured of justice, of peace and prosperity? These are questions which your action now will help to solve. You may not like it, you may not even be conscious of it, but the responsibility is yours. One hundred per cent. good citizen means one hundred per cent. wise mother.

Don't forget that every subscription you obtain puts money in your club or League treasury. G. F. B.

American Men

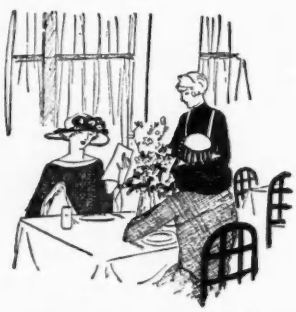
(*Continued from page* 17)

exact figures are available, that there are thousands of women in the public service, hundreds in elective offices of various kinds, and many more serving upon party and non-partisan committees. The number of women in these positions is steadily on the increase.

The special points at which women's influence is most clearly seen are education, sanitation, recreation, the care of children, and, generally speaking, in projects of a humanitarian nature. Women's interest and influence thus far have been less marked in the domains of finance and public works, and generally in those functions of the state, sometimes characterized as repressive, as contrasted with the preventive work of the government. Among the territorial units of government women have been most active in urban communities.

It is equally true that the influence of women might be very greatly enlarged, and probably it will be in the future. The number of women who vote, hold office and take an active part in public affairs will in all probability largely increase with the growing interest and experience of women in public work. If women are less active in some ways than men, we may offset this by the fact that women have thus far developed no group of grafters and boodlers with the spoils machines that feed them. And, in general, a larger percentage of women than men are effectively opposed to politics of this type.

The truth is that the part played by political parties in the determination of public policies is usually greatly exaggerated. By far the greater part of our



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laws are determined outside the partisan field. To know who really makes the laws, we must look back of the legislator to the forces and interests that impel him to vote as he does. It is precisely in this field that the influence of women is most likely to be felt, although less conspicuously displayed.

Arthur Capper

United States Senator from Kansas

IT is unnecessary to ask whether American women count in politics and government, and it is specially unnecessary where my own state of Kansas is concerned. We have had full political emancipation of women in Kansas in all local affairs for more than a generation. Kansas was the original prohibition state and never abandoned the fight during a period of forty years, when at last national prohibition was established. Yet Kansas might have followed other early prohibition states in going back to high license or some other substitute but for the unwavering loyalty of Kansas women in our municipal elections. They were invariably on the side of "law and order," as the prohibition enforcement issue was called in our state in all those critical years. With this experience Kansas was early for complete political emancipation of women.

What women will do with their political power I have not the slightest doubt. It goes without saying that they are politically powerful. They have the same political power as men. But it will be found that as they were in Kansas prohibition enforcement, so are they for this principle in the nation. And as they are for enforcement of prohibition, so they will be for law enforcement in general. In this respect the nation is immensely strengthened by women's full enfranchisement.

Women will be found a power on all moral questions—a power in behalf of all humane propositions, such as the protection of women and children in industrial employments. They will be on the side of the home in such questions as uniform marriage and divorce laws. Uniform marriage and divorce laws are a need of the nation if the home is to be as sacred as it has been to our forebears in America, and dependence can be placed upon American women to support these measures of home protection.

Women's intuitions must be reckoned with by all parties and all politicians. Partisanism can not be the reliance with political machines where women have the vote that it has sometimes been in the past, for women will not be blind followers of party leaders. This influence in holding parties to conscientious and responsible service I believe will be more and more recognized as women become accustomed to their political duties.

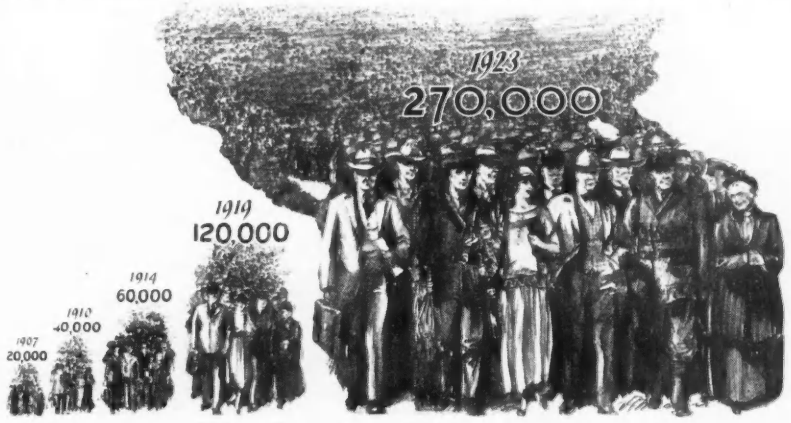
The Eye's "Thank-You-Ma'ams"

By GULIELMA F. ALSOP
Physician at Barnard College

THEY say we live in visual times, when most of our knowledge and pleasure come to us through our eyes. Most people see life in visions. Most people recall their memories in pictures. These pronounced visual images came from the vividness of our sense of sight.

In other words, eyes were never as important as they are today. With the marvelous power of adaptation of Nature, eyes which were meant to see the smoke of a campfire on a far horizon, now read and look down the microscope all day. For the adjustment of near sight, the body uses some of the most delicate muscles of its equipment. The ciliary muscles encircle the crystalline lens and by contraction or relaxation render the lens more or less convex. If the eyes are reading, the two small ciliary muscles are held in a position of intense contraction for two or three hours without rest.

If a student who throughout the three hours of her history study scarcely lifts her eyes from the book, should



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No institution is more popularly owned than the Bell System, none has its shares distributed more widely. In the truest sense it is owned by those it serves.

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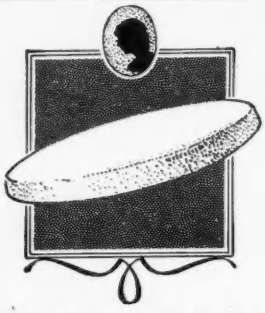

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hold both hands tightly clenched all that time, she would hardly be able to open her fingers or move her arms at the end of three hours. And yet she wonders that her eyes feel hot and smarting and the type blurs before the time is up. She has required an endurance from the ciliary muscles at which hand and arm muscles would rebel.

The external ocular muscles are those which move the eyeball from side to side across the page. If you sit opposite a person in the subway and watch her reading in the dim light and jerking motion of the car, you will see one of the marvelous bits of muscular action in our bodies, as with undeviating precision the eye makes its myriad repeated motions from side to side. And the same history student who held her ciliary muscle clamped in concentration for three hours on end requires these fine muscular bands to move the eyes from side to side, back and forth, uncountable numbers of times, with the same accurate precision. After three months of such close eye application she goes to the doctor for eye-strain.

The optic region in the brain is closely related with the stomach region, so that a persistent indigestion may be one of the first symptoms of eye-strain. All this while the eyesight itself may be undamaged. It is the muscular apparatus of the eye which has broken down under too much exercise. In contra-distinction to all the other muscles of our bodies, we exercise our eye muscles too much. That is why we have eye-strain. The principle to be applied here for cure, is the other half of muscular activity; that is, muscular rest.

When we look at the far horizon, the ciliary muscles of the eyes relax, also the external orbital muscles. That is, when we get up from our desk and go to the window and look out at the street, we give our eyes a rest. When we stop reading to tidy up the room, or listen to the victrola, we rest our eyes.

If in the olden days a team of horses were going up a long hill, the farmer whoa-ed them on a series of little flat plateaus built into the road. In western Pennsylvania, we call them "thank-you-ma'ams." The farmer knew there was no trouble in driving up the team and wagon, if he let the horses rest and get their breath on the "thank-you-ma'ams." Farmers have known more about exercise and rest, and also scientific feeding, of their animals, than human beings have known about their exercise and rest and the scientific feeding of themselves.

In other words, to prevent eye-strain, learn the right muscular use of your eyes. When you have a long piece of work to do, get up every half-hour and walk around the room and look out of the window. Rest your eyes for five minutes. Then come back again.

The Woman Citizen

Volume VIII SEPTEMBER 22, 1923 Number 9

News Notes of the Fortnight

Japan's Cataclysm

THE earthquake horror in Japan and measures for relief have divided interest during the fortnight with the progress of the Italian-Greek affair.

Even with a decrease in the number of deaths reported in the earthquake, this is the most terrible destruction a modern nation has ever suffered. The present figure is about 111,590 lives lost, not including the wounded, nor counting the million in want. Yokohama, Japan's chief naval port, was destroyed, with Yokosuka, her naval base; a large part of Tokio is in ruins, as well as many villages throughout the earthquake area. The accounts of suffering and horror pass realization.

Relief has poured in from all sides. The American Red Cross, starting out to raise five millions, has without difficulty passed eight millions.

Mussolini Yields

PREMIER MUSSOLINI'S procedure, during the fortnight, has been a succession of retreats, under the united pressure of European public opinion. The declaration of Italy that it would not submit to a settlement by the League of Nations of the so-called Janina murders (the assassination of Italian members of the Albanian border commission on Greek soil) was based on the extraordinary assumption that the affair involved the honor of Italy and was no concern of Europe in general. The refusal was only slightly modified by a rather hazy suggestion that the World Court might act.

Meantime, the Council of the League, to which Greece had formally submitted its case, discussed the whole situation; but it passed the decision over to the Council of Ambassadors, sending to them the minutes which contained a proposal for adjustment made by the Spanish representative on the League of Nations Council. This proposal was endorsed by the Ambassadors and recommended to Greece and Italy. It was accepted by both, thus relieving the League of further direct responsibility. The proposal was a compromise between the very high-handed demands made by Italy on Greece for reparations, and the Greek view of what was just, the essential difference being that instead of an indemnity to be paid at once by Greece to Italy, the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague is to determine the amount of reparations, and an inter-allied commission investigates the murders.

Mussolini's second retreat was from the position that the Italians would not abandon the Greek island of Corfu, which had been bombarded and seized as a "guarantee," until reparations had been paid. On this point, the pressure exerted by Great Britain and France in the Council of Ambassadors was effective, and Mussolini has consented to evacuate the island on September 27. A situation that threatened war has been peacefully settled through the organized influence of public opinion. The point as to whether or not the League of Nations actually had jurisdiction remains unsettled, though the opinion that it had is dominant; and an argument on the League's action and the effect on its prestige, is going on in the press.

As this is written, the Council is considering the question of its own competency in the case, and of what action it should take on the seizure of Corfu.

The Fiume Puzzle

NEXT on the list is Mussolini's action with regard to Jugo-Slavia, where again a threatening situation is suddenly calmed down. Under the Treaty of Rapallo, signed in 1920 (but never ratified) Fiume was made an independent state, with the port of Baros and the suburb of Susak reserved to Jugo-Slavia. The Italians evacuated Susak but not Baros or its delta. And in addition to the territorial difficulties economic ones remained in this city of mixed nationality that occupies the most favorable position on the Adriatic.

A joint commission appointed to settle the vexed questions recently finished its work. The Italian proposals were that Fiume, Baros and Susak should be the state of Fiume and that this state should be placed under Italy's control for ninety-nine years. Mussolini gave notice to Jugo-Slavia that these proposals must be accepted by a fixed date, finally extended to September 15; and recently the seizure of Fiume has been looked for. But shortly before the expected date, announcement was made that in seizing Fiume Mussolini would yield Susak and Baros, a concession that apparently would content Jugo-Slavia.

The next surprise was that on September 15 the Italians filed with the League of Nations the Treaty of Rapallo, and the agreement of Santa Margharita which embodied the details of the treaty. Jugo-Slavia had taken the same action three days before, and this is supposed to mean that the immediate danger is past. Either side can now submit any violation of the treaty to the World Court.

Now, as the following day's event, comes the resignation of the present Fiume government, with the explanation to Italy that the situation is desperate and the city of 42,000 faces starvation.

The Coal Strike Settled

THE most important domestic event of the fortnight was the settlement of the hard-coal strike through the mediation of Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania. Under the terms accepted by both sides, the miners get the eight-hour day, union recognition, and a flat increase of ten per cent., not only for tonnage workers, but for the 90,000* day workers as well. The miners began by asking 20 per cent. for tonnage men and $2 a day for day men; later they were ready to accept ten per cent. for the tonnage men—the highest paid class—but wanted more for the day workers. The miners' other concession was the check-off, which it is probable they had no great expectation of securing. Nearly a third of the industry is still outside the union, and the check-off—the deduction of union membership dues directly from the pay

*We said 40,000 by mistake in the last issue.

envelope, as store bills and other charges are collected—would strengthen the union's hand.

In addition to yielding these points, the owners surrendered their demand for arbitration as a mode of settlement.

Of course, the settlement probably means an increase in the cost of coal to the consumer, though, as the Research Department of the Federal Council of Churches points out, "the margin of sales realization over cost, as reported to the Federal Coal Commission, has been increasing of late in marked degree, so that it would be possible for the operators to absorb a liberal portion of the increase." The Council offers this "not as a recommendation of policy but as a statement of fact." The avoidance of a strike is a great relief; complete reorganization of the industry remains to be accomplished.

League of Nations News

AMONG the actions of the League of Nations in its present session are the acceptance of Ireland into membership; the temporary refusal of admission to Abyssinia because of slavery in her territory, and resolutions favoring the employment of women in police systems throughout the world to help stamp out the white-slave traffic. This last was urged in a powerful speech by Dame Edith Lyttleton, the new British representative. The Assembly has also adopted a project for the establishment of an international health organization.

A very creditable report has been presented to the Council by the Permanent Mandates Commission. It is on the punitive expedition sent against the Bondel Hottentots in Southwest Africa, formerly under German colonial rule, and included in the South African Union under mandate arrangement. Discontent due to taxation was punished by military force with the loss of about fifty Bondels, and later bombs from British airplanes killed some women and children. The report amounts to a severe censure of the South African Government, declaring that the policy was one "of force rather than persuasion, conceived and applied in the interests of the colonists rather than in the interests of the natives."

Spain's Short Revolution

A REVOLUTION on the general lines of the Mussolini model has taken place in Spain. Last week army officers seized control of the government in Barcelona, under the leadership of Captain General Primo Rivera. One day later Captain General Primo Rivera had been called by King Alphonso to head the national government, and the revolution was over. The premiership and all ministries except those of War and Foreign Affairs have been suppressed; the fifty civil governors throughout the country have been dismissed and commissions composed of three generals each have been put in charge of the eight military regions of the country. The national parliament has been dissolved, and new elections will be held. General Primo Rivera is meantime President of the Directorate and in control of the country.

The revolution, a long time in brewing, was a protest against various involved political conditions and especially against the conduct of the long-drawn-out campaign in Morocco, in which Spain has been trying to subdue the Riffian tribes.

It was directed against the Cabinet but not the King.

Light in the Ruhr?

IN addition to the peaceful outcome of the troubles in Southeastern Europe, there is a little hope in the Ruhr, though Premier Poincaré's latest Sunday speeches may squelch it. The hope came from insistent reports that the French and German industrialists in the Rhineland are negotiating for a great combine, and that passive resistance is rapidly ending. But economic action must be accompanied by political and the old dilemma remains: can Chancellor Stresemann yield enough to satisfy Premier Poincaré, without overturning the German Government?

© Bachrach

Figures out of doors hold the interest of Mrs. Isabel Branson Cartwright. (Please note our cover.) A student at the Philadelphia School of Design for Women, Mrs. Cartwright won the European Fellowship and spent a year abroad. While still a student she also won the Philadelphia Art Club gold medal.

The Southwest—Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas—has left a mark on her work, for she devoted several years' study to the vivid coloring found in that section of the country. Last year she was awarded the Mary Smith prize at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts for the best painting by a Philadelphia woman artist.

Mrs. Cartwright is a member of the National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors.

In the meantime Stresemann continues his efforts to create a gold currency, and the mark has sunk so low that Germany is almost at the point of having no currency at all. Some attempt is apparently being made to prepare the German mind for complete withdrawal of passive resistance, but there is the sticking point.

Unofficially, the International Federation of Trades Unions is bringing before the League of Nations a plea for action in the matter of reparations. The spokesman is a French labor leader.

Machine Guns in Oklahoma

PROBABLY not all the ins and outs of the situation in Oklahoma appear in the newspaper accounts; but it is a clear case of a resolute fight on the Ku Klux Klan. Floggings and other mob activities have disgraced the state for some time past, and in a vigorous effort to cope with them, Governor Walton has gone so far as to declare martial law first for one county and then for the whole state. The capital bristles with machine-guns, and people must have passes to appear on the streets between midnight and five in the morning. The Klan, denying responsibility, appealed to the War Department, but was told that federal interference is not possible, under the Constitution.

Unfortunately, in his fight the Governor seems to have been infected a little with Klan spirit. He has announced that he will send the legislature to jail if it attempts to hold an extra session concerning the business. The state is torn with dissension.

New York's Labor Bank

A MOVEMENT on the part of organized labor to gain for itself the benefits of the accumulation and investment of its own money through the establishment of labor banks has developed rapidly in the United States in the last three years. Fifteen or more labor banks from coast to coast are reported.

The first labor bank to be established in New York City was the Amalgamated Bank of New York, opened last April by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. It is owned and controlled by the union and members of the union, although operated by experienced bankers. Its by-laws limit the dividends to be paid to stockholders to 10% and all profits over that are to be turned back to the people making use of the bank.

On the day it became four months old the Amalgamated Bank issued a statement showing resources of over $2,000,000 with 4,763 depositors.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers plans to start a bank of its own on similar lines.—*Sept. 18, 1923.*

Left to right, Eleanor Miller, Cora Woodbridge, Anna L. Saylor

"The women are the best Assemblymen we've got."

California's Able Five

By Mildred Adams

Esto Broughton, of Modesto

The missing fifth is Gladys Dorris

IT is six years since women were first elected to the California legislature. There were three of them at first. Now there are five, of whom two have held office continuously. And while six years, three terms, is a very short time in the history of a legislature or the life of a legislator, it is long enough to have conquered the first excitement, quieted the first qualms, and given women a chance to make a fair start.

The first and most obvious change has taken place in the appearance of the Assembly. Instead of looking more or less like an untidy men's club, a monastic island of refuge in a world of two sexes, this year it looked as normal as a sidewalk. The five Assemblywomen are by no means isolated or alone. There are women clerks, secretaries, stenographers, and lobbyists, all busy, all working in a commonplace peace and harmony with the men who have been at the job much longer. No problem appears in agitated luminous question-marks. It is as simple and as unexciting as a co-educational classroom.

There is a noticeable difference in the women themselves since their first appearance. Able as they were then, there could scarcely help being an air of unaccustomedness, a sense of feeling their way. Now all that is gone, and they are secure and accepted.

And as they have ceased to be a novelty en masse, they have increased in interest both as individuals and as law-makers. The youngest in years, Miss Esto Broughton, is, with Mrs. Anna Saylor, the oldest in terms of service. Elected in 1918, she has served continuously since that time. She is small and lame, with a sparkling face and a brilliant mind that make her an important and popular factor in the legislative free-for-all. She has been a practising lawyer in Modesto since she took her Doctor of Juris degree from the University of California in 1916. Starting with an open, liberal, and well-trained mind, she has watched and experimented, learning the underground methods of practical politicians at the same time she was gathering a thorough understanding of state service.

During the four weeks of legislative recess, she traveled through the East visiting older legislatures, watching them at work and comparing their methods. Her technical knowledge and her ability to co-ordinate it with fundamentals, give her a grasp of problems that approaches real statesmanship. She is an authority on irrigation, that vital network in the state's life. Among other legislation, she introduced a bill codifying and amending the state dairy law, several judiciary bills, and the resolution asking Congress to pass the child labor bill. Much of the power that women showed this year in the Assembly was due to Miss Broughton's quiet skill.

Her fellow pioneer in the Assembly is Mrs. Anna Saylor, member from Berkeley. With the University of California and the State School for the Blind in her home town, she is a consistent champion of educational bills. She has learned many lessons from her three terms in the Assembly. She went to the 1919 session a quiet, gray-haired woman to whom one would instinctively apply the adjective "little." Interviews at that time laid stress on the virtues of her family, the excellence of her cooking, and the peace of her home life, all desirable and socially valuable, but untested as legislative training. Mrs. Saylor has come through with colors flying and fire in her quiet eyes. Against a governor who left school when he was fourteen and is proud of it, she waged a gallant and intelligent fight, and his threat to cut off the Blind School appropriation if she didn't stop working for University aid only spurred her on. She likes legislative work, is interested in problems of delinquency, and believes that there must be more preventive work.

"A man in politics needs only to be a good fellow, but a woman who wants to be elected must show cause," Mrs. Gladys Dorris spoke with the authority of personal experience. She was one of the first women elected to the legislature, and represented the men in the oil fields and on the farms of Kern County. She made such a good record that it lulled her into a feeling of security over the 1920 elections. Whereupon the oil companies of the county beat her and sent one of their own men to Sacramento. Profiting by her political lesson, she waged her own campaign in the next election, and won by a majority of thirty-five.

She is interested in all humanitarian legislation, but the bills that affect labor, oil, and agriculture come nearest home. Her firm legal foundation she acquired by years of reading law in the office of her blind husband. Slim, and not tall, with brown hair banded about a face that speaks of suffering, one feels that she has not found life kind nor soft.

A very different person is Miss Eleanor Miller of Pasadena, in Sacramento for her first term, and elected "through the efforts of her class of five hundred Sunday-school children." She came to the legislature on a sentimental platform, resolved to stand primarily for the welfare activities of the state. With "economy and efficiency forever"

as the state watchword, it proved a bad year for measures whose dollar value was on the wrong side of the ledger, and Miss Miller, nominally an administration supporter, found herself voting more than frequently against its bills. In accordance with her welfare platform, she has been actively interested in the Industrial Farm for Women and the State School for Boys at Whittier. She is a teacher of dramatic art and music by profession. Tall and gray, with the slightly detached look of the idealist on her kind face, one wonders how her gentle philosophy of life reacts to the sometimes brutal bargaining of legislatures.

The very best "mixer" of the group is Mrs. Cora Woodbridge, there for her first term, and affectionately known as "Aunt Cody." She is an attractive person, with her vital gray hair, her well-kept and comfortable figure, and her eager eyes. She is essentially a good fellow, with no nonsense about her. She gets along beautifully with her fellow Assemblymen; she voted for their pet boxing bill, and they presented her with a bushel or so of roses. But that is only part of "Aunt Cody." A trained clubwoman, she is skilled in the tactful handling of people, and is able to concede and to accept concessions gracefully. The Republicans of the state sent her as delegate to their Chicago convention. She represents her counties, Placer and Nevada, magnificently, and she will get for them what they want because of the intelligent way she handles her personal popularity. Anti-Japanese to her finger-tips, one of her pet measures would close up the loop-holes in the land laws and prevent Japanese from leasing land at all. She is a strong supporter of good roads, and of public health, and with the other women put over the Community Property Act and the Sheppard-Towner acceptance.

These are the five women California districts have elected to represent them. They have proven themselves able, disinterested, and intelligent, and as one newspaper man put it, "The women are the best Assemblymen we've got!" Their records argue well for the future of women in the work of law-making.

Fifty-Fifty Families

More About Married Women's Careers

THE husbands and wives who have been talking in the CITIZEN about how home prospers when the wife has a career, are getting some interesting comment from the readers. Or the CITIZEN is, anyhow. The letters coming in show deep interest in the discussion—can a woman run a home and a business or profession, and do justice to both?—and suggest further lines along which inquiry may be pursued. One or two correspondents, who say the symposium is interesting, object that it represents only the successful and specially talented. They would like to hear from some "average" people, too. Another wants to hear from wives who have failed in their double ambition—losing out either in home or in career. Another suggests that "it might be illuminating to find out how many of the great moral leaders of the world have been sons of mothers with careers."

After reading the August 11th collection, one reader wonders if any of the husbands are fathers. She will have found the answer by reading several of the letters from wives in the issue of August 25th. Besides, we know of at least three more in the first group who are fathers, and further evidence about the children in families with fifty-fifty parents is to be found in the letters that follow.

One amusing suggestion on which we should like to hear men's opinions, is this:

"Personally, I think a man needs the responsibility of supporting a family as much as a kite needs a tail to keep it steady. Very likely, however, you will flash back that the modern box-kite has no tail, and upset the argument. I still believe, however, that while a woman should be free to earn money, if she chooses to do so, she ought not to help support the family, because it is bad for men, who get along much better if they have extravagant wives."

The moral of all this is—keep it going, please, from your end too. If any of you, far out of our reach, have something to say about any phase of this problem, let's hear from you. Meantime, here are more letters—a mixture this time, both men and women. The gist of the questions we asked was, to the men, "How do you really feel about being the husband of an economically independent woman?" and of the women, "How does a career work along with husband and home?"

Miriam Finn Scott

"Child Diagnostician" is the right name for Mrs. Scott's unique profession. Her Children's Garden is exceedingly successful and of great social values. Besides conducting it, Mrs. Scott writes articles and books on children's problems, and lectures widely. She is the wife of Leroy Scott, well-known novelist, and the mother of three young Scotts.

"What does being a married woman with a career do to my relationship with my husband?

"It makes me a very scarce person to him. In fact, Mr. Scott claims that in order to see me, he must send his card in through my secretary, with the result that our meetings are almost always pleasant.

"What does it do to my family—my children?

"It definitely is of the greatest benefit to my children not to have too much of me personally. Since it is my chosen work to give myself to *many children*, the very qualities which fit me to do that would be overwhelming for my few. But I know of no other mother (yes, I am an egotist) who has more joyous fun and a more satisfying companionship than I have with our own three children.

"What special problems does it involve? How do I meet them?

"The biggest problem I have to meet as a married woman with a family and a career is to keep myself in trim physically, mentally, spiritually, to meet adequately the demands of my various jobs. In my opinion, you cannot do vital work unless you yourself are quite alive—unless in some degree, at least, you can feel with Walt Whitman: 'Each moment and whatever happens thrills me with joy.' In my own case, when the world seems black and I the only abused person in it, I run away if possible to a sandy beach, to be recharged by the glowing sun. Or I dance. On my return I usually find some one has put the world to rights again.

"There is one big thing I have learned from being a Married Woman with a Family and a Career—and that is: everything in life demands its price. It is therefore only fair to expect that the more we women demand of it, the more we must pay. I hope I am learning to be a good sport."

Will Irwin

famous War Correspondent and several other varieties of writer as well, says this about being partners with the novelist, Inez Haynes Irwin:

"Personally, I'm all for it. Perhaps I am peculiar in my reactions, but the helpless female, casting about with her large, starry eyes for some man to help her out, never appealed to me. I am proud of the fact that my wife, by her own talents and tenacity, has put herself in a position to look any man in the eye and tell him where he gets off.

My wife, as it happens, is a writer; and a writer's hours are short. Her work takes her no more time than most women of the leisure class put into bridge, idle shopping or visiting. In the rest of her day she finds time to run her household and to do as much giving and receiving of entertainment as is good for anyone. How it would be if she had to spend eight hours a day at an office, I cannot say.

"As it is I consider myself a lucky stiff!"

Dorothea M. Litzinger

artist, whose lawyer-husband, John W. Thompson, testified in the August 11 *issue, hits an important nail on the head in her first paragraph.*

"I don't like to spoil a good husband by praise, nor shall I—but really you must start with one who is at least adaptable to make this fifty-fifty business work.

"As a hard-working painter, I have had little time for thinking up little surprise parties and feminine nothingnesses for my husband's personal entertainment. How appropriate and entirely jolly it is then for him to take a keen interest in what I wish most to do, and in friends my work brings into our circle. The busier I am and the more I become involved in my work, the happier he seems to be. Sometimes when things begin to lag a bit, I notice a growing 'let's go' manner which apparently yields only to 'three ring' activity on my part. It bears out the opinion I have always had—that men are the 'restless sex,' and the wives need an interesting 'side line.'

"A big part, and perhaps as fine as any, of my husband's 'fifty,' is his absolute belief in my right to 'play my own game.' I suppose he means freedom to develop and express my own personality—to share the advantages and responsibilities of our common life without losing my personal identity as an individual.

"So you see, I am free, except for such claims as I gladly choose to be bound by."

James G. Wilkinson

school principal, raises a point, and meets it. His wife is Marguerite Wilkinson, poet and critic.

"I should say that it all depends on the kind of woman she is and the kind of man you are.

"When one small salary cannot possibly cover the expenses of two educated adults living in New York City, it feels all right to be the husband of an economically independent wife. When one's wife by hard work and the development of her talents achieves success and national recognition, it feels all right to be her husband if you happen to admire her and wish her to achieve the full measure of happiness that her efforts can win.

"If at the same time she is an exceptionally good cook; if in her character she seems to combine honesty, pluck, industry, noble endeavor, generosity, sweetness of spirit, good cheer, large heartedness, sanity and poise in larger measure than you have seen these qualities in other women; if she has good health and is a good out-door companion, able to meet all weathers and hardships without faltering; if she is easy to look at; and if, in turn, you have some sense of your own values, however obscure they may be to the world at large, it really is not half bad. To tell the truth, it is just dog's luck.

"As regards the problem for other men, I am quite ignorant, but it seems to me that the problem should be settled before the marriage contract is fulfilled."

Helen Woodward

highly successful in the advertising business, is brief but definite. Her husband gave his views in the August 11 *issue.*

"I hesitate to call the work I do a career, but such as it is, it works out beautifully. I have no problems which I do not feel free to discuss with my husband; not only discuss with him, but ask his advice—and even take it.

"If it did not sound so presumptuous, I would offer a plan of doing some work outside as an excellent recipe for successful marriages. I cannot talk for women with children. Although I know some that are highly successful with children and careers, I cannot speak from my own experience."

She goes on to tell about a friend who has one job—a big one—in the business world, three children, a country home and a city home, "and gets away beautifully with all of them. I never saw more beautiful or perfectly brought up children, a more beautiful home, and a more successful marriage."

?

Next comes a husband whose wife says he must be anonymous. Theirs is a case that will meet some of our correspondents' points; young, the man starting in business, the woman in a profession with office hours, they go fifty-fifty (or nearly so) even on housework. He says:

"I am firmly convinced that the modern woman should utilize her training and equipment outside her home rather than devote her energies to the dull routine of household duties. We have experienced both sides of this question and found my wife's change from active participation in business life to 'darning socks' at home made for discontent, while a return to outside interests brought about a happier home atmosphere.

"It works out all right if the woman is not overtaxed, and society gains if she has any ability at all to contribute.

"The effect on a woman as a companion is certainly desirable because it broadens her, keeps her in touch with current events and problems of the day, and makes a better companion with a more sympathetic understanding of his problems."

Austin Parker

The youthful partnership of Austin Parker and Phyllis Duganne began between an aviator and an editor-writer, and developed into that of two novelists and short-story writers.

"I am glad that my wife is a self-feeder, and I am proud of her. Certainly, as a human being, she has as much right to work as I have—and to enjoy the pleasure and the profit she gets from working. I am happier for it; and our child is better off for having a mother who is intelligent enough to accomplish something in this world, instead of being an exalted servant to a home. Women who have no interest aside from their homes are, in my opinion, boresome. Quite often they are stupid. And, with the dumb-headed pride of men who keep intelligent women from using their brains, the world is already over-supplied with stupidity. Society can be greatly benefited by the use of brains, whether they happen to be male or female. Certainly, the home won't lose."

Phyllis Duganne

"Of course, a husband should be carefully hand-picked in any case, but it seems to me that the woman who plans to play the matrimony career game should be most careful of all.

"So far as I can see, there is no reason in the world why a woman's career should interfere with the marriage of two people who have plenty of money. Most women who want careers have the capability (or if not, the intelligence to hire a competent housekeeper) to run a home smoothly and to bring up as many children as they want, to the entire satisfaction of both children and parents, along with a career. But that does, in the case of the non-housekeeping woman especially, imply money. It means servants and it means income enough to pay the usually larger bills of a household in which the woman's attention is divided between her home and outside work.

"If there isn't plenty of money, the peace-of-mind of the woman who's trying to do the two things at once, depends largely upon the understanding of her husband. He has to be enthusiastic enough about the career she has chosen to overlook bumps in the household path; he should be the sort who is either willing, upon occasion, to dine at restaurants, or to roll up the old shirt sleeves, open Fanny Farmer to the

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Two Melons Under One Arm

The Turkish veil worn in the old-fashioned way

By Hilda P. Cumings

THERE is a tale told in Constantinople of a man who tried to carry two melons under one arm with the result that he was unable to hold either and had the misfortune to see both roll from his grasp into the current of a swift-flowing stream, where they were quickly carried beyond his reach.

The story is a good illustration of the position of the Turkish woman today. She, too, is trying to carry an impossible burden. She is clinging, with the tenacity born of custom and heredity, to the past that wears in retrospect the halo of old-world courtesies and stately *régime* and at the same time she is vividly alive to the influence of the present, which includes the wholesale importation of Western manners, education according to an entirely new code and the consequent downfall of old standards of conduct and living.

The result is a clash of sentiment and ideals and a compromise in action that of necessity breeds dissatisfaction and depression.

The last decade has seen a new type of womanhood evolved in Turkey. The shrouded, mysterious ladies, described by M. Pierre Loti in his novels, who spent their days in a harem and never ventured out save under the escort of eunuchs, are no longer to be seen. Turkish women today promenade the streets alone or in the company of their men friends with the same freedom as the women of the West. To the casual observer the only difference appears to lie in the style of their dress.

The Veil Compulsory

All Turkish women are bound by law to wear the *tchartcharf*, which is one of the few remaining concessions to the past. If found beyond the walls of their home without it, they are liable to be arrested and conducted to their guardian by a policeman who gives a warning or exacts a fine according to the number of times the offender has been convicted.

But actually this provision is less drastic than on the surface it appears, because the *tchartcharf* happens to be a most becoming garment that suits the dark-eyed type of Turkish beauty to perfection. It is composed of three parts, a skirt gathered full about the hips and a cape and headdress, the whole made in cloth or silk according to the season or the wearer's taste. The majority are black but here and there are to be seen *tchartcharfs* in shades of dark green, dark brown or claret. The headdress is a close-fitting cap fastened at the nape of the neck and binding the forehead in front just above the brows with a veil, generally of thin net, thrown back in a studied *negligé*.

The "passing of the veil" in Mohammedan countries has been much commented on lately. This article, written from Turkey before the recent return of the Turk to Europe, gives a picture of the change in that country. If women's status in any nation fixes its place in civilization, this is a good time to be asking questions about Turkey.

Of course there are some women who retain this *petchi* (face veil) for its original use, and in that case it is made of a thick patterned black silk that completely hides the features and makes the wearer look like a walking spectre; but in the streets of Constantinople these followers of the old-fashioned school are few.

There are also in many of the houses, both in the city and in the country districts surrounding, the closely woven lattices before the windows, remnants of the old harem days; but instead of being drawn to hide all view of the interior they are far more frequently thrown high up, showing that the occupants of the house ignore the real purpose of these screens as they do the custom of the veiling of the face.

These two facts indicate the importance and the extent of the change that has come into the lives of Turkish women. The life of retirement which was formerly their undisputed fate is past forever. The only rules that govern their behavior out of doors are those which provide for their traveling in trams and trains, where there are always compartments set aside for their exclusive use. They are also forbidden to enter certain hotels and restaurants, and a Turkish woman is debarred by law from taking any part in a theatrical performance. On the Turkish stage, therefore, the female parts are perforce taken by Armenian actresses.

But compared with the years of seclusion that used to be her lot it can be said that emancipation has already come to the Turkish woman. A young Englishwoman who was a pupil a dozen years ago at an English high school in the environs of Constantinople can recall the days when, at the age of thirteen, every Turkish girl was withdrawn from her class by her parents because the time had arrived for her to don the *tchartcharf*, which meant absolute isolation from the life she had learned to love and endless days spent in a useless monotony behind screened windows.

Shopping Under Difficulties

Nothing remained for these young prisoners but the ceaseless reading of French novels and the inane chatter of their companions in exile. Even shopping was robbed of its fascination, since no Turkish woman of the better class was supposed to enter a store herself. Either the articles she required were sent to her house for her to make her choice there, or she drove in a closed carriage to the shop and remaining seated within the carriage and closely veiled she would examine specimens brought out for her inspection.

It was at the time of the last Balkan War in 1912 that Turkish women first began to show signs of a desire for a life outside the harem. A number of those belonging to the upper-class families volunteered as workers in the hos-

pitals and labored unremittingly throughout that long and arduous campaign. The experience broadened their view and there came inevitably a modification of customs which has followed since a line of continual progress.

But having overstepped the limitations that kept her for centuries in a state of semi-development, the Turkish woman today confronts the real problem of her existence. She has proved the insufficiency of the past but barely apprehends the future. Western education and methods of learning are being seized with avidity. In Stamboul (the Turkish quarter of Constantinople) there is a high school for girls, a normal school for the training of those desirous of entering the teaching profession and a university in which there are many girl undergraduates, while in Pera (the European quarter of Constantinople) there is an English high school which some Turkish girls attend.

But perhaps most notable among the educational institutions of the district is the large American college for girls situated on a beautiful hill overlooking the Bosphorus some six miles outside the city. The story of the foundation of this college is a romance in itself but sufficient to say that fifty odd years ago its president, Dr. Mary Mills Patrick, began the work in a small house in Scutari on the Asiatic shore with half a dozen Armenian girls. Today as a result of that effort the college consists of four handsome greystone buildings and provides an education for several hundred girls. Here, as in no other place, all kinds of Eastern nationalities mingle and make friends. The girls are taught by a faculty of American specialists, many of them women who have given years to the study of this work and in particular to the understanding of the psychology of the Eastern mind. The students follow a four-year course, exclusive of a period in the preparatory department, where they are first taught the use and grammar of the English and French languages.

The senior courses are elective and include lectures in literature, art, science, agriculture and medicine. They carry a diploma equal in value to that awarded by a State University in America, though differing in certain points, owing to the multiplicity of languages used by the students, it being required that each girl shall qualify in the language and literature of her native land.

But having completed her college years and come forth a full-blown graduate, it remains to be seen to what extent the Eastern student will use her newly-acquired knowledge. At present the percentage of girls who turn their education to practical use is pathetically small and this is especially true among the Turks.

Tradition is a Moloch that exacts a heavy toll and having allowed their daughters to enjoy the freedom of

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Charlotte Despard, Pioneer

By Dora M. Ford

EVERY summer for twelve years there has been a birthday party in London, honoring a social pioneer and suffragist who should by rights be called a veteran. But, though she is not so very far from her eightieth year, each succeeding birthday finds her "incorrigibly young." She is Mrs. Charlotte Despard, doyenne of British suffragists.

Irish herself, Mrs. Despard is the widow of an Irishman, Maximilian Despard. Her marriage was an exceedingly happy one, marred only toward its close by her husband's increasing delicacy of health. In order to prolong his life she traveled with him widely, and during this period she wrote stories, articles, and a novel, and there is no doubt that if she had cared to continue, she would have been remarkably successful as a writer. But social work was destined to be her true vocation, and, shortly after she became a widow, the opportunity for this new departure in her life presented itself unmistakably.

For some years Mrs. Despard's beautiful home at Oxshott, in Surrey, had provided the scene for many a happy gathering of London's poor, whilst baskets of fruits and flowers from the Oxshott gardens frequently found their way into the miserable hovels of South West London. In early girlhood, Mrs. Despard had been an eager disciple of Shelley and Mazzini, and was always, unconsciously, a Socialist at heart. The increasing pressure of these convic-

Mrs. Despard

tions, and the loneliness caused by her recent bereavement, now definitely decided her to sell her country home, and cast her lot with her less unfortunate brothers and sisters. A house was purchased in the district of Nine Elms, Battersea, the upper part of which Mrs. Despard furnished for herself, the lower part being arranged as a children's clinic in the day time, and a club room for various societies in the evening. The house was in a very poor, busy, and congested section, with gasometers, a brewery and a railway depot in the immediate foreground, and further afield, coal yards and stores abutting on the river Thames—a strange contrast to the beautiful Surrey scenery Mrs. Despard had so much loved.

"Poor law" work at once attracted her attention. "It was contact with the Lambeth Guardians of those days which finally converted me into a red-hot Socialist," she told me. "Nothing that I suffered afterward during the suffrage agitation has ever equaled the thoroughgoing opprobrium which I received at the hands of the then Board of Guardians. These were mostly men, and not at all sympathetic to the needs of the poor. I persevered, however, and was gradually enabled to introduce small comforts into the lives of the inmates of the workhouse—arm-chairs instead of hard forms for the old people, flowers and warmth in the sick wards, education and recreation for the children."

The acute period of the suffrage struggle in Great Britain—from 1900 onward—found in Mrs. Despard a willing worker. In 1907, she founded, and was made president of, the Women's Freedom League, and for over ten years was the chief strength and inspiration of this well-known British women's suffrage organization. Mrs. Despard spoke and worked on behalf of woman suffrage in every part of the United Kingdom, putting in a tremendous amount of educational work for the cause. On more than one occasion, during the suffrage fight, Mrs. Despard suffered imprisonment, usually as a penalty for going on deputations to the House of Commons, after these had been forbidden by the government. In 1918, after the passing of the Representation of the People Act, she contested North Battersea as a Labor candidate,

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The Women Did It—In Toledo

By Olive A. Colton

The experience story told here, by a leading woman citizen of Toledo, might very well have had a place in our summing-up in the last issue of women's achievements since they have won the vote. Ohio women have a fine record of hard work, and sound victories, and prominent representatives in high places. The state produces something besides presidents.

IN Toledo, Ohio, women have won during the past year two outstanding legislative triumphs—one in the interests of children, one to furnish wise guidance in domestic tangles. They secured a street-trades ordinance from the city council and a law for a court of domestic relations from the legislature.

As it started out in the world, the street-trades ordinance asked only that children under fourteen be kept from selling and under twelve from carrying. But it encountered bitter hostility from the press, and the chief task of the Women's Joint Legislative Committee was to find means of getting over to the public the telling facts—facts gathered from research in Toledo and many other cities.

When members of the Committee spoke before various organizations, the papers played up on the first page the arguments of the small and vehement group that opposed the bill. There were the wildest exaggerations. People were asked if they did not want their favorite paper delivered any more? They were told that if the bill passed a nurse-girl would not be allowed to wheel a baby-carriage on the street. And though but three women on a committee of seventy were unmarried, old maids were featured as meddling with other peoples' children until it seemed an unmarried woman could not have an intelligent opinion on any subject.

Class hatred was inflamed, and wealth and society attacked for depriving the hungry of an honest way to earn bread. We women were sentimental reformers taking away a boy's chance to learn honesty and industry.

The Glorious Job of Newsboy

The superintendent of schools gave no assistance, and the juvenile judge pictured the newsboy as a thrifty little merchant, though his words were contradicted by the numbers he had sent to the reform school at Lancaster. Some people were against the measure from the remarkable fear that it might put the Newsboys' Association out of business and dishonor the memory of its great founder. Just as if to preserve the asylums we must keep people insane! All newsboys were given petitions against the ordinance and many who had no opportunity to hear the other side, were moved by the children's plea, and thousands of course signed them.

Men arose in council to show that newspaper selling had not hurt them, though their commercial success was rarely one that a thoughtful mother would want her child to follow, and they revealed unconsciously that their eyes had never been unsealed to the glories and wonders of life itself in their passion for making a living.

When the opposition was noisiest, two organizations publicly withdrew their endorsement of the ordinance, but in spite of misrepresentation, ridicule and abuse, the women stuck. They had learned that the work harmed more children than it helped, and though there were ten hearings in council, some exceedingly unpleasant, more of the Committee were there at the last than at the first, and they did valiant work with their councilmen. The ordinance became a Diogenes lantern by which an honest man could be sought, for the councilmen's fear of the press was apparent, some shifting back and forth weekly. One said that if the bill could be carried he would vote for it, but if lost when the roll-call came to him he would vote against it too.

But to offset the politicians there were the few refreshingly fearless men who said they would vote for it if they were the only ones. There were amendments, and amendments to the amendments, and recommittals to the subcommittee, and finally a substitute measure was passed; but it is a start in the protection of children, for boys under twelve cannot now sell in the downtown district, and none under sixteen can sell late at night.

Throughout the campaign the women kept their ideals, refused to use their opponents' tools and withstood attack without retort or bitterness. Personalities were ignored and in their presentation of evidence they kept to the point under discussion, that newspaper selling is a menace to the majority of children doing it. Perhaps the best lesson learned was the power of the press, and how little chance those desiring unbiased information on which to form an opinion, have of getting it.

Though not championed by any paper, the other bill of the Joint Legislative Committee aroused less antagonism from the press. Bouquets to the power of women for good were presented in an editorial after the bill passed, but there were no wayside flowers to pick during the legislative siege. The Executive Committee of the Bar Association did not favor our bill and drew up a rival measure. The League of City Mothers that could have brought up the heavy artillery, refused to endorse the bill for a court of domestic relations lest they offend their good friend the juvenile judge.

Ups and Downs

The workers had no lack of advice or criticism, though friends cheered them on in their "good work." There were warnings of the power of the machine, and the folly of a little group of women trying to go against the politicians; they must learn to play politics if they expected to get anything through; the bill would be quietly killed; if it went through one house it would die in the other; the Governor would veto it. There were messages from those close to him, there were contradictory messages from those closer to him, legislators were quoted and misquoted, men protested they had never said what the committee heard them say, and the lobbyists learned to get opinions in writing. There was often surprise, dismay, and disappointment, but utter bewilderment when absolutely honest women gave exactly opposite versions of interviews with people who seemed to have changed their opinions overnight. But though no living soul ever said there was the slightest chance for that bill to become a law that session, so firm was their belief that the need was urgent to give the unfortunate families of Toledo guidance, that the whole Committee pressed resolutely onward.

Though the country may look flat, the trip of the bill to Columbus was uphill all the way. The representative who had promised to introduce it, presented instead that of the lawyers, later contending he thought the women and the Bar Association had come to an agreement. The next representative asked, declined to introduce it, but

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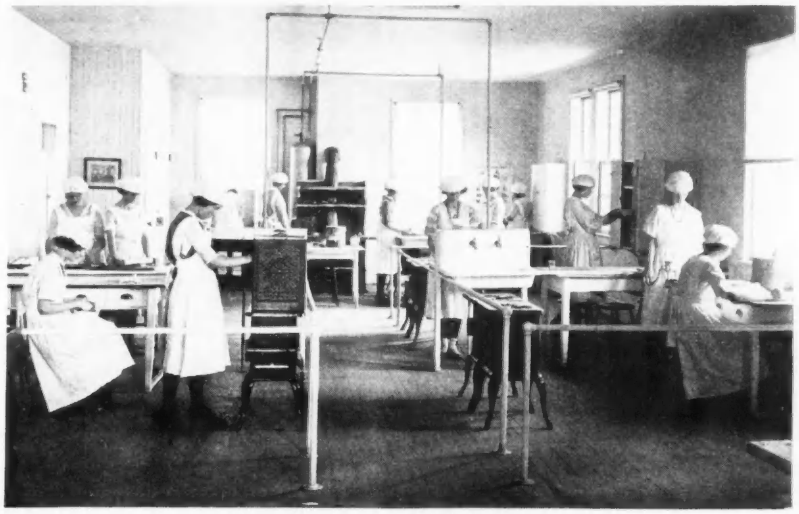
Woman's Biggest Job



Learning Woman's Chief Industry

By Adelaide Steele Baylor

DESPITE Feminism, New-Womanism and Ellen Key, marriage holds its place as the most popular career of the American woman. Census statistics indicate that eighty per cent. of our women eventually marry. Home-making remains woman's chief industry.

That is the reason why Uncle Sam is being importuned by a host of women's organizations to amend the present Vocational Education Act and place the Government support of home economics upon an equal financial footing with the other activities of our Federal Board for Vocational Education.

Admittedly, the Home Economics Department at Washington has barely scratched its vast field. With over one million women every year entering the ranks of home-makers, flagrantly unprepared, the Federal Board, and the public schools with which it cooperates, have found themselves helpless to pretrain them. They haven't the funds. The present law allots to home economics only one-fifth the Federal appropriation which it prescribes for agricultural or industrial training. And yet the field to which home economics ministers is a field even greater numerically than either of these, and as essential as both. To skimp along on such an appropriation has been found impossible, and the American home must suffer as a consequence.

This discrimination the proposed amendment would remove. Without reducing the agricultural or industrial grant, it would raise the home economics appropriation to an equivalent amount. It would recognize the training of the housewife as of at least equal importance with the training of her brother or sister in wage-earning pursuits.

Such a program was embodied in the Fess Amendment, which failed to reach a vote in the late Congress. But the sub-committee on Home Economics of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, representing the fourteen most influential women's national organizations, is behind the project and is preparing to push the issue to a successful conclusion in the next Congress. With such momentum behind it, the chances for the success of the amendment appear bright.

It has been an uphill fight to awaken people to this program.

The unfortunate obstacle which home economics has faced from the first has been misunderstanding. It has suffered the fate of all new things; it has been dismissed as a fad. That the teaching of "domestic science" has big economic possibilities—that it might even reorganize the American home, and place home life upon a basis of comfort and hygiene undreamt of—that it would lift the American housewife from drudgery to ordered independence—these facts were little guessed until the first showings from actual schools beat down the skepticism. Instead of a "club woman's fad," home economics is now being recognized as the broadest educational project that has ever been offered to American womanhood.

Raymor Studios, Chicago

Miss Baylor, Chief of the Home Economics Division, Federal Board for Vocational Education

Take one of the typical home economics public schools.

An ordinary dwelling house, with kitchen, dining room, sewing room and nursery, is equipped. Here the girls are put through every practical problem which they will meet as housewives, and an expert instructress trains them to facility in the most up-to-date methods.

For cookery, the floor space is divided into small unit kitchens, equipped as average size family kitchens, in which from two to five students work. Home conditions are approximated. Actual dishes are cooked, instruction in dietetics is given, proper serving of food is taught in a real dining room. Thus actual practice as well as text instruction is provided.

The sewing room is equipped with work tables, sewing machines, dress forms and all the paraphernalia of dressmaking and the girl is taught, what so few modern girls have mastered, the art of making her own clothes.

Baby care is taught by operating a day nursery in connection with the school. In some institutions even the practice of adopting a baby from an orphan home has been employed, each girl taking turns for a period of a week in the responsibility for the full care of the baby. No knowledge is more urgent to the girl of today than this knowledge of baby care which the home economics schools are now making widespread. National preparation for motherhood is the goal of these schools.

Home nursing and care of the sick is taught in the typical schools. Laundering—especially the use of labor-saving

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Editorially Speaking

Be Informed on the Peace Question

A FRESH impetus has been given to the discussion of our national duty toward the settlement of world unrest by a combination of unusual circumstances. The "Law not War" day revealed the fact that there are in this country at least seventy-four distinct national societies or departments of organizations whose object is to propagate sentiment on the prevention of war. Some have definite programs, some merely agitate the general question. The meetings held were in themselves productive of much reawakened interest in the big theme with its complicated and innumerable ramifications.

The untimely death of Mr. Harding and the immediate attempt of the irreconcilables to persuade Mr. Coolidge to drop the World Court from the President's program aroused widespread expression of opinion which has been sensationally accelerated by two singular communications to the press. One came from Walter Wellman, well-known writer, who says that Mr. Harding told him it was his intention to call the nations together, perhaps next year, and to create "The Association of Nations" promised by the Republican platform. The other, even more remarkable, came from Dr. Irving Fisher of Yale, who says that during the campaign he called upon Mr. Harding to interview him upon the subject of the League of Nations. Mr. Harding astonished him by the remark: "I want the United States to get into the League just as much as you do," and then added, "Of course I'm opposed to the Wilson League, but the League can be changed." If it be true that Mr. Harding held such views and expressed them in inner political circles where Mr. Coolidge was a confidential member, and Mr. Coolidge proposes to carry forward Mr. Harding's policies, can it mean that some really big and bold action lies concealed in the mysteries of politics?

Nothing has so stirred public curiosity as these revelations, especially when taken into consideration together with the emphatic statement of John T. Adams, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, who declared on August 29th that sixteen millions of voters in 1920 voted against the League of Nations and that it is done for so far as his country is concerned.

The Bok prize "for the best practical plan by which the United States may cooperate with other nations to achieve and preserve the peace of the world" has demonstrated already the nation-wide interest in the subject by calling forth two hundred thousand inquiries for directions to enter the contest.

Lastly, the hurried ultimatum sent by Premier Mussolini to the Greek government upon the occasion of the assassination of the Italian officers engaged upon an international errand. The tragic event took place on Greek territory, although very near the Albanian border, but Italy did not wait to learn whether the assassins were Greek. She acted just as Julius Cæsar would have done or as Austria did in 1914 when a similar incident occurred.

Public opinion reflected in the League Council by the emphatic assertions of the representatives of the small nations that the League should take action as Greece asked it to do, quite clearly served as a powerful deterrent to the Italian intended program. A solution and a settlement saving the peace of Europe has probably been effected by the Council of Ambassadors acting in conjunction with the League through the governments of France and Great Britain. All the nations pulled together for a peaceful settlement.

The Italian face was saved, and all is well.

These events will certainly lead to continual discussion in this country through the presidential campaign and after as to the duty of this country toward other lands and toward any and all varieties of cooperation proposed.

The experienced citizen knows that the discussion will certainly bring forth a display of truths and lies, facts and misrepresentations, half truths and quarter truths, intelligence and ignorance, liberality and bigotry, progress and conservatism, faith and fear, good will and jealousy and it will not be easy to discern which is which! The wise and conscientious citizen will wish to be intelligently prepared to form right and intelligent judgments.

Fortunately, books are coming thick and fast with their well-digested facts and figures, their history and predictions. Some may be seized by an ambition to possess another "five foot book shelf" which shall deal with after-war settlements and present-day problems arising therefrom. It would not be difficult to fill it with recent books each giving a different viewpoint and a different assortment of facts. The libraries can supply them all to those who have no money to buy or space to store them away. Readers may find the list of such books on page 26 helpful as a beginning of the education of preparedness. Both sides and all sides are represented in the list. Facts new and old, marshalled and easy of access, are there and the study of the subject reveals the fact that what stands in the way of peace is the spirit of the cave man reincarnated in the modern politician who as dictator, governor or lawmaker of his country, thinks backward instead of forward.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

Pioneer Husbands

TWO or three people have been jumping to the conclusion that because we have been running a symposium about married women with careers, we must be in favor of every married woman working. They tell us—practically—that if we think it is so nice, we'd better ask the opinions of laundresses, charwomen, women in sweatshops and at exhausting, monotonous labor in factories—women who constantly combine work-for-a-living with wifehood and motherhood, because they must.

This is to confuse two very different things. For the one group, not only is the element of freewill choice missing, but the economic level is too low for the happiness or comfort of the family, in any arrangement. Staying at home would be no remedy—far from it. The question here is a big, complex industrial problem, not a social one for individual solution. It is only when conditions reach a level where choice is possible that the question is worth asking of an individual—what happens to the home when the mother works out of it? For such an inquiry it is fair to take people of unusual powers. If they can't make it work, who can? If they can, it doesn't absolutely follow that any average person can, but it is an indication and an example. Naturally, it is a subject on which generalization is absurd, but such testimony as we have collected shows one thing clearly—that open-mindedness and adjustability on both sides, especially the husband's, are a necessary preliminary. A case where a wife with ambition is thwarted by her husband's objections doesn't prove the wife and career combination unsound or unreasonable. But every husband who surmounts the traditional masculine attitude is a hopeful demonstration.

Who Should Go Home?

AS one of our friends who hadn't time to write for our symposium says, there will be no equality between men and women in occupation so long as it is taken for granted that in all emergencies it is the woman's outside job that must yield. When husband and wife are both employed, if anyone among the relatives on either side falls ill and needs attention—who ever heard of the husband giving up his job to go home and nurse the invalid? To be sure, there might be reasons why it would be wiser for the man to keep on working than the woman, even aside from his inability to act as nurse or take charge of a household; but in most cases the decision would be automatic and not on the merits of the case. Unless Carl Brandt's idea (See August 11) that boys should have household training is put into effect, the so-called fifty-fifty arrangement can't be fifty-fifty.

The Married Teacher

CERTAINLY to debar teachers from their work because they marry is a piece of tyranny. On the one hand, the mother point of view and actual experience with her own child can hardly fail to be of advantage to a teacher, and on the other, a woman of the teacher's grade is surely intelligent enough to decide for herself whether she is able to swing a double job. Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, Colorado's Superintendent of Schools, has recently said that she will reverse the ruling of any local school board which makes a wholesale discrimination against married women teachers. It will be interesting to see what effect this stand may have.

"A Funny Thing, Honor"

A STRANGE thing—this "national honor" that has so many events of history to its credit, or discredit as the case may be. The latest instance—Italy's—comes under discredit, in the world's opinion. "National honor," naturally affronted by the murder of her citizens, led Italy to demand a money compensation, fire on a defenseless fort, incidentally killing refugee children, and tell the world all this was none of its affair.

One is reminded of a wicked little essay on "The Honour of Your Country," by A. A. Milne, in which a blood-and-thunder Colonel puts a hypothetical case of the murder of fifty English women in Madrid to a plain soldier of unconventionally logical mind. The Colonel's only answer to the case is an English army landed on Spanish soil. The soldier points out that this means killing, say, 100,000 Spaniards who had no connection with the murders, and maybe half as many Englishmen even less concerned, to avenge the fifty murdered and "re-establish English honor." He quite gravely proposes as an alternative murdering fifty Spanish women. "That's nonsense," said the Colonel shortly.

"And the other is war."

The soldier, for another try, suggests an apology and the breaking off of all relations. He then unkindly turns the tables on the Colonel, with a supposition that Spanish women are murdered in London, and wants to know how about Spain's honor—must she build a fleet as big as England's to satisfy it, or what? The Colonel thinks "she might—er—protest," and reluctantly admits that this would "in the circumstances" be consistent with honor.

"So what it comes to is this," the soldier sums up. "Honor only demands that you should attack the other man if you are much bigger than he is. It's a funny thing, honor."

Seeing America

THIS country is fond of being superlative. It has at least one superlative characteristic at present which it could very well spare—its crime record. "Worse than in any other civilized country," said the Committee on Law Enforcement recently, and the figures presented to the American Bar Association bear out the unhappy claim. Last year there were 260 murders in New York (with three convictions), against 17 in London—all solved. In 1921 there were 137 murders in Chicago, against 63 in all England and Wales. In 1919 there were 588 murders in France, as against 1,562 in forty-eight cities of the United States. The press comment on the report has been varied and considerable attention has been directed to the glaring defects in our legal procedure—the long delays, the endless red tape. The Bar Association itself suggested a permanent commission to formulate a standard code of criminal procedure for the states of the Union. But public attitude toward crime is part of the cause, and here is where the prohibition law comes into the picture. Opponents of prohibition point out that one form of law breaking begets another—that the wide violation of the prohibition law breeds disrespect for all law, and that *therefore* the law should be withdrawn. Friends of prohibition point out the same thing, but end with the therefore that the prohibition law, so long as it *is* the law, should be obeyed and enforced. Those who believe prohibition should be modified have every right to try for the change—by regular legal means. But the existing law should not be defied and flouted. Its violation in restaurants and homes by people who "never drank before" is neither fair play nor good citizenship—nor grown up.

The Immigrant Puzzle

THE Department of Labor did what was human and fair in admitting the 1,875 immigrants who were brought into port a few minutes before twelve on the last day of August. It would have been cruel to send them back because of the unfortunate burst of speed of their ships over the line. (Incidentally, the steamship companies were heavily penalized.) The more one watches the Quota Immigration Law in operation the more certain one is that some change must be made, at least in administration. The Commissioner General of Immigration, W. W. Husband, in a recent article in the *Congressional Digest*, stresses as the chief difficulty the one often pointed out in the press (including these pages)—the fact that at present, quotas cannot be counted until the immigrants arrive in an American port. It is perhaps not an easy arrangement to make abroad, but it could be made, and until some such common sense measure is taken, there is little chance of improvement.

This, as Mr. Husband points out, would do away also with the dramatic rush of immigrant ships to reach port—dramatic, but obviously dangerous. It is to be hoped that the lesson will not have to be learned at the cost of a serious collision.

Twenty-four Issues

DURING July and August, 1924, the CITIZEN will appear as a monthly. This accounts for the announcement on the back cover of 24 issues a year instead of 26 as heretofore. Subscriptions taken on the latter basis will be extended two issues.

Those Prizes!

DON'T forget the prizes offered by the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission for the best paper on how to get out the vote. The contest is open to individuals and organizations. (See page 2 in your September 8th CITIZEN.)

The last date is October 15, the length of the paper, eight hundred words. The first prize is $60, the second $25, the third $15. Mrs. Upton, Mrs. Blair and Mrs. Park will serve as judges. Don't put your name on the manuscript, but in a separate envelope.

And, by the way, even if you don't compete in this contest, plan to *get out the vote* in your community, beginning with your own.

What the American Woman Thinks

One Per Cent. Quarantine

By Alice Stone Blackwell

AN ADMIRABLE pamphlet on the best methods of dealing with the social evil has lately been published in Chicago. It is entitled "What the Women of Illinois Ought to Know and Ought to Do About the Question of Social Hygiene," but it gives facts that need equally to be known by the women of every state.

It is the report of a committee appointed at the request of a joint conference of the women's clubs of Chicago—a committee of which Edith Abbott of the University of Chicago was chairman—and it is issued with a foreword of recommendation from the presidents of the Woman's City Club, the Illinois League of Women Voters and the Chicago Woman's Club.

The report discusses the methods now in use. It strongly commends the establishment of free public clinics for the treatment of venereal diseases. Illinois now has eighteen such clinics, which treated last year 44,475 cases, 28,504 men and 15,971 women. The report recommends that the women patients should be treated by women physicians wherever possible, and that when this cannot be done, a nurse or social worker should always be in attendance. It also recommends increased hospital facilities for those who cannot afford to pay. Hospitalization should be voluntary, not compulsory for women and voluntary for men. The extension of education along these lines is also urged.

The report unqualifiedly condemns the legislation enacted in Illinois and many other states, at the instigation of the Federal authorities, under which women suspected of sex offenses, but not proved guilty, are compulsorily examined for venereal disease and, if found to have it, are shut up until they are no longer infections—all this before they are even brought to trial. Theoretically, men may be treated in the same way, but in practice the law "is regularly enforced, as it is meant to be enforced, against women alone. The law was passed in 1919, and in April, 1922, the Chicago press announced as a sensational piece of news that for the first time one of these sentences had been imposed on a man."

All over Europe, for the last half century, the women's organizations have fought against and largely abolished laws that authorized the compulsory examination of women upon suspicion. The National League of Women voters took similar ground at Baltimore, by a two-thirds vote, and reaffirmed this action at Des Moines almost unanimously. In general, the women's societies have protested against discrimination in the treatment of men and women guilty of sex offenses as unjust, and distinguished doctors have also pointed out that it is medically futile. Dr. Abraham Flexner says in "Prostitution in Europe":

"Prostitution must be punished, if at all, because its consequences are bad, because of the waste it involves, the disease it spreads, the demoralization

it entails. Yet, so long as the woman alone suffers, these consequences are not abated. . . . . Punishment of the woman in any particular case stops none of these—the man simply wastes his substance upon others; contracts disease from other women and carries it elsewhere, even into his own family; corrupts others, in case a previous associate has been put out of reach by the law. To make prostitution a crime for the woman alone is therefore at once inequitable and futile. . . . What can it avail to incarcerate for brief periods a few unhappy women, if meanwhile the manufacture of fresh foci of infection proceeds unhampered? As long as regulation completely omits men, new sources of infection are produced far more rapidly than by any known method they can be eradicated."

The report refutes the alarmist stories which have been made an excuse for drastic legislation and the sacrifice of women's constitutional rights. Thus it has been said that 63 per cent. of men suffer from venereal disease. But the report issued from the United States War Department by Surgeon General Ireland and his assistants on "Defects Found in Drafted Men" shows that among the second million examined less than six in a hundred were found infected. In New Hampshire, Vermont, Utah and North and South Dakota, less than two in a hundred had venereal disease, and in nineteen states, less than three in a hundred. The ratio in the South was higher.

The report discusses at some length the various methods devised, and condemns all those that involve unequal treatment of the woman. It closes with a series of practical suggestions which every woman ought to read, ending with these weighty words:

"Above all, remain staunch at all times to the 'abolitionist' principles which women have so often successfully defended in the past. Make no compromise with those who believe that vice should be officially condoned or 'regulated.' Their counsel is a heart-breaking counsel of despair, which will lead only to degradation in every community that accepts it."

This report can be obtained from the Illinois League of Women Voters, 308 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago.

Since this pamphlet was published, the Corporation Counsel of Chicago has declared his opinion that it would be depriving men of their constitutional rights to treat them as women are now treated. As reported in the Chicago press, he said that the rules of the State Health Department, "if strictly enforced, would be tantamount to depriving a man of his liberty without due process of law, and his right to bail, both guaranteed him under the constitution. . . . I fear if Chief Collins undertook to force men into an examining room or confine them in a hospital without trial, he would be the target of well-founded damage suits."

In the Bulletin of the Illinois League of Women Voters for August, Edith Abbott sums up the question with clearness and force in an article entitled "Is a One Per Cent. Quarantine Effective?" She says, in part:

"Quarantine measures scientifically used in the interest of public health must be applied indiscriminately to all known cases of infection. The plan we oppose, however, is a plan under which examination and quarantine are applied not to all known cases but only to the few women prostitutes who are arrested. The men found with such women, even if they have themselves infected the women, are not even examined, but are allowed to go free to spread the infection where they will. We cannot believe that such a proceeding is really a sound method of protecting public health. The plan we oppose is thus a plan under which a very few of the

many women who have venereal disease are quarantined, while the vast majority of the diseased women, and at present all of the diseased men, are left free to spread the infection. We cannot believe that this is a scientific procedure."

The Great September Event

By Cornelia James Cannon

THE Pied Piper has just been busily engaged in gathering together the children of the nation, the merry and the carefree with the lame, the halt and the blind, in a long procession leading along the path and up the steps into the schoolhouses of our country. It is a procession for whose well-being we are profoundly solicitous. It represents the chief treasures of the personal lives of our citizens and the hope of the nation's future. We become weary of being told how important the schools are. We class as the stock in trade of the demagogue the assertion of our publicists that the success of democracy depends upon the quality of the education we give our citizens-to-be. We put aside as tedious the appeal of the educational authorities for more adequate school housing, for more ample school supplies, for better training for our teachers.

But the month of September forces upon us a conviction of the truth of these disregarded evaluations. The eager faces turned toward the school buildings, the boys and girls walking along the country road or through the city street or across the unfenced prairie, the line of timid and exultant, zealous and reluctant children awaiting the opening of the school door, unconsciously demand an attention from us we find it impossible to resist.

What can we women citizens do in response to the unspoken appeal of these millions? Is there something they need which cannot be given by the school officials alone? Is the women's duty done when the mothers have seen that the hands and faces are clean and the clothes in decent repair and when the teachers have assembled in the school ready to administer the required minimum of education to all comers?

Educational opportunity of a kind will inevitably follow such a preparation but surely not the best of which we are capable. Our schools are too integral a part of our community life to succeed without an intimately participating community. The children, the teachers, the school officials have need of our daily personal interest to do the best work of which they are capable.

Whether we have children of our own or not, we can do a service to our school system and bring illumination into our own lives by getting in touch with our local school. We can visit the school, make ourselves familiar with its problems and its needs, know its principal and teachers and make them realize that we are the friends and not the critics of their best endeavors.

This is particularly a woman's opportunity, for she has a spontaneous understanding of the needs of childhood not granted in such full measure to men, and can often be of service to the school in its dealings with the neighborhood problems of discipline, health and recreation as a man cannot.

A contact with the nearest school and its children gives the woman citizen the first necessary insight into the workings of this fundamental activity of her community, but for a complete understanding of all the elements involved she must follow her preliminary investigation with a study of the administrative end of the educational system and know something of the function and performance of the school committee and the superintendent, understand the requirements for teaching positions, the presence or absence of political influence in appointments, the enforcement of the school laws, the financial status of the schools, and the other factors concerned

in the quality of education offered to the children. She will inevitably be eager to learn these things when her interest has once been stirred by the achievements and limitations of her local school, for the strength or weakness in the final product points back to a strength or weakness at the administrative font.

If the women of any community are once roused and band themselves together to help and improve the schools, they are irresistible. They are the most powerful group in this country when any question of the education of the children is concerned, particularly in their local community, for their interests and authority are obviously paramount. No miracle of reform is beyond their powers when they are both informed and determined.

If every woman who reads this would herself visit and study her local school and persuade one other woman to do likewise, an added impetus to educational betterment would be given to communities where the women are already actively at work, and a start made in other communities where the women are not yet awake to their full responsibility to the public schools, however ready they may be to make sacrifices in their personal lives as mothers, sisters or friends of the next generation.

"Helpers" Only

By Marie Clotilde Redfern

Founder and first Editor of the PEN WOMAN, *Washington, D. C.*

Here is a contribution to the CITIZEN'S *housework discussion which crosses swords with the articles that have expressed faith in a higher standing for the profession of house service. For space reasons we can publish it only in part.*

IT IS all very well to talk of raising the standard of house service by educating girls for it. In the first place, once the girl is so educated she is not going to do household work as a job, unless it be of her own house; or if she does, her services will of necessity be so high that few will be able to employ her. If you educate a boy to be a doctor or lawyer, you can't expect him, once he has graduated, to be an office boy. That a certain amount of scientific knowledge of food values, home hygiene, etc., is very important and helpful, and that the head of every household should have a certain amount of knowledge of the same, is very true; but that it is necessary for domestic work, or is equal to experience, no.

Happily, with our ever-increasing mechanical devices, prepared foods and ready-made things, from food to clothing, we do not need as much service as formerly, and our old-time darkey would be at a loss to know how to manipulate the new appliances—so, on the whole, we are living under better conditions than in the old days.

In my judgment, we shall gradually come to the system of "helpers" who will probably drive up to your apartment in their machine, and give you their help by the hour, in whatever form you may desire, and for as many hours as you can afford to pay for the accommodation. A system of this sort is very general in Germany; the helpers are addressed as "Fraulein," and assist the "Haus Frau." I think we are gradually coming to some such solution of the problem. Then there is another system that may be adopted, especially in small communities—the system prevailing among the French in villages, told in such a charming way by Dorothy Canfield in her "Notes From a French Village"; where the bread will be baked in one household, and the heavy meats in another, on certain days, each household buying the quantity needed, thus obviating having a heavy fire in each house, and having the made-over dishes from the remains for the rest of the week.

I live alone in a simple apartment house where there are twenty apart-

(*Continued on page* 28)

The Woman Voter

(This full-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.)

Edited by RUTH KIMBALL GARDINER *for*
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Let's Have the Whole Town Talking

I WONDER how many of you know that those of us who recommend campaigns for money, can point to the Bible for details of the first campaign ever conducted? You will find in James Moffat's *New Translation of the New Testament*, the eighth chapter of II Corinthians, this:

"Now, brothers, I have to tell you about the grace God has given to the churches of Macedonia. Amid a severe ordeal of trouble, their overflowing joy and their deep poverty together have poured out a flood of rich generosity. I can testify that up to their means, aye and beyond their means, they have given—begging me of their own accord, most urgently for the favor of contributing to the support of the saints. They have done more than I expected; they gave themselves to the Lord, to begin with, and then (for so God willed it) they put themselves at my disposal. This has led me to ask Titus to complete the arrangements for the same gracious contributions among yourselves, as it was he who started it. Now, then, you are to the front in everything, in faith, in utterance, in knowledge, in all zeal, and in love for us—do come to the front in this gracious enterprise as well. I am not issuing any orders, only using the zeal of others to prove how sterling your own love is. (You know how gracious our Lord Jesus Christ was: rich though He was, He became poor for the sake of you, that by His poverty you might be rich.) But I will tell you what I think about it; it is to your interest to go on with this enterprise, for you started it last year, you were the first not merely to do anything but to want to do anything. Now, carry it through, so that our readiness to take up may be equalled by the way you carry it through—so far as our means allow. If only one is ready to give, according to his means, it is acceptable; he is not asked to give what he has not got. This does not mean that other people are to be relieved and you to suffer; it is a matter of give and take; at the present moment your surplus goes to make up what they lack, in order that their surplus may go to make up what you lack. Thus it is to give and take—as it is written."

There is more, much more. I commend it to those of you—if there are any—who scorn the very thought of money-raising. It will do you no harm, and it may convince you that those of us who see in the "profession of finance" the great opportunity for service, are neither queer nor benighted.

Our sustaining membership campaign (poor, misunderstood, abused phrase!) was at its height when it was suddenly overcome by the heat. Workers retired to the mountains and the sea; "prospects" with one accord fled to Europe; but—they will not escape. We have their names. We shall greet them at the dock when they land and escort them to their trains. Rested, refreshed committees will meet them when they reach their home towns and—the campaign will be on again.

Congratulations to the nineteen states that did their preliminary work immediately after the convention. They have a big running start for the fall and, incidentally, they have had money in their treasuries to carry them through the summer (some for the first time since they were born). All hail to Rhode Island, the first across the "bar"; and to Georgia and Virginia and Kentucky and Kansas with just a little way to go; and to Minnesota and Illinois who have crossed the meridian! They have worked nobly—all nineteen—and they say the plan is fine and practical and can be done.

We have observed, those of us who sit in lowly places, that in the great profession the one difficulty is the start. I could name two state presidents, if I would, who confessed (and no third degree methods were used) after two days of money-raising calls, that they had had a good time, and they confessed further (mark this, officers and men) that never before had they put into words just what the League is or ought to be.

We have observed further that in nearly every League, local, state, national, one or two (I had to put that two in for obvious reasons) are raising all the money. Sometimes the state president has that responsibility besides all her others. When the great day comes and they ask "Who made the League of Women Voters in your town?" shall the answer be a loud "We did!" or a feeble, worn out little "I did"?

The truth is too many of us are ashamed of finance and, mark my words, the League of Women Voters will never take the place it deserves in the world today until finance is just as much a part of every League program as efficiency in government and citizenship schools.

A man is not a good citizen just because he obeys the law. He must work; he must support his family; he must pay his honorable debts. If he is in business for himself (and is a good citizen) his first care is to finance his business properly.

If we are going into the good citizenship business, the first thing to decide is "How are we going to support it?" "It's a fine thing. I'd dearly love to join, and I'll do anything on earth, but don't ask me to have anything to do with money." Haven't you heard that a thousand times? Now I do not mean that everyone must *give*, but if a woman can't give she can do a thousand different things to earn a little, and if she can't earn a little she can interest at least one person to the point where he or she will want to give and, if she can't do that she can give the names of two or three possible donors to the less timid members of the Finance Committee. In these ways *every member* of the League of Women Voters can and should be one actual contributor to the treasury of the League. It is a fact that we always appreciate *more* that which costs us something. Remember the waste of money during the war? How could the government save when individuals with rare carelessness were breaking and throwing away government property and saying with a generous gesture, "What's the difference, the government will pay for it?" Who is the government?

We have two big tasks ahead of us: rule by a majority, and peace. To accomplish either we need organization; to organize costs money. What will you do about it?

In October we take up again the co-operative campaigns between state Leagues, and the National League. However small a state quota may be, it cannot be raised without some machinery. This must be set up to meet local conditions. Each state knows its own problems best. The National Finance Committee will help put the machinery in motion, but it is our mutual responsibility. The offer made in Des Moines still holds. Choose your dates early. If everyone

will work a little, we can put money-raising aside by the first of December, and bend every effort toward our program. How would you enjoy living on your income for the remaining months of the year? Won't you try?

You will find genuine inspiration in an article by Bishop Lawrence called "An Invigorating Avocation" in the September *Atlantic Monthly*. Read it, and you will agree that the League of Women Voters measures up to his main requisite for success—"A cause which stands on its own feet."

M. LOUISE GRIFFITH, *Assistant Treasurer.*

Pennsylvania's Good Printing

MRS. PARK'S famous pledge for conscientious citizens has been printed in many forms but never more attractively than in the little window poster the Pennsylvania League is issuing for use in the drive for 50,000 members it will carry on October 1-3. The sheet which bears it is a standard eight-and-a-half by eleven inches and "Member Pennsylvania League of Women Voters" is printed at the top so that everybody who reads will know what manner of woman she is who has obeyed the direction at the bottom ("Put this in your window") and displayed the pledge. The ink is blue, the paper white and a decorative border gives the whole the effect of an official license of one kind or another. National headquarters has posted the pledge on its bulletin board with the Pennsylvania League's larger poster, which begins "Women Voters—Attention!" and continues with, "Take your part in politics and get better government. Join the Pennsylvania League of Women Voters. Co-operate with other women in studying facts and learning about candidates. When you know, you lead!" Space for printing the address of a local League headquarters is left at the bottom of the sheet, which is extremely effective not merely because of the words used but because of the balance of black and white. Either the Pennsylvania League's printing committee is uncommonly well trained in the striking use of type or the League has managed to win the hearty good will and friendly, helpful interest of a clever job printer.

Along with the window card and the poster goes a card printed in red and black on white setting forth, for the benefit of prospective new members, just what the League has done. Its record of accomplishments runs:

"Originated and secured passage in 1923 legislature of bill for popular vote on constitutional convention; first organization to urge election of women to 1923 legislature—League's stand influenced plans of political leaders; only all-partisan organization publishing illustrated monthly magazine, replete with interest and instruction; campaigned for election of women school directors, increasing number of women on school boards from 81 to upwards of 1,000; originated and secured passage of bill in 1921 legislature for reorganization of state government. This was first practical step toward simplifying machinery of government at Harrisburg. Originated weekly legislative letters during Harrisburg sessions—this practice in force since 1921; first state organization to keep trained observers at Harrisburg during entire session of legislature for purpose of informing League members and promoting good legislation; only organization to maintain combined legislative home and headquarters at Harrisburg—a center for League officers and members and for legislative information; largely instrumental in halting passage of Senator Schantz's bill in 1923 legislature which aimed at separating women from jury duty; originated practice through questionnaire of calling on candidate for public office to state their views and plans for information of voters; originated meetings where candidates, regardless of their party or faction, could present their case—only women's organization whose invitations to speak are accepted by candidates of all parties."

This is what one side of the card tells. The record is continued on the other side and ends with the legislative record of the National League. The Pennsylvania League's campaign literature ranks high in national headquarters' collection of state and local League advertising devices, and attracts many a visiting League woman to the bulletin board.

The Psychology of Cake

THE Dayton (Ohio) League has made a valuable psychological discovery in a hitherto untouched field, for who else, from laboratory or clinic, has ever announced findings in the matter of reactions to cake? Not long ago the Dayton League—it was Mrs. T. A. McCann, an enthusiastic member, who told about it at Washington headquarters—gave a fund-raising fair in McKinley Park, with candidates to make speeches, and ice-cream with real cream in it, and thirty-seven donated home-made cakes. Last year there was somewhat the same kind of entertainment, but last year the cakes were cut beforetime and each slice delicately wrapped in oiled paper of the most sanitary. This year thirty-seven cakes were displayed in all their pristine loveliness and the customer could pick and choose. He could also see the cake cut. The Dayton League's discovery is that a cake cut while you wait is a more popular cake and a better-paying cake than any set of ready-made slices. The returns for some of those thirty-seven cakes ran as high as $2.40.

It was not the size of the slice that sold the cake. It was all the implications of that visible cutting. Dayton is a large city and hundreds of men and women who came to the one-day fair live in hotels and boarding houses or by grace of restaurants and delicatessens, if "live" and "grace" can be used in that connection. Many of them had not seen a cake cut since they left their real homes, really cut in home fashion. Years had elapsed since they had been reminded that cakes do not normally grow under glass cases or in sanitary paper wrappings. At the League fair these homesick men and women lived back home again for a moment when they saw cakes cut. They thrilled when a crumbly bit sheered cake-ward off the knife and had to be pushed to the severed slice. Who has not watched that very happening at home, hoping all the while the crumbly bit would be scraped over to the slice and not patted back into the cake?

Nothing like that ever happened to anybody except at home. Except at a home wedding or a family reunion or the Old Settlers' Picnic, or something else all home atmosphere like that, nobody ever has the choice of all the kinds of cake there are, all of them made singly at home and not run off in great editions like pastryshop cakes. It was the home feeling the Dayton League sold with its slices of cake, and cake for cake, each toothsome aggregation of slice units brought in more money than any cake of the same size sliced beforehand did last year. Applied psychology did it and all other Leagues are admitted to the secret. Let 'em see you cut the cake.

The St. Louis Economy Shop

Mrs. William V. Schevill, co-chairman of the economy shop, contributes this brief but comprehensive account of the St. Louis League's successful enterprise.

ABOUT a year ago a permanent income committee was appointed to work out some plan by which the League could hope to become self-supporting instead of being dependent upon the subscriptions and gifts of friends, as heretofore. This committee had one definite idea—it knew that it could have no capital to invest but must begin to make money immediately. Tea-rooms, gift-shops, book and fruit shops, etc., were reluctantly discarded because of the capital and overhead expenses all would involve, and a continuous rummage sale was decided upon.

Then began the search for a shop, large enough for many departments, in a neighborhood where rents were low and

neighbors poor. When this was found, the St. Louis League agreed to advance the money for the initial expenses, the first month's rent, the painting, papering, and general cleaning up of the interior. Meantime our stock was being collected by means of personal calls and appeals in the League *Bulletin* and lodged in a garage kindly put at our disposal by a member of the League.

On March 22, we opened our door to a crowd so large that police protection was necessary to regulate it. After the first few days the rush began to subside, but we continue after six months to have a steady stream of rummage and customers and to earn a steady income.

We have a manager who is on duty every day and all day, receiving rummage in the morning, telephoning requests for rummage, sending out notes of thanks, and attending to a myriad of duties that seem constantly to grow in number. At noon the saleswomen (all volunteer workers) arrive. Each day there is a different chairman of the day with her corps of helpers. On Saturday the shop is open all day and until 10:00 at night, necessitating two shifts and two chairmen. This is, of course, our busiest day.

The shop is hard work, but it is fascinating work. Those of us who have had any share in it love it. We have acquired the economy shop habit and find ourselves going there even when we are not on duty. We are better housekeepers, for we are constantly clearing out things we no longer need at home but that would sell at the shop. We cast an appraising eye upon the belongings of our friends as well.

Another pleasant side of the work is the contact with our customers. We have a faithful clientele and each saleswoman has her special friends who come on her day and in whose wants she takes a special interest. We feel that we fill a need in our neighborhood.

The Kentucky Plan

THE Kentucky League means to secure the promise of every voter in the state, man or woman; to vote in the election of November 6, and the days of September 28 and 29 will be the busiest the League has ever known, for on those two days the plan for securing pledges is to be carried out. It is so carefully worked out, that plan, that it bids fair to become a standard for other Leagues.

To begin with, the state president, Mrs. E. L. Hutchinson, appointed a state committee on organization, with a large advisory committee of well-known men. The chairman of each congressional district, appointed by that state committee, has appointed a sub-chairman for every county in her district, and selected a district advisory committee. The county chairman has formed her own committee, made up of not less than three women from each major political party, and preparatory work was well under way three weeks before the planned drive.

In the week of September 21-28 there are to be talks in public schools calling attention to the drive for registration and voting pledges and the general duties of good citizens. All ministers will sound the voting duty note in sermons, and will announce the pledge days and the registration days. The cinemas will help; announcements will be made to all women's clubs, the W. C. T. U., parent-teacher associations, chambers of commerce, civic and business clubs; posters in store windows will remind everybody of what is to be asked on September 28 and 29; on September 24 and 25 pledges to vote will be secured from representative men and women whose names will be printed in county papers on September 26 or 27, and in many towns September 29 will be tag day, when every citizen will be expected to carry a "I promise to register and vote" card.

County chairmen have been instructed to learn from county judges just what the boundaries of each precinct are, and the number of voters in each precinct. A committee to talk to voters in each precinct is part of the plan and there is one committee member to every fifteen or twenty voters. Not one detail of getting out the vote has been omitted. There is a county and precinct chairman on transportation, on churches, on schools, on tags, a rural chairman and an emergency chairman to knit up loose ends. Nothing has been overlooked. There may be a voter here and there quarantined with scarlet fever and a few too ill to hear politics mentioned, but barring such persons, it is likely that every qualified voter in the state of Kentucky will be reminded that it is the duty of every citizen to vote on November 6 and that in order to vote on November 6 it is necessary to register on October 2.

"Ambition without co-operation means failure," Mrs. John D. Allen, who is League chairman for the campaign in the Seventh Congressional District, says. "Ambition with co-operation, success. Let us show our desire for good citizenship by registering in October. Then it is up to our candidates to give us a platform worthy the co-operation of citizens in November."

How Much Should a Voter Know?

THE Maryland League campaign for increased registration has brought from a number of women the statement that they do not know enough to vote intelligently and therefore leave voting to their husbands.

How much should a voter know in order to vote intelligently?

The Maryland League offers a prize for the best answer. We have sent questionnaires to candidates for Congress, to candidates for the state legislature, and to candidates for the city council. We have discussed the qualifications candidates for public office should possess. We have established a civil service for public employees. Well, let's be fair. How many voters could qualify if there were a civil service for voters?

The Maryland League offers a first prize of twenty-five dollars and a second prize of ten dollars for the best questionnaire for voters.

RULES FOR THE CONTEST

1. The contest is open to any citizen of Maryland, candidates we have questioned not excluded.
2. The questionnaire must consist of twenty-five questions which a voter should be able to answer in order to vote intelligently in this fall's elections.
3. Replies should be accompanied by a sealed envelope containing the name of the contestant.
4. The award will be made by three judges not members of the League.
5. The League reserves the right to publish any or all answers.
6. Replies must be in by September 20.

LAVINIA ENGLE, *Manager Maryland League.*

(The Maryland prize offer arrived too late for publication in the last Woman Voter and is here given because of its suggestive interest.)

With Leagues and League Leaders

IT is no easy matter to confine a questionnaire to brief limits but the New York League has insisted on doing it. Candidates for the general assembly are to be asked ten questions only and the ten matters concerning which each candidate is to be asked his stand are: complete restoration of the direct primary nomination for state officers and supreme court justices; revision of the law so that women may serve on juries, and if married choose their voting residences and have full control of their earnings; enactment of a state prohibition-enforcement law; a 48-hour week for women and minors in various industries and localities; publication of a legislative record and journal of debate to furnish exact knowledge of legislative proceedings; a measure to enlarge the basic tax-unit for rural schools to include a group of school districts (provided that consolidation of schools in such districts is permissive) and to provide a state grant in aid of such districts as have less than a stated amount of taxable prop-

erty; an amendment providing for an executive budget system and for a four-year term for elective state officers; bills providing for the consolidation of certain departments of state government pending second passage of the amendment providing for consolidation of departments and reduction of elected officers (passed for the first time in 1923); extending existing emergency rent laws.

ACTION at the recent meeting of the executive board of the Jefferson County (Alabama) League serves to show how intimately and intelligently that League concerns itself with local affairs. The renewal of the 4-mill school-tax was endorsed; no stand was taken on jitneys; the proposed domestic relations court bill was disapproved because of its creation of an associate judgeship (the League requested Judge Murphy to prepare an amended juvenile court bill to increase the jurisdiction of his court and to withdraw the domestic relations court bill altogether); the health administration was commended and the proposed law giving the board of health entire control of health funds, thus depriving the Board of Revenue of its only check on health expenditures, was disapproved; a paving resolution was adopted and the defeat of three bills before the legislature was urged. The bills are: one for the direct election of the Birmingham Board of Education, one for the election of the county education board by districts, and the third the proposal to return by sheriffs to the flat fee system for feeding prisoners. A statement of the League's decision on these bills was sent to the governor and the lieutenant-governor of Alabama.

THE Minnesota League not only has enthusiasm enough to make the whole Northwest sit up and take notice, but has lately jumped to the fore as a training school for League workers. If a League anywhere wants anybody for anything, it asks Minnesota and gets what it asks. Mrs. Paul Rittenhouse, who won her spurs as a League aide in Minneapolis, has gone to Chicago to be secretary of the fourth region; Miss Emily Kneubuhl, formerly an organizer in the Northwest with Minneapolis as her home, has lately become executive secretary of the Cincinnati League; Miss Florence Harrison of the Minneapolis League is moving east to be secretary of the second region, and as all *Woman Voter* readers are aware, Miss Marguerite Owen, of Minneapolis, is come to Washington headquarters as secretary of the Department of Organization. Miss Josephine Schain, a graduate of the law school of the University of Minnesota, is secretary of the Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War, and as a Minnesota woman says, the state has plenty of women left and nobody who wants an efficient helper need hesitate to apply to Minnesota for her.

MISS BELLE SHERWIN'S even-busier-than-usual season begins Sept. 21, when she sits in conference with the chairmen of national standing committees at Washington headquarters. The other officers of the National League join her next day for an executive committee meeting which will take a Sunday recess and convene again Monday morning. On Wednesday Miss Sherwin is scheduled to address the Saginaw (Michigan) League and Friday she is to be the guest of the Milwaukee League. Saturday she will visit the Wisconsin state capital's League in Madison, and Omaha looks for talks from her on October 2 and October 3. The next day and the day after that she expects to spend at the annual convention of the Nebraska League at Aurora.

"BECAUSE one demands a table round which all the nations shall sit," says Mrs. James Cheesman, president of the United League of Rhode Island, "because one wants to apply law to world problems, as to individual, it by no means follows that he desires his country to be left naked before the foe. Common sense demands that reduction of armament be by international agreement alone, but it goes farther and demands that such reduction be diligently sought. This is distinctly not 'peace at any price' but the sane and resolute seeking of an honorable and practical way to reduce the causes of war as a first step toward the abolition of the whole system of warfare."

THE Missouri League has been asking women in all parts of the state to sign cards pledging themselves to attend either the Republican or the Democratic mass meetings early next year to select delegates to the state conventions. These delegates, of course, will elect delegates at large to the national conventions, and at the mass meetings delegates will be chosen to congressional district conventions also and at district conventions national convention delegates are to be selected. There is a growing feeling that the really important thing is to have a hand in the preliminaries of candidate selection and the practice of the Missouri League will be followed in many another state.

THE Boston League has decided to hold its annual preserve sale the third week of October and contributions of jellies, jams, marmalades, tinned vegetables and all the other delectable things called, generally preserves, are solicited. The sale is perennially popular and many a business or professional woman counts on it to make possible for her and her kitchenette cupboard, a little row of such dainties as have made Massachusetts Bay cooks famous since the Bay Colony first was. The Boston League will not content itself with feeding the body, however. A course of twenty lectures by Boston University and the League will be given every Wednesday morning, beginning October 24, at the College of Secretarial Science, and for the comfort of mind and body together there is to be an October rummage sale. "This," the League announcement says, "will give our members an opportunity to clean out their chests and trunks with a clear conscience," for it is well known that if Boston chests and trunks cannot be cleared out with a clear conscience, Boston chests and trunks stay packed to the gunwales till the blue snow falls.

THE Department of Efficiency in Government, which Miss Sherwin heads, speaks in terms of high praise of the suggestions for the organization of citizenship schools or schools of politics which the New York League has issued, and asks that every other League which has prepared an outline of the kind send a copy to Miss Sherwin's office, 811 Superior Avenue Northeast, Cleveland, Ohio.

WHEN the National League convention is held in Buffalo next spring, it is hoped that there may be time for a day in Toronto, for the Toronto League, a sister if not a daughter of the League this side of the border, would welcome convention delegates heartily, Alderman Mrs. Sidney Small says.

CHARLESTON (South Carolina) now has two women aldermen. One is Mrs. Clelia P. McGowan, who was organizer and first president of the local League of Women Voters, and the other is Mrs. Belizant A. Moorer, who had never attended a political meeting till the recent mayoralty campaign began.

THE New Jersey League is out with a concise and crystal-clear digest of the state election laws by Mrs. Hamilton. Mrs. Clara A. Warren, president of the Jersey City League, who lives at 429 Palisade Avenue, Cliffside Park, is in charge of the sale of the valuable pamphlet.

GOVERNOR PINCHOT has appointed Mrs. Ernest Waltz, chairman of the Washington County (Pennsylvania) League a member of the board of the training school at Morganza, and Mrs. Paul E. Lachenmeyer, chairman of the Delaware County League, a member of the State Employees Pension Board, a board of which the state treasurer and the auditor general of Pennsylvania are the other members.

World News About Women

A Memorial

THE National Committee of the United States for the Restoration of the University of Louvain, 17 East 42nd Street, New York City, is urging all clubwomen throughout the United States to dedicate one club meeting between October 1 and Armistice Day as Louvain Day. Printed programs containing an address "Restoration of the Library of Louvain," the Belgian National Anthem and a poem by Edna Jacques have been sent to over ten thousand groups of women. The hope of the National Committee is that the library of Louvain—the greatest research library in the world—which was destroyed on the night of August 25, 1914, may be restored, at least in part. The American Association of University Women is endeavoring to give a room, the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs has pledged itself to build one of the large central pillars. A million dollars is necessary to erect the building, $300,000 has been subscribed. It is the goal of the Committee that in 1925 at the five hundredth anniversary of the founding of Louvain University the new library will stand a monument to our part in the World War.

The School of Democracy

THE Woman's Democratic Club's School of Democracy, to be held at the Hotel Commodore, New York City, September 17 to October 19, is so far as known the only school of the kind to be held in connection with an election. The last session will be Friday evening, October 19, and will be a plea for party organization among women. Mrs. Daniel O'Day, Democratic State Committeewoman, Miss Annie Mathews, New York County Register, and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt will be the speakers. October 17 direct primaries and constitutional amendments will be the topic; October 15 Sullivan Jones, State Architect, Clarence Stein, chairman of the new rent committee, Nathan Hirsch and others will speak on the need of an extension of the rent laws.

Home rule, buses, the Board of Aldermen, traction, are on the program. October 5 Mrs. Charles Bennett Smith, State Civil Service Commissioner, will come down from Albany to tell what she knows about that. State Hospital Commissioner Harriet May Mills will talk on her specialty October 3.

Great interest is shown in the public speaking class. As Gustave Schulz of City College will be unable to teach the class, Joseph A. Mosher, also professor of public speaking at that institution, will take his place. Women training for spellbinding will be able to experiment in practice classes in the afternoons. Professor Mosher will always take the hour from 7:30 to 8:30 at the night sessions.

Mrs. John Enos Quinn, president of the club, is arranging for a voting lesson when the pupils will be able to rehearse Election Day in a specially fitted-up booth.

At Geneva

WOMEN members of the Secretariat and Commissions of the League of Nations were listed in the July 28 CITIZEN, and the promise was made that we would publish the names of women members of the First, Second and Third Assemblies. So here they are. While the Fourth Assembly is now in session, our list is incomplete, and publication will have to be made later. We do know, however, that Dame Edith Lyttelton, J. P., succeeds Mrs. Coombe Tennant from Great Britain; Mrs. Jessie Webb succeeds Mrs. Dale from Australia, and the Scandinavian and Roumanian delegates remain the same.

First Assembly

DENMARK—Mlle. Henni Forchhammer. President National Council of Danish Women; Vice President International Council of Women: Technical Expert.

NORWAY—Professor Christine Bonnevie. Professor at the University of Christiania: Substitute.

ROUMANIA—Mlle. Hélène Vacaresco: who was appointed as substitute delegate for certain questions: Secretary.

SIAM—Mlle. de Bibadh Kosha: One of the Secretaries.

SWEDEN—Mme. Anna Bugge-Wicksell, Master of Law: Substitute.

Second Assembly

DENMARK—Mlle. Henni Forchhammer: Technical Adviser.

NORWAY—Professor Bonnevie: Substitute.

ROUMANIA—Mlle. Hélène Vacaresco: Secretary.

SIAM—Mlle. S. Bibadh Kosha, Mlle. C. Bibadh Kosha, Mlle. J. Bibadh Kosha: Secretaries.

SWEDEN—Mme. Bugge-Wicksell: Substitute.

Third Assembly

AUSTRALIA—Mrs. Margaret Dale: Substitute.

GREAT BRITAIN—Mrs. W. M. Coombe Tennant: Substitute.

DENMARK—Mlle. Henni Forchhammer: Expert.

NORWAY—Professor Christine Bonnevie: Substitute.

ROUMANIA—Mlle. Hélène Vacaresco: Substitute.

SIAM—Mlle. L. Bibadh Kosha: Secretary.

SWEDEN—Mme. Bugge-Wicksell: Substitute.

With the exception of the Secretaries from Siam, all of the women played a considerable part in the work of the Assembly, representing their countries on various Committees.

Community Recreation

LINCOLN'S home in Springfield, Illinois, is to be—October 8-12—the scene of the Tenth Annual Recreation Congress, under the auspices of the Playground and Recreation Association of America. The purpose of the Congress is to discuss practical and tried methods of promoting community recreation. It is expected that from eight to nine hundred delegates will attend. The topics to be discussed are a national physical fitness campaign, athletics for girls and women, adult recreation, the church and recreation, home play, small town and open country recreation, recreation for colored people and summer camps.

Maine's Committeewoman

MRS. ANNE M. GANNETT of Augusta, Maine, has been appointed associate member for Maine of the Republican National Committee. The appointment was made by the National Committeeman from Maine to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mrs. Gannett's husband.

Mrs. Gannett only lately resigned her position as vice chairman of the Republican State Committee; she has served at the head of a woman's auxiliary to the Republican State Committee, and as one of the secretaries of the Republican National Convention at Chicago in 1920.

Child Labor Laws in China

ONLY eight hours a day work and a required age of ten years for boys and twelve for girls is the special labor regulation recently made by the Chinese Government in the Departments of Agriculture and Commerce. However, the eight hour day can only be enforced until the boys attain seventeen and the girls eighteen, when they pass from child labor jurisdiction.

Equality Sought in Egypt

EGYPTIAN women are joining the great host seeking equality. For the first time, so says the *Vote*, a deputation of Egyptian women has officially approached a Minister with formal claims. Equal educational facilities for women, in all branches—primary, secondary and higher—and the prohibition of marriage for girls under sixteen are their pleas.

Deborah Knox Livingston

MANY of our readers will mourn the death, on August 5, of Deborah Knox Livingston, earnest worker for prohibition and suffrage. Mrs. Livingston was born in Scotland. When six she joined a Band of Hope, which started her in her temperance work. At ten she came to America. When only nineteen she accepted the presidency of a local union of the National Women's Temperance Union. Success followed wherever she went, and demands continually were made upon her to speak more and more, and hold higher and higher offices in the W. C. T. U. In 1912 she was made National Director of Citizenship and it was then she became an active suffrage worker. She was well known in club and League of Women Voters' circles. Mrs. Livingston was not only a national figure, but an international as well; in 1922 she visited South Africa in response to an urgent appeal from the Federated W. C. T. U.

A New Field Director

DR. SARA ELIZABETH FOULKS, of Davenport, Iowa, has been appointed Field Director of the American Women's Hospital activities in Greece and on the Islands of the Aegean, succeeding Dr. Mabel E. Elliott. Dr. Foulks is a graduate of the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania; has served as interne at the Women's Medical College Hospital of Philadelphia; took a post graduate course in Philadelphia and Chicago Polyclinic Hospital, and was superintendent of Davenport's hospital. In 1919 she went to Scutari, Serbia, with the Red Cross unit equipped by the American Women's Hospitals. Her work since then has been mostly in the Near East.

Welcome News

THE "Guide to Shops and Service," published by the Women's City Club of Boston for the first time last fall, was so popular that it has become a permanent publication. A new Guide will be brought out this fall, and next spring "Where to Stop Along New England Motor Trails" will again help those who long to travel.

A Keeper of Snakes

CURATOR OF REPTILES is the official title given to Miss Joan Proctor, F. Z. S., F. L. S., so *Equal Rights* tells us, and her charges are located at the Zoological Gardens, London. Miss Proctor has worked in the reptile department of the British Museum since 1916, first as assistant, and then in complete charge. She has written many papers on the anatomy, classification, and habits of all reptiles, and has for years kept a private living collection.

A Chinese Woman Doctor

SAN FRANCISCO has a Chinese woman doctor with offices in the city's Chinatown. Her name is Margaret Chung; she is a graduate of the medical college of the University of Southern California, and sees nothing remarkable in her position. To use her own words: "There is nothing strange in a Chinese woman practising medicine. Why not? This is America! And women vote."

An Important Schedule

MRS. CATT is off again—this time on a lecture tour which starts at Brooklyn and ends at San Antonio, Texas—to speak on the vital subject of "International Relations." We publish her schedule herewith. Later she goes to Mexico, Porto Rico, Cuba, and the Central American countries on the same sort of suffrage mission that took her to South America last winter. Specifically, this trip is in preparation for the convention of the Pan American Association for the Advancement of Women, organized last year in Baltimore.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Oct. 25, Brooklyn Institute Arts and Sciences.
New York, N. Y., Oct. 26, City Federation of Women's Clubs.
Cleveland, Ohio, Oct. 28, Council for Prevention of War.
Ann Arbor, Mich., Oct. 29, University Lecture Course.
Toledo, Ohio, Oct. 30, League of Women Voters.
Milwaukee, Wis., Oct. 31, League of Women Voters.
Oshkosh, Wis., Nov. 1, League of Women Voters.
Chicago, Ill., Nov. 3, League of Women Voters.
Evanston, Ill., Nov. 5, Woman's Club.
Rockford, Ill., Nov. 6, Woman's Club.
Minneapolis, Minn., Nov. 9, League of Women Voters.
St. Paul, Minn., Nov. 10, League of Women Voters.
St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 13, National Convention Council Jewish Women.
Quincy, Ill., Nov. 14, Congregational Church Guild.
Wichita Falls, Texas, Nov. 16, State Federation of Women's Clubs.
San Antonio, Texas, Nov. 18, Woman's Club.

General Federation Notes

By Lessie Stringfellow Read

A TOTAL of 4,968 new members were added to the General Federation of Women's Clubs during the months of June and July, this year, according to an announcement issued by the national president in a paragraph entitled "Watch Us Grow." The membership is comprised in 54 new clubs which have just been admitted. Of the new members 1,324 are from California, 822 from Connecticut, 850 from Pennsylvania, and 700 belong to the New York Association of Painters and Sculptors.

A CLUBWOMAN'S handbook to contain systematized plans for greater club efficiency and for the holding of club institutes is advocated by Mrs. Thomas G. Winter, General Federation president.

FROM South Dakota comes a report of continued good work on the part of individual clubs. The Fortnightly Club, Huron, is attempting to create a greater interest in better pronunciation. The Twentieth Century Club gave $100 to the Huron College for a gymnasium to be erected on the campus. The Woman's Club of Isabel has financed a skating rink for young folks and just netted $100 on a play, proceeds to be used for community work. The Wakpala Woman's Club has sponsored a public library and is now working for a playground. The Woman's Club of Selby has raised $300 for civic improvement. The Twentieth Century Club of Redfield has raised $221 for playground equipment, and the Study Club of Hudson has founded a library of two hundred volumes.

COPIES of the "Thousand Dollar Prize Programs" compiled by Anna Steese Richardson, director of the Good Citizenship Bureau of the *Woman's Home Companion*, may be had for cost, 10 cents, from General Federation Headquarters, 1734 N. Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

TEN MILLION health examinations during the year is the objective of the Women's Foundation for Health. Dr. Lenna L. Means is chairman of the Federation's co-operating committee.

No one organization is assuming the responsibility in any one state. The State Board of Health, the State Medical Society, and the State Tuberculosis Association are co-operating and the Federation's health committees are urging that speakers for and demonstrations of "Health Examinations" be placed upon at least one fall program.

Literature and blanks may be had at cost from the Women's Foundation for Health, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York.

ALL clubs holding direct membership in the General Federation of Women's Clubs may have a copy of the 1923 directory free by addressing a request to Miss Lida Hafford, director, 1734 N. Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

BOSTON has a "Club of 13" which is doing a bit of missionary work in disabusing the mind of superstitions, especially regarding Friday and 13. Only women who are not superstitious may join. Meetings are held on the 13th day of each month, and only 13 women belong. The club was organized by Marion H. Brazier. Mrs.

George Minot Baker, program chairman for the Atlanta Biennial, General Federation of Women's Clubs, is second vice-president.

IN the town of Hudson, Wisconsin, members of the Hudson Prairie County Club provided a special ballot-box at the polls on election day, in which to register opinion on the removal of bill-boards from the town. The result was 7 to 1 against the bill-board.

NO illiteracy in Washington State in 1925 is a slogan of the clubwomen of that state. Mrs. A. E. Larson of Yakima has been made a member of the state illiteracy commission. The endowment fund of $13,000, begun in 1913, has been completed. It has now been increased to $25,000.

Approval and support of the recent action of the United States government, calling upon the nation to cease production of opium poppy and coca shrub, except for scientific purposes, was voiced in a resolution adopted by the Washington State clubs in their recent annual session. The resolution asked countries where the opium poppy and coca shrub are grown, to adopt measures for eradication of these plants. The resolution was passed after an address by W. K. McKibben, Seattle, executive secretary of the White Cross.

"Current Events" Women

By MARY LOCKE HURIN

A NEW phase of the woman movement impressed me at the Institute of International Politics at Williamstown. It was the Current Events teacher, making a real and sincere effort for the women who trust to her guidance.

Through the courtesy of Dr. Garfield and the Board of Advisors, fifteen current events teachers from almost as many states were invited this year to participate in the various Round Table conferences. All were women, conscientious in their desire for new knowledge and fresh points of view. They never missed a lecture nor a conference and they were indefatigable in their use of note-books. Spare hours were spent in the Library, and with the consent of the Institute management, they heard talks by returned travelers and experts on Mexico, the Near East, Egypt and Japan. These talks were given out of lecture hours in the restful Tudor Library at Currier Hall.

It is in the nature of an Irish bull to say that the profession of the current events teacher is inarticulate. It is at least unorganized and without representation in women's official groups. Growing out of contacts in their various Round Tables and in their special meetings at Currier Hall, the teachers sought closer touch. Because the spirit of the Institute is strongly democratic and every study group is urged to mingle with every other, the current events teachers consulted Dr. McLaren, Executive Secretary, as to the advisability of holding experience meetings of their very own. Consent was readily given, the only restrictions being placed upon the extension of any propaganda or the formulation of resolutions as coming from the Institute.

Therefore, on one free morning, the news women met in the hospitable sitting-room of one of their number in the Phi Delta Theta House. The personnel of the group was significant. It ranged from the teacher, Oxford trained, who meets every week the wives and mothers of Harvard professors, to the woman of the small city, who reaches social leaders and social workers indiscriminately. The largest cities of the East and the Middle West were represented and each teacher gave in turn a short talk on her methods and aims and her plan of administration. The meeting, through individual expression, brought out the fact that every one there was taking her work seriously. It showed that the current events teacher must know history and must never present a distorted fact. That she must be able to verify her slightest statement. That she must have a sense of selection as well as a sense of humor; a power of deduction as well as a power of the spirit. In brief, she must be guide, philosopher and friend as well as a human newspaper to her audience.

During the coming winter these fifteen women will convey to more than a thousand hearers in every walk of life, something of the democratic spirit, the generous aims and definite ideals of the Institute of International Politics at Williamstown.

Muscles vs. Nerves

By GULIELMA F. ALSOP

Physician at Barnard College

WHETHER one is thin or fat, one picks up the picture of a Grecian dancer and looks at it with longing and envy. "I wish I were like that!" is what we all think in the bottom of our hearts. Or if we are students, and studying history or literature, or drama, or painting, or sculpture, we are filled with a renewed wonder at the glory that was Greece, and we ask ourselves a thousand times over, why they could do it, and we can't. We have heard enough about the virtues of the "middle way" to suppose the Grecian character had a poise and balance and restraint which ours has not. All the records we have of the Greeks' bodily activities show a grace that has not been rivaled since.

Out of the perfection of their bodies sprang the perfection of their mental and artistic achievements, or if you wish to turn it the other way, they were such clever people they knew they had to keep their bodies fit.

Now the question of muscular development in itself interests very few of us. To the prize-fighter it is of essential importance, and even to the little boy, who doubles up his fist to show off his biceps. But most women care nothing about the muscular condition of their bodies. Many of us like some of the results. We like to swim and dance and play tennis well. And what we like, without perhaps knowing it, is steady nerves. When we see a person fidgeting in her chair, puckering her lips with her fingers, patting her hair into place, we wish to goodness she'd keep still; and if we are a person in authority we express this wish in no mild terms. If we are choosing a secretary, we turn her down. "I couldn't have her about me. She'd set me wild, she's too jumpy. She ought to learn to control herself better."

And what the jumpy person needs is not self-control, but muscular exercise. The muscles and nerves are not separate entities, like a napkin and a napkin ring, but one continuous organization, like a kite and its tail. If you cut off the tail the kite won't fly, and if you cut off the head you have no kite at all.

Without an intact nerve cell, the muscles won't work. An attack of infantile paralysis destroys certain nutritional nerve cells in the spinal cord, which govern certain muscles. The infection in infantile paralysis does not attack the muscles themselves at all, but the muscles are paralyzed, useless—they shrink away to a mere nothing. The muscle was really destroyed when its nerve cell was destroyed, as the nerve is the life of the muscle.

Conversely, when we learn a muscular activity, as swimming or bicycle riding, the automatic knowledge acquired by our muscles is partially stored in their nerve cells.

In the last analysis then, all muscular training is nerve training. You can verify this ten times in a day. Watch all the jumpy people you see and you will soon discover they are not the athletic, muscular, out-of-door type of person. The athlete, when she sits down, sits in a pose often of very beautiful relaxation. We are a jumpy, nervous people, because we live sedentary, office-bound lives in closed, steam-heated houses. The English suffer from none of these faults, because they are an out-of-door, athletic people, with a passion for fresh air.

It's not fair to accuse a person of nerves. Accuse her rather of laziness and lack of will power to carry out a consistent, out-of-door, athletic program.

For some of us in our modern civilization, this is very hard to achieve.

While we are now voting to change our civilization in many directions, let us not forget to prepare a civilization suited to the animal, muscular needs of our bodies. But for each individual, success and well-being will depend on how much grit she has to keep herself fit.

And though Nature helps us in a thousand ways, she will ultimately make us pay the price for a persistent, long-continued violation of her laws, of which the Law of Exercise is not the least important.

Two Melons

(*Continued from page* 11)

Western thought during some of the most impressionable years of adolescence, the parents too often require their unquestioning conformity to social rules in entire contradiction to those they have learned to regard as essentially sane and most surely productive of happiness.

The notion of a woman's economic independence and her ability to attain to this by personal effort are ideas hardly accepted even by the girls themselves. Marriage with or without love is still considered the inevitable end to which every girl's fate sooner or later (generally sooner) will drive her. The spinster, as we know her in America and England, is non-existent here in Turkey, where the chief duty of a parent is to find a husband for his daughter as soon as she becomes of marriageable age. Brides of eighteen and younger are common.

Careers for women, as recognized in the West, are practically unknown. To be sure since the Great War there are in Constantinople some Turkish girls engaged as shop assistants and office clerks but they are few and are regarded askance by their older relations.

There is no systematic training given to girls to fit them to earn a livelihood. The impetus in this direction comes solely from the outside force of Western opinion and practice, a force that is quickly counteracted when the student leaves college by the prejudices of family and custom.

The professions, with the exception of that of teaching, are almost entirely unbroken ground, although progress is being made in the right direction. There is an excellent medical school at Haider Pasha to which female students have recently been admitted, and the American College has also a medical department for which extensive plans for enlargement are already made. At the moment the practice of the law belongs wholly to the men of the nation, but among the more advanced thinkers of the modern school of feminine thought there is an awakening to a sense of responsibility, social and civic, with the result that certain ambitious spirits have set themselves to be the pioneers of their sex toward this goal. Others plan the amelioration of their people's lot by means of social settlements and the creation of centers where hygiene and sanitation may be taught.

A group of feminists, like Halide Hanoum (page 4) and Latife Hanoum, wife of Kemal Pasha, are leading the way toward full emancipation for women. They are the pioneers of the new Woman's Movement.

But these are the exceptions. At the moment the position of the average girl who has been educated according to Western standards is pathetic in the extreme. She is possessed of an unusually logical mind and her reason becomes in consequence a continual torment. She is a devoted patriot and follows with a clear understanding the affairs of her country, which, through years of political conflict, have been turbulent.

She is vitally conscious of the existing need of the hour for workers, who have not only the will to work but the intelligence to formulate and carry out definite schemes. Yet she falters.

Your Investments

Buying Securities

By Eleanor Kerr

WHEN one buys securities, there are various steps to be taken, particularly if the purchasing is done by mail. A little attention to details and the observance of usual customs often expedites matters.

First of all—always give the *full* and and *correct* name of the security; don't write ABC COMPANY 5 per cent. Bonds, but ABC COMPANY First Mortgage 5 per cent. Bonds, due 1936. Very often there are several bond issues of the company outstanding (especially if it is a railroad) with various maturities, and there may be more than one 5 per cent. issue. If there is, time is lost while the bond house writes to find out which you want. If you are buying stock tell whether you want preferred or common; and if the former give the dividend rate and tell whether it is first preferred or second preferred.

It is wise to state in your letter the price at which you are buying the security so that there may be no chance for misunderstanding. If it is a bond or note, this price will be "and interest," meaning the accrued interest from the last interest date to the time of purchase. If this were not paid, the seller would lose the income on the investment represented by that part of the coupon, since there is no way to collect except on the interest dates.

Preferred stock is sometimes sold with "accrued dividend" added to the quoted price as if it were a bond, but most preferred stock is now sold like common stock—that is, "flat." This means that the accrued dividend, if any, is already included in the price.

When stocks or bonds are purchased directly from the underwriting bond house there is no charge for executing the investor's order, but when they are purchased on an Exchange or other place where they are traded in on an open market there is a commission to be paid. This is usually $1.25 for a thousand-dollar bond and fifty cents a share for stock. It about covers the cost of physically handling and transferring the securities. In the case of bonds sold "over the counter," or in other words, directly by the bond house, the quoted price includes a sufficient advance over the cost to the firm of the security to include cost of handling and some profit.

The stock exchanges do not underwrite issues—they merely provide a place in which those admitted to their lists may be publicly traded in. They furnish a market place but do not finance enterprises.

In ordering a broker or bond house to purchase a security for you in the open market, it is best to set a maximum price which you will pay and allow the use of discretion. One might employ about the following words—"Please buy for me some time within the next ten days one $1,000 City of ———— 5 per cent. bond at not exceeding 95½ and interest." In this case we are taking for granted that the issue has been recently quoted as about 94½ bid—95¾ asked. Any reliable bond house will endeavor to get the bond for you as cheaply as possible, but of course cannot always buy at the very lowest of the day, especially if that lowest is for a big block of bonds, and their order is for only one or two. It is wise to set a time limit. If you wish the order to stand for some time make it "GTC," which is financial slang for "Good until cancelled." But be sure you change your order when your plans change, because you have agreed to take the security at the price named in the order at any time until you cancel it.

In buying securities by mail it is courteous as well as useful to state how and when you will pay for them. Bonds may be sent you through your bank, which holds them as the seller's agent until you pay for them. This is a good way, since the local bank will take your personal check, while the bond house must have it certified or cash it and hold your bond until sure it is cleared through and a good one. Stock must always be paid for before it is transferred. Many different arrangements may be made for payment, as the financial world is always willing to do all in its power to make things convenient for the investor, though at the same time it must protect itself.

Books on the Peace Question

By Carrie Chapman Catt

The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page

Published by William Heinemann, London, $10.00 for 2 vols.; de luxe edition, $25.00.

SINCE Mr. Page was Ambassador to Great Britain during a great part of the World War, his letters throw a revealing light upon many incidents. Conversations with those responsible for carrying on the war, British and American, accounts of interviews with politicians, British and American, and letters containing intimate comment upon conspicuous personalities, political incidents and war affairs, all bound together with an exceedingly readable account of his life—the whole offers a chapter of pleasant diversion, if somewhat remote from the depressing causes and effects of the more immediate problem of War and Peace.

The Tragedy of Central Europe

By E. Ashmead-Bartlett

Published by Thornton Butleworth, 15 Bedford Street, London, W. C. 2; 21 shillings.

AN easy reading account of the conditions prevailing in Eastern Europe, particularly in Austria and Hungary, immediately after the Great War. It introduces the leading personalities who led the varied and conflicting movements of that period and follows the course of events in Hungary through her five months' Republic, her shorter-lived Soviet rule, the occupations by the Rumanians and the final return of Hungarian rule under the dictatorship of Horthy.

The writer charges the Paris Peace Conference with inexcusable ignorance concerning Eastern Europe and points out alleged blunders in the treaties which will lead to the kind of brooding discontent certain to eventuate in war. Its contents are by no means a complete history of the period covered, but nevertheless make an invaluable contribution, not only to permanent history, but to the studies of those who would understand European conditions as they really were and are.

Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement

Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York, 3 octavo volumes, $10 each.

THIS is the account of the Peace Conference drawn from the documents and records and the secret minutes of the Conference which Mr. Wilson brought home in the much-advertised steel box. Had Mr. Wilson kept health and strength, it was ordinarily supposed that he would have written a history of the Conference based upon these facts. As he was not able to do so, the material was turned over to Ray Stannard Baker, who was chief of the American Publicity Commission in Paris. It reads like a novel, is strongly pro-Wilson and pro-American. It is doubtful, however, if the facts it contains can be found elsewhere.

The chief obstacle to a liberal arrangement for permanent peace is set forth as the secret treaties which had parcelled out to the great powers, the colonies and territories of their enemies as spoils of war. Tardieu in writing a "true history" of the peace conference did not mention the secret treaties at all. As Baker presents them, they appear the last contention of the old order and the one rampart standing between the old practice and the new hope. Volume 3 contains nothing but reprints of the documents. Those who may not like Mr. Baker's interpretation will find an immense amount of original material from which to form their own conclusions.

As the volumes have already been reviewed in the CITIZEN, no additional comment is now necessary.

The United States and the League

By Thomas H. Dickinson

Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., $2.00.

A BRIEF, clear account of the origin of the idea of a League of Nations, its submission to the Senate after adoption by the Paris Peace Commission and its course through the presidential campaign and election of 1920. While covering nearly the same ground as Dr. Fisher's book, it contains some different and useful matter. Either of the books would make a good handbook for League advocates. Dr. Fisher's book is larger and contains more information.

The Wreck of Europe

Bobbs Merrill Co., Indianapolis, $2.50, and

The Decadence of Europe

Henry Holt & Co., New York, $2.50.

By Francisco Nitti, Premier of Italy in 1919 and 1920

THESE two books follow the same lines and review analytically the situation in Europe today concerning military movements, preparedness, national and international debts. Mr. Nitti condemns the Versailles Treaty and holds that the amount of reparation demanded by the Allies of the Central Powers and the effort to collect it are bringing ruin to all Europe, including the Allies themselves. He holds that ex-President Wilson was defeated in all his chief aims at Paris and that the League of Nations by the exclusion at its organization of Germany, Austria, Hungary and Turkey, became an Allied instead of a World League. Yet while severely criticizing Mr. Wilson and condemning the League, Mr. Nitti makes an impassioned appeal to the United States to intervene in the dispute between France and Germany over the Ruhr with a follow-up policy of active co-operation, and this plan he believes is the only possible means "of saving Europe and through Europe the civilization of the whole world from ultimate annihilation in a new series of terrible wars."

League or War?

By Irving Fisher, Professor Political Economy, Yale University, and President American Economic Ass'n

Published by Harper Bros., New York, $2.00.

EXCELLENT résumé, clear, easy-reading and in form easy to remember, of the history of the League of Nations, peregrinating through American politics, and the present attitude toward it in Europe and America. Contains the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Shall It Be Again?

By John Kenneth Turner

Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York, $2.50.

THE author claims that America ought not to have entered the Great War at all, that Wall Street, big business and imperialistic motives caused the organization of the Security League, the Navy League and similar groups which persistently spread the propaganda which eventually caught Congress. He holds President Wilson to have been a tyrant, scarcely less autocratic than the Kaiser himself, and to him he lays the entire responsibility of the country having entered the war. While extravagantly one-sided and omitting many counteracting facts, the book contains valuable information and considerable food for thought, since what has been, may be again.

The Riddle of the Rhine

By Victor Lefebure

Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, $2.00.

THIS book does not deal with the occupation of the Rhine, as one might infer, but with the history of

chemical warfare during the Great War and the capacity of the various countries to continue it. The author holds that it must either be completely removed from all possibility of employment in the future through iron-clad international agreements or every nation must include chemical warfare in its preparedness program. The author claims that by disarmament on purely 1914 lines we shall enter a Fool's Paradise.

What Really Happened at Paris

The story told by eighteen American delegates to the Peace Conference, with a foreword by Edward M. House

Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, $4.50.

Its contents are invaluable.

Charlotte Despard

(*Continued from page* 11)

and polled considerably over 5,000 votes.

In the early days of the Women's Freedom League, the League had a part share in the suffrage paper known as *Women's Franchise*, but, in 1909, the *Vote* appeared as the organ of the Women's Freedom League. It has ever since remained a non-party political paper, working for equal rights and responsibilities between the sexes. Mrs. Despard was the *Vote's* first editor, and continued editing the paper for a number of years.

Within the last two years Mrs. Despard's environment has undergone another change. Though the greater part of her life has been spent on English soil her deepest sympathies have always been on the side of her own country, her family being of very ancient Irish lineage, although her brother, the Earl of Ypres, chose to assume a comparatively modern title. For some considerable time past, the cloud which had been deepening over Ireland had been a source of constant grief and anxiety to her, and, when about a year ago the terror seemed at its height, she could no longer withstand the call of her sorrow-stricken country, and once more determined to cut her moorings.

In June, 1922, the settlement in Nine Elms was handed over to the Battersea Borough Council as a Centre for Maternity and Child Welfare, and the gracious personality of its presiding genius was transferred to Dublin. Here the purchase of a fine old estate not far from the site of the famous Donnybrook Fair, with beautiful old gardens and orchards, has once more enabled its generous owner to provide a refuge for the needy. Like a true philanthropist, she has helped her friends irrespective of their creeds or political opinions, her guests having numbered Free State and rebel wounded, as well as Northern loyalists.

Mrs. Despard, however, does not forget her English friends. Though the years are slowly and relentlessly taking their toll of her, the erect figure and silver hair, half hidden beneath the familiar black mantilla, may still be seen frequently in the London streets. In spirit, she asserts, she is never absent.

October 15 is the last date to enter your manuscript in the prize contest on "How to Get Out the Vote." For conditions see page 16. Mrs. Upton, Mrs. Blair and Mrs. Park will be the judges.

In Toledo

(*Continued from page* 12)

when the first found that a third one was to sponsor it, he offered again to introduce it, to do all in his power for it, and he kept his word. Many people conferred with the Toledo legislators, asking them to help, and three trips were made to Columbus. An interview was arranged with Governor Donehey, who said he was with us, and at a meeting of the House Judiciary Committee the bill was approved. The next dragon to be overcome was the Rules Committee, that powerful autocracy which can kill anything by delaying its date for action on the floor. Monday became Tuesday, and Tuesday next week, and "the morning and the evening were the sixth day," while the women waited. Letters were sent to all the senators and representatives, and many were personally interviewed, eighteen being approached in one morning. Those at home made these interviews much easier by preparing the way with explanatory letters.

But after the bill went unanimously through the House further progress was threatened by a vote for immediate adjournment of the whole Assembly, and that ominous fatality was only avoided by the pernicious decision to adjourn in ten days. Efforts had to be doubled and tripled to get the bill through the Senate before the men went home, but here their Judiciary Committee befriended us, and then those strange sounding words, party-whip and floor leader, turned out to be busy men who had to be sought and found for high-speed consultations. There were anxious delays, telegrams, long-distance phones, and the spoken and the written word alternated until the joyous announcement came that the bill had passed.

But success was not to come too suddenly. The women were not to have that delightful sensation of resting on their laurels, because, alas, there were no laurels on which to rest. The question grew daily more baffling, "Would the Governor sign the bill?" and every day the papers were searched with sickening anxiety among the dead measures for H.B.410, until even the "I Told You Sos" were worn with waiting. Then came the most amazing part of the experience. There was a whisper from Columbus, with thunderous reverberations, that by carelessness or stupidity or a clerical mistake in the last official draft, one fiendish little word might be interpreted to give the Governor the right to make an appointment, instead of waiting for a judge to be elected in 1924 as the women had planned, and there was then in Columbus a lawyer who had opposed the bill, with a long petition, seeking the office. He was followed by others whose only qualification seemed to be a selfish desire for it. Finally the women wrote the Governor, and he replied that as it was evidently the intent of the legislature that no appointment be made he would make none. He signed the bill, and the Committee now has time before election to educate the voters on the standards of a model court and the qualifications for a candidate.

Thus the trials and triumphs ended for the year, and the women took stock of their mistakes and accomplishments, preparatory to future endeavors; but there is one who looks back with envy upon the women in the happy days gone by when there was no need of council or legislature, for the laws were made in heaven and written without typographical errors on tables of stone.

Woman's Job

(*Continued from page* 13)

electric methods—is in the course. Household budget-making is taught. The management aspect of home-making is emphasized. House-planning and decoration are taken up—and an effort is made to stimulate enthusiasm in the pupils for the beautiful, as well as the useful.

In addition, around these specialized, practical courses is built a curriculum of related subjects which give the pupil a valuable theoretical background. Community problems are studied, and training in woman citizenship is given.

But the foremost motive in home economics education is always practical. It is the motive to make the girl actually *do*, as well as learn, the tasks which are later to compose her daily life, and to do them with ideal efficiency. Or, in other words, home-preparedness.

What progress have we made with this home economics system? it will be asked. The current reports indicate increase, if not yet magnitude.

Last year the states were limited to a Federal grant of only $246,000 for this work. Despite the dearth of funds, they were able to report that the number of home economics schools has increased from 323 in 1918—the first year of the Act—to 1,263 in 1922. The number of pupils enrolled in these schools at the close of the last fiscal year was 118,708.

As a beginning, this is encouraging. And, yet, one can realize the vast stretches of neglected ground revealed by those statistics! With eighty per cent. of American womanhood in pressing need of this training, only 118,000 are receiving it! Nevertheless, under the existing appropriation, the Federal Board and the states can spread this work little further.

Miss Mary E. Sweeny, secretary of the American Home Economics Association, recently made the startling statement that with the existing educational equipment, only one woman in two hundred thousand has any chance to get a home economics education.

The system of organization of home economics and other vocational schools, under the Federal Act, is unique. The schools are set up directly by the state and local authorities in the public school systems. The Federal Board for Vocational Education makes an annual grant of Federal funds to these schools on condition that the state or local community match the Federal expenditures, dollar for dollar. The schools must be public and must be maintained at standards jointly agreed upon by the Federal and state boards. Beyond this, the Federal Act ties no strings upon the use of the vocational money in the states. In fact, the chief rôle of the Federal Board is to set the pace for the states in the appropriation of needed funds.

Unfortunately, as a pacemaker in home economics appropriations, the Federal Government has been a most disappointing leader. Last year the states not only equalled the Federal appropriation, but found it necessary to appropriate seven times as much to meet the current demands for classes. Unless congressional action is soon taken the schools will outgrow Federal provisions even more distressingly.

An explanation of this unexpected expansion of home economics may be found in the development of the part-time and evening school. The founders of our vocational school system anticipated that for years to come the chief concern of the system would be the all-day classes for children of public school age. But the opening of the schools was signalized by a rush for part-time and evening instruction from the great army of youths and adults who had already finished school and gone to work. This demand is now taxing the resources of the schools, and is growing insatiably. Especially is this demand felt in the home economics schools. Of the 1,263 home economics classes reported in 1922, 540 were of the part-time and evening type. Of the 118,708 enrolled pupils, 66,025 were attending evening classes, 23,696 were in part-time classes, while all-day school attendance was only 28,987. The evening school attendance outnumbers the attendance in the all-day and part-time classes combined.

Five years ago only two states were conducting part-time classes of home economics. Today such classes have been established in nineteen states. The part-time school reaches the group of girls who have already gone to work but return to school for several hours between weeks to learn home-making. The evening classes of home economics have exerted an extraordinary influence over home efficiency in every community where they have been set up. It may well be said that the development of home economics in this direction has given a practical argument to its supporters which is well-nigh unanswerable.

The one serious problem which the program faces today is the problem of securing appropriations adequate to enable the classes to render full service. This problem is now at the decision of Congress.

An interesting point was brought out by Mrs. Maud Wood Park in the congressional hearing on the Fess Amendment during the Sixty-seventh Congress. "Today the only Government bureaus that are devoted exclusively to the interest of women and girls are the Children's Bureau and the Women's Bureau," she explained. "They receive just 5-1,000 of one per cent. of the total Government appropriations. When you take this into consideration, I think you will realize that we are not asking for something that is selfish when we ask for this sort of equalization for the opportunities that are given to the boys and girls." The argument went home.

The growing power of women at the national capital promises at this outlook to wring this vital home economics appropriation from the incoming lawmakers.

"Helpers" Only

(*Continued from page* 17)

ments; and I am the only one who even has a maid to do the cleaning. In nearly every case the husband and wife start off together in the morning, he to his office, she to government or other work of the kind, and when they return about five p. m., if they have not taken their dinner at some cafeteria on their way home, both pitch in and get the dinner together. But no children! Not one of these young couples has a child.

Of course, the wealthy will always have their houses and servants; but "the poor we have always with us," and they, the majority who live in apartments or small houses, will have to be content with "helpers."

But it all must be leading to a higher standard of life. Possibly while one element is striving for the material things of life (and the world was not more materialistic in pagan days), another element may be obliged to lead a more simple life, and through simplicity the spiritual will develop.

Phyllis Duganne

(*Continued from page* 9)

proper page, and wade in. I think that when a woman combines the freedom of a career with the partnership of marriage and the home that marriage implies, a fifty-fifty sharing of both expenses and responsibilities is the only fair arrangement. And when a man and a woman are sharing alike in supporting and running a home, there's no reason why the home and the career—or careers—shouldn't each flourish. All that's needed is a little mutual comprehension of the other's problems."

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Heart-to-Heart

As Others See Us

"I DON'T always agree with everything I find in the CITIZEN," writes an understanding friend from Westfield, New Jersey (I wish we had permission to use her name), "but it is all good stuff. The magazine is an indicator of sound, wholesome progress toward the better understanding of *the needs of the home as an integral part of the big home—our nation.*" This is a point which needs emphasis these days—that the responsibility of a woman does not stop at the front door of her dwelling. The community and the nation need the woman's thought and the mother's care quite as much as does her own personal domain inside her own four walls. The CITIZEN regards this as a prime object—to interest women in civic and national affairs, and to stimulate their activities in those directions.

A subscriber from Worcester, Massachusetts, stresses the point—"I get so much out of the CITIZEN and my husband enjoys it so much, *especially the articles on our national affairs*, that I am eager to have my friends share in such a good thing." And the President of the Detroit League of Women Voters, Mrs. A. P. Peppers, says, "I would rather do without every magazine coming to the house before my WOMAN CITIZEN."

Of course, the CITIZEN doesn't want to be over-serious. As Mrs. James Clarke of Oneonta, N. Y., writes in regard to Our Own Dingbats—"There needs to be more fun in the world." Also, tastes vary as much as opinions. Here are two recent comments. The first said, "The column headed 'Our Own Dingbats' has always seemed to me to be unworthy. I am not unappreciative of humor, but this style of so-called humor appears to me incongruous and belittles the intelligence of the readers of this very fine magazine." In the same mail came: "I confess to a constant fear lest Dingbats may be dropped. I wonder who the delightful columnist is?"

Meanwhile, the drive to double the circulation of the CITIZEN is gaining momentum every day. Wisconsin, Georgia, Florida and Maryland Leagues of Women Voters headed the list for August subscribers. Because the CITIZEN believes so thoroughly in the work of organized women, it is making a special offer of commissions to women's clubs and Leagues of Women Voters for subscriptions. If you are interested, write for particulars. Meanwhile, may we express our warm appreciation to the many friends who have already doubled their own subscriptions or better?

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A jury of eleven artists—sculptors, craftsmen, painters and critics—picked this, the design of Miss Mary Bishop, as the lamp combining the most beautiful proportions, harmonious tones and practicable design of all those at the Art Alliance of America's exhibition of 1923.

The base is cast in medallium of rich, statuary bronze finish, which not only allows the artist's delicately refined contours and gracefully proportioned masses to be faithfully preserved in their charming simplicity, but also insures their permanency. The shade, designed as a unit with the lamp, is in tones of grey-gold-brown graded into ivory brown—chosen by Miss Bishop to carry her scheme of color harmony—with deep, rich, brown stripes toward the bottom of the flare, and edges bound with strips of dull brass.

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Cash awards of $1,300 were offered, and eleven eminent artists and critics selected by the Art Alliance to act as jury. Over 250 artists entered the competition, from 26 different states and provinces. 307 different designs were submitted. Though all were beautiful, many of them surpassingly so, the final verdict went unanimously to the lamp of Miss Mary Bishop (illustrated above), and she received the Blue Ribbon and Grand Prize of $600.00.

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That is the League's purpose—to prove that the most substantial and artistic things need cost no more than drab commonplaces if the right methods of production and distribution are used.

Most of the League's offerings are never advertised to the public, but are offered privately to corresponding members. (Such membership costs nothing—it merely registers your name as wanting to be informed of the League's offerings and given the members' prices on them in case you ever wish to buy. See Coupon below). Only a few times a year some especially great triumph, like Aurora, or this Mary Bishop Prize Lamp, is publicly announced, and then only for the purpose of widening the corresponding membership to include a few more discerning people.

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All League products are sold strictly subject to the purchaser's approval. All you need to do is to sign and mail the coupon. When the lamp comes you pay the Postman $5.90 plus the postage. You then take five days to see the lamp lighted, to study its effect. If by that time you have not decided that you never before made so good a purchase, you return the lamp to us and all your money will be refunded in full. That is the League's way of doing business. Send the coupon now for it might be months or years before you see another announcement of the League. So sign and mail this coupon now,—without risk.

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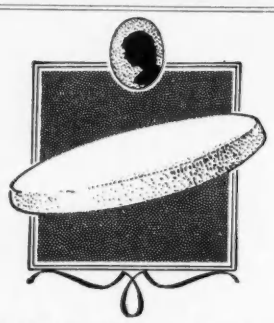

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6th Street South Norwalk, Conn.

OUR OWN DINGBATS

HAVE you bobbed hair? ◆ ◆ ◆ Consider yourself ignored. ◆ ◆ ◆ The hairdressers' convention says there isn't any such thing any more—oh, except for business people and such, who do it for convenience; stylishly speaking, it does not exist. ◆ ◆ ◆ Into the same oblivion with bobbed hair has gone a favorite superstition. You know about that famous habit of rats deserting a sinking ship?—used for literary and lecture purposes through generations. ◆ ◆ ◆ But lo and behold the other day a ship was deserted by its contingent of rats, and it didn't sink at all. ◆ ◆ ◆ Still, probably to ditch the notion entirely, a bevy of rats will have to stay by a ship that does sink, and drown for their bad judgment or moral courage, as the case may be. ◆ ◆ ◆ The ways of nations pass our grasp. There's that salute that the Greek fleet has to make to the Italian. It is understood in advance that when the Greek ships dip their colors in regret and apology, the Italian fleet won't do a thing in return—as if one should demand an apology and then look black and blank when one got it. ◆ ◆ ◆ But the Allied ships will go along, and when the Greeks salute them they will bow back—to kind of take the edge off, we suppose, though our view of the matter is probably most unorthodox. ◆ ◆ ◆ Not that we care. ◆ ◆ ◆ Did you know that an egg-plant has spines? ◆ ◆ ◆ We just discovered it, and it strikes us as much out of character for that mild vegetable. ◆ ◆ ◆ Speaking of things that hurt the fingers, as we certainly were, some day we mean to get very rich by inventing a plan whereby one can wind and set a small alarm clock without leaving so much good skin on those stiff little contrivances that grow close together on its back. ◆ ◆ ◆ It is really autumn now, we know, because the Columbia neighborhood is beginning to get all set for students. ◆ ◆ ◆ The other day we saw with our own eyes a sign that read:

"We are a hand laundry. We wash everything. Special attention to university students."

We do wonder if Cambridge and Princeton are as solicitous as that. ◆ ◆ ◆ We are pleased to learn that there is to be a cat in the White House, as well as a dog. ◆ ◆ ◆ Considering all that is known about the royal past of the cat, it is her right to be represented in the chief abode in the land—the best we can do in a republic. ◆ ◆ ◆ Leaping lightly from cat to fish, we conclude with a tale from "Judge". ◆ ◆ ◆ A man in a restaurant had been waiting a long time for his order. Finally the waiter approached and offered reassurance—"Your fish will be coming in a minute or two now, sir." The man looked interested and said, "Tell me, what bait are you using?"

P. S.—Mrs. Stokes will be back in the next number, because of ice in the Adirondacks. Aren't we glad!

The Woman Citizen

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News Notes of the Fortnight

The Governor vs. the Klan

THE fight of Governor Walton of Oklahoma on the Ku Klux Klan goes forward with uncompromising vigor, and has developed into an extraordinary and a serious situation. Last week the Legislature, which the Governor claims is dominated by the Klan, attempted to hold an extra session (against his warnings that he alone had power to convene it) for the purpose of impeaching him. About sixty-five members of the House gathered in the state capitol, but promptly and quietly dispersed under the orders of the National Guard. The legislators held that in spite of the military interference the House was convoked, and carried the issue to the courts. They wished to place on the ballot to be used at a special election, a proposal that the legislature should convene and impeach the Governor. The first court ruling was that it was without power to order this proposal to be put on the ballot; but in a series of legal maneuverings—injunctions and counter-injunctions — the situation got back to its original starting-point. The Governor then proclaimed that the election would be postponed, and mobilized the entire force of arms of the state to make good his order. The attorney general held that the election would be legal. As this goes to press, the struggle is on.

The League Session Closes

THE Fourth Assembly of the League of Nations came to an end September 29. For both Council and Assembly the most exciting discussion of the closing days was, naturally, what attitude was to be taken toward Mussolini for the seizure of Corfu and of the League's competency in the case. A direct rebuke was discussed, with the Italian Salandra on one side and Lord Robert Cecil on the other, in a sharp tension that threatened the withdrawal of the Italian delegate. The outcome was a general censure, omitting the Italian name, but having the quality of a warning to other countries.

The question as to whether the Italian-Greek affair was within the League's sphere, was not settled until the last minute. Many of the delegates wished to have this and other questions of the League's competency and proper action under the terms of the Covenant referred to the Permanent Court, but on this the Italian delegate was adamant. The final solution was surrender on his part to the Council opinion that "any dispute between members likely to lead to rupture is within the League's field," and there was agreement that questions concerning the League's action in such cases should be referred to a committee of jurists from different countries. Former Premier Branting of Sweden was one of the leaders in the fight to get the issue sent to the Permanent Court, and representatives of numerous other countries expressed their disappointment over the final decision forced by the Italian delegate. On the whole, Signor Salandra must have had many bad quarter hours.

Another important action of the closing sessions was an Assembly vote to forward to all the governments for their examination and opinion the draft of the long-debated Treaty of Guarantees, which came from the Disarmament Commission. It is to be a treaty of mutual assistance among the nations, providing for military aid when a signatory state is the subject of aggression, and seeking reduction in armament in proportion to the security afforded. The United States will get a copy too, and the Treaty provides that non-members of the League may adhere to the Treaty with the consent of two-thirds of the contracting countries.

An appeal for League intervention in the reparations question was made by the International Federation of Trade Unions, brilliantly represented by Dr. Fridtjof Nansen and Professor Gilbert Murray.

Henry Morgenthau, our former ambassador to Turkey, was chosen to head a commission appointed by the Council of the League to look after the million refugees concentrated in Greece. A loan of twenty millions will be floated by the Greek government under League auspices.

Very Briefly

BEGINNING with the October quota, immigrant-bearing ships do not race up the Narrows to cross the line at quarantine, with the consequent danger to all on board, but are timed at Ambrose Channel Lightship, farther out, and then sent in to quarantine with at least ten-minute intervals between arrivals.

The late President Harding asked the Attorney General for a ruling concerning the possible use of the Navy against rum-runners. Mr. Daugherty's opinion, delivered to Mr. Coolidge, is that the navy could be so used only by the authority of Congress or in a national emergency, which he holds does not now exist.

The revolution in Spain has taken on no marked new phases. The dictator has won confidence by removing the censorship of the press and by beginning economies in the military establishment among the officers, where they were badly needed.

A dispatch from Rome says that the Italian Government will in the future allow the printing of advertisements on its postage stamps, in return for a considerable revenue.

The Imperial Conference, which opened in London this week, promises to be "a grand inquest of the British Empire," covering everything from the League of Nations to small provincial questions. For the first time the Irish Free State is represented. These conferences used to be merely colonial meetings, but during and since the war they have become important in the actual determination of British policies.

A recent statement by the American Association for Labor Legislation reports substantial gains in protective legislation in 1923, including the improvement of accident compensation laws in a majority of the industrial states, the adoption of state laws for old age assistance by Pennsylvania, Montana and Nevada; the extension of the old age pension act of 1915 in Alaska and the appointment of official commissions in Massachusetts and Indiana to study old age pensions with a view to legislation.

A news note from Hamilton, Bermuda, says that between April, 1922, and September 1, 1923, bootleggers paid to the Government of Bermuda in the form of an export tax, $157,204.80 on liquor shipped to this country.

The Foreign Policy Association is offering help with bibliographies to those who are trying for the Bok Peace Award. On October 18 it is holding a public discussion of the Award at 29 West 39th St., New York, with Raymond Fosdick, just returned from Europe, as one of the speakers, and Charles Hodges, of New York University, as another.

The only change in the Council was the election of Czecho-Slovakia to China's place—a fulfilment of the Little Entente's ambition. The permanent members are representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan—not subject to election; the elected members are at present from Uruguay, Brazil, Belgium, Sweden, Czecho-Slovakia and Spain. China is indignant over her omission from the Council, and has protested that it is in violation of the principle of geographical distribution of members.

The British mandate for Palestine and the French mandate for Syria were made effective by official decree of the Council. And Abyssinia, after all, was admitted.

Bulgaria's Trouble

BULGARIA is in a ferment again—or maybe one should say yet. Some weeks ago the agrarian ministry was overthrown in a revolution and the peasant premier, Stambolisky, was killed. Now the revolutionary government, headed by Professor Zankoff, is threatened by Communists and agrarians, and considerable fighting has been going on. Under Bulgarian pleas of the menace of communism, the Allied Military Control Commission has permitted an increase in the militia and the general citizenry has been armed. The two principal strongholds have been taken by the Zankoff government forces. It seems likely that the communist factor in the situation is greatly exaggerated by the government, to get sympathy and indulgence, and that this is a plain case of turn about by the peasants.

The Greeks Pay

MUSSOLINI has the money that he demanded from Greece, anyhow, as the price of surrender of Corfu.

Under the recent arrangement made by the Council of Ambassadors, 50,000,000 Italian lire were deposited in the Swiss National Bank, this sum to be forfeited if the Council of Ambassadors decided—through the international investigating commission—that the Greek pursuit of the Janina murderers had not been conducted with sufficient zeal. They did so decide, and the money has been turned over. Mussolini thereupon ordered that 10,000,000 lire of the amount should be devoted to relief work among Greek and Armenian refugees at Corfu or elsewhere in Greece—as a partial atonement for the killing of refugees on Corfu, and to show the world, he said, that the reparations had been asked only as punishment.

Despatches say that Greece has registered a protest with the Conference of Ambassadors against the charge of negligence in running down the criminals. She pleads her inability to follow them on to Albanian soil, and adds that the fine has produced a very painful impression, as the Greeks had been confident of the sense of justice of the Ambassadors. The collection of the fine also caused considerable stir of protest in the Assembly of the League of Nations.

The Italian fleet evacuated Corfu on the promised date. It would be possible for Italy to appeal to the Court of International Justice at The Hague for reimbursement of the expenses of occupying Corfu, but it is thought unlikely that she will risk any further challenge to world opinion on this point.

Germany's Surrender

GERMANY has again been defeated. Official notification has been given by the Stresemann Government that passive resistance has been unconditionally surrendered. With a bankrupt currency; the huge expense of paying idle workmen; revolution threatening from both nationalists and communists; nothing to be hoped from Great Britain and no hope of Poincaré ever yielding anything in advance of German surrender, there was little choice. Stresemann chose to risk his own and his administration's destruction rather than his country's complete ruin.

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The picture above is a self-portrait of Christina Morton, our cover artist. Mrs. Morton was trained in France, Italy, Spain, and Greece. The French West Indies taught her the charm of vivid color and her compositions of Martinique deserve mention. Perhaps her strongest characteristic is her successful delineation of character.

Mrs. Morton is interested in all art work. She only recently resigned from the presidency of the National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors, and now holds the office of honorary vice-president.

To glimpse into her private life, she admits that tennis is a fine game, and her chief recreation.

The reaction in Germany was prompt. Though Bavaria had consented to the withdrawal of passive resistance orders, that state at once set up a military dictator, Dr. von Kahr, and proclaimed a state of emergency. This was apparently a protest against some feature of the Stresemann proclamation, which Bavaria, stronghold of monarchical reaction, found too mild. The answer from Berlin, both to the Bavarian action and to the threats of communists, was to set up a military dictatorship for all Germany under Dr. Gessler, Minister of Defence, and proclaim an emergency state throughout the Reich.

Informally, Stresemann had made one last offer. Some weeks ago he offered a mortgage on the private resources of German industry. Last week he offered surrender on three conditions: release of political prisoners, return of deportees, restoration of German sovereignty in the occupied territory. In the following Sunday's speech Premier Poincaré let it be known, again, that no conditions would be considered.

The question now generally asked is what will he do next? Will he make any conciliatory or helpful move? And what will Germany offer? Great Britain is talking about a huge loan to France, and undoubtedly Premier Baldwin would be glad to act as conciliator.

Meantime, Germany is torn with warring factions. On the last day of September there was a serious uprising by the Separatists, who want a separate German state in the Rhineland. The casualty list to date includes ten Germans dead and three hundred wounded. Fifty miles from Berlin a Nationalist revolutionary movement is reported, and a break from the Reich by Bavaria is feared.

Lost—Thirteen Days

ON October 13 at midnight, thirteen days will be lost from the calculation of 100,000,000 people in the world—all of them Eastern Orthodox Christians. For on that date they will abandon the Julian Calendar for the Gregorian, in accordance with the decision of a Pan Orthodox Congress held in Constantinople last May. They will go to bed—if their habits are early—on September 30 and rise on October 14. But, as the *Interpreter* explains it, about eight million who might be supposed to make the change will refuse. These are the people called Ruthenian Catholics in America and Greek Catholics in Europe, who are suffering from a continuation of an old violent prejudice against adjoining peoples of Roman Catholic faith. Long ago their allegiance was transferred to the Church of Rome, but they retained the ritual of the Orthodox Church, the Julian Calendar and the right of their priests to marry.—*October 1, 1923.*

Public Opinion—What Hinders It?

By Schuyler C. Wallace

THE will of the people shall be the law of the land. This is the fundamental assumption of democracy. Nowhere more than in the United States has this assumption been accepted and revered. Nowhere, until recently, has public opinion held greater sway. It behooves us therefore to pay some attention to this force which like current from a mighty dynamo drives on the wheels of state. Is this ruler of mankind the quintessence of pure reason or is it a great compound of folly, weakness and prejudice? Is it always and infallibly right or is it more often wrong? At a time when the world is crushed beneath the burden of a great war, *a war acquiesced in and supported by public opinion in all the countries concerned*, one hesitates to answer with an unqualified affirmative. When public opinion but recently arrived at a conclusion that made possible a catastrophe without parallel in the world's history, it would seem that somewhere, somehow, an element of irrationality must have crept in.

What are the factors that tend to distort the judgment of whole nations? What are the difficulties in the way of the formation of a rational public opinion?

Hampering Biases

Among the difficulties that stand in the way are (1) certain personal defects common to the great mass of mankind, (2) the existence of numerous and powerful propaganda agencies, and (3) certain limitations seemingly inherent in the daily press.

A rational judgment can be made only on the basis of facts, and yet facts are among the hardest things in the world to ferret out. Especially is this true in the field of public affairs, for to practically every public question the individual brings a set of preconceived ideas, a bundle of prejudices, a bias. These ideas are not the result of the study of a given situation; the data of the situation are usually studied in the light of these ideas. That each of us possesses these biases becomes apparent upon a moment's reflection. Two incidents will serve to illustrate.

An election for the office of comptroller is occurring in your city. A man's religion could have no possible bearing upon his fitness to hold the particular office in question. And yet when it comes out that one candidate for office is a Roman Catholic, does not the information consciously or unconsciously tinge your processes of thought? If you are a Roman Catholic are you not more kindly disposed toward him? If you are a subscriber to the *Menace* do you not feel doubtful about him?

A headline comes out in the morning paper: "Miners' strike; coal famine feared." What is your reaction? If you are a member of the middle class is not your inclination, with little or no investigation of the case, to place the blame on the miners and hope "they get what is coming to them"? If you are a member of a labor union that has just finished a severe strike, does not your sympathy go out to the miners? Does not your conversation consist primarily in "damning out the interests"?

Most of us, if we are honest with ourselves, will have to admit that our thinking is very often colored by an emotional reaction. We will have to admit that very frequently we fail to suspend judgment long enough to ascertain the facts on the basis of which alone a really rational judgment can be reached, and we make up our minds on the basis of our preconceptions.

In part these preconceptions come to us with our early training, in part they are the results of our environment. What matters is not that they develop in us but that at no time do we analyze and weigh them to separate the truth from the falsehood. Instead, we act upon them blindly.

Why we fail to analyze these "stereotypes," these conceptions of the world built upon fancy rather than fact, is readily understood. In the first place, it is easier to accept than to analyze, and man is by nature intellectually lazy. In the second place, these stereotypes make the world *seem* a more comfortable place. When we accept them we know what's what. We feel at home in the world. If we once begin to analyze our opinions who knows what might happen? Some of them might be false, and that would hurt our pride. There might be some questions we could not answer, which would be very annoying indeed.

Not until we are willing to adopt the same attitude in our thinking upon public questions, however, that men of science have adopted toward scientific questions can we hope to have a rational public opinion. And not until a rational public opinion is prevalent throughout the world can we hope to eliminate war or overcome social maladjustment in its other varied phases. A recent English writer describes the scientific attitude of mind when he says: "None of our beliefs are quite true; all have at least a penumbra of vagueness and error. The methods of increasing the degree of truth in our beliefs are well known; *they consist in hearing all sides, trying to ascertain all the relevant facts, controlling our own bias by discussion with people who have the opposite bias, and cultivating a readiness to discard any hypothesis which has proved inadequate. These methods are practiced in every science, and have built up a body of scientific knowledge.*" These methods must be used in the social sciences.

Our "Grooves"

Two other personal limitations hinder the development of a rational public opinion. These are the limited contacts enjoyed by most people, and the slight amount of time they give to informing themselves upon public questions.

As a general thing, people "live in grooves, are shut in among their own interests, barred out of larger affairs, meet few not of their own sort, read little," and, all in all, come in contact with very few points of view not similar to their own. To some extent, this is due to economic causes, which limit travel and the purchase of books; more often it is due to personal volition. Birth dictates in great measure the set in which we move. Rare, indeed, is the prosperous business man who carries on a

Have you any prejudices? Where *do you get them? What have they to do with government? These are the personal and pertinent questions with which Dr. Wallace opens the series of Columbia University articles of which we have been telling you. Paralleling a course specially designed by Columbia for the use of women's organizations, this series will run in the* CITIZEN *for about eight months. The course is conducted, and the series written, by Dr. Schuyler C. Wallace, of the Department of Political Science, who has already appeared in the pages of the* CITIZEN. *He knows his subject, and judging from this article he knows how to make it an everyday reality to the reader.*

protracted conversation with a plumber; rare, indeed, is the plumber who carries on extensive correspondence with a back-country farmer.

Perhaps as great a factor in narrowing the horizon of the average person is that almost instinctive dislike mankind has of listening to opinions with which they do not agree, which disturb their convictions. And yet if we are ever to achieve a general judgment capable of running in a rational way these complex affairs of ours, it is imperative that all points of view be given a hearing, for in all points of view there is apt to be a modicum of truth.

Neither defect can be remedied except at the cost of time and trouble, and the limited time the average citizen devotes to public affairs is in itself a difficulty. How limited this is, is best revealed by self-analysis. It would be interesting, indeed, if the various clubs and leagues throughout the United States would attempt to discover the average amount of time spent by their members in informing themselves upon public affairs. The few statistics we have indicate that less than ten minutes a day are devoted to this important task.

Propaganda Agencies

These personal limitations, however, are not the only factors that stand in the way of the development of a rational public judgment. The existence of numerous and powerful propaganda organizations employing highly paid legal, journalistic and forensic talent should not be overlooked. No criticism is intended of these organizations. The fact which concerns us is merely that each of them is pleading a special cause. Like lawyers before a jury they are presenting their cases before the bar of public opinion in a manner conducive to a conclusion favorable to themselves. But unlike lawyers, they are governed by no rules of evidence; extraneous and irrelevant matter is not ruled out; no penalty exists for perjury; there is no cross examination by an opposing counsel to which the jury must listen; there is no opportunity for questions. Truth, half truths and falsehoods are unloaded upon the public. And from the maze of fact and error must the precious kernel of truth be sifted.

Perhaps the reader thinks, however, that she has never come in contact with propaganda. Oh, of course, she acknowledges that the Anti-Saloon League has presented its cause to her. But that's all. I wonder! There is the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, and the Socialist Party, and the Farmer-Labor Party. Is their publicity always impartial? Do the churches present the pro's and con's of the questions they discuss? From how many orthodox pulpits have you heard the case against Christianity? Even here we encounter a brief for a cause, justified without doubt—nevertheless propaganda.

Then there is the activity of the various economic groups. Have you ever been to New York City and failed to see the "Subway Sun"? Have you been overlooked entirely in the distribution of literature by the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States Steel Corporation, the great banking houses, the great railroad systems?

Popular control of government is the general theme of these articles. Next after this one on public opinion comes a discussion of political parties; what they are and how they get that way, and what "pressure groups" do to them.

For instructions about the course paralleling these articles, see page 13.

Have the Chambers of Commerce, Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs missed you altogether? Have the granges, farmer-unions, labor unions, city clubs, civic clubs, university clubs, Parent-Teacher Associations, charities associations, playgrounds associations, etc., never attempted to influence you? Have you had no appeals from the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., the Red Cross or the Near East Relief? Only the dead or the mentally deficient can escape. Practically everything you read, practically everything you hear in the social sciences contains at least an element of propaganda.

All this means that unless the individual acquires an analytical frame of mind and develops the habit of questioning all authority, demanding proof for all statements and weighing evidence, she will often fall into error, and in so doing will contribute her share toward the formation of an irrational public judgment.

But neither personal defects nor propaganda are entirely responsible for the mistakes of public opinion. The printing press, although it made democracy in large countries possible and words without number might be multiplied in its eulogy, nevertheless in certain of its aspects stands today one of the gravest dangers democracy has to face.

Two facts present themselves in modern journalism. One is that the newspapers are the servants of democracy, placing before it the information upon which it makes its decisions. They are the sources of information. Their location at the fountain head of information makes them more than any other institution the guardian of liberty and democracy. That this duty is recognized the slogan of many a paper indicates.

The other fact is that they are commercial enterprises run for private profit—that the chief end of their operation is dividends. They are the investment of hard-headed business men who are running these just as they would run any other business—for the money. At the head of every newspaper of the country with its slogan concerning its duty to the public might well be added another slogan concerning its duty to its stockholders: In one corner of the front page the traditional slogan—First to last, the Truth; but in the opposite corner there might well be printed that other motto—First to last, Profits.

There is danger when the two purposes come into conflict. A newspaper cannot always serve two masters. There come times when the Truth and the Profits do not walk together. Then comes the tug of war—and all too often profits win the day. It is the perversions of the truth of which the modern press is too frequently guilty that constitute a standing menace to democracy.

The most apparent perversion of the press is when the news is distorted to favor a particular party or clique of politicians. To find evidence of this is very easy. If the reader lives within an area in which several newspapers are available, let her buy all the newspapers upon a given day, being sure to obtain not only Republican and Democratic papers, but Farmer-Labor and Socialist papers as well. Let her pick several of the most important items of political news and trace their treatment through the various papers. She will find, in all probability, as many different accounts as there are papers. Each treats the topic in a little different way; a slight emphasis here, a touch of color there, an omission in this regard, an addition in that—all combine to produce accounts of the same thing so different that an action which is to be approved as it is related in one paper is to be disapproved if it occurred as described in the next.

Why is it done? In part, it is the unconscious play of the reporter's prejudices. Primarily, however, it is done to produce the reaction among the readers of the newspaper which it is to the interest of the proprietors of the particular newspaper to have produced.

Points About Papers

A more serious perversion of the modern press is that caused by economic pressures. Direct bribery is by no means unknown, and that our press has acted and probably is acting as an unknown advertising medium for private enterprise is beyond question. The most usual form of economic pressure, however, comes in connection with advertising. *Profits come from advertising. Advertising comes from big business. Who pays the piper calls the tune.*

And yet some qualification of that statement is necessary. The newspaper

(*Continued on page* 26)

Madam Homemaker Here Is Your Chief

© U. S. D. A.

Dr. Louise Stanley, head of the new Bureau of Home Economics

By Catherine I. Hackett

THE Administration is giving evidence of an appreciation of the need for experts throughout the Government service. The latest indication of the adoption of this policy is the appointment of Dr. Louise Stanley, a trained specialist, as head of the new Bureau of Home Economics in the Department of Agriculture.

No political appointment is this, obviously, nor one made to curry favor with the women of the country, who watch with interest the growing list of women appointees called to Washington. It needs only a perusal of Dr. Stanley's record as a pioneer in the field of home economics to realize why she was picked by the Administration to guide the infant bureau through the first important years of its existence. Her subject is home economics, and she knows it backward, forward, and upside down.

Secretary Wallace's Pet Idea

When last June a group of home economics workers representing different sections of the country met with Secretary Wallace to discuss plans for the transformation of the former "Office of Home Economics," a branch of the States Relations Service, into a full-fledged department bureau, one of the group stood out as preeminently qualified to take charge of the work. Dr. Stanley was recommended by unanimous consent. Into her hands Secretary Wallace has given responsibility for the working out of his pet project—recognition of the importance of the homekeeper in the nation's life—by giving her a Government bureau devoted to investigating her problems, as the problems of the woman in industry are investigated by the Women's Bureau. Whatever the Bureau does—and home economics workers are predicting big things for it—will be connected with the name of Dr. Stanley, as its first chief.

There are several characteristic things about Dr. Stanley. One is that she does not like to talk about herself. To Washington, happy hunting ground of the publicity seeker, it is not an everyday affair to find a new officeholder who refers most would-be interviewers to the Department's publicity office rather than tell of her achievements herself; who admits with engaging frankness that she hasn't been on the job a month yet and therefore has a lot to learn about the workings of her own bureau, and who has no impressively elaborate program of "reforms" and changes for the work she is taking over.

All too often new appointees descend upon Washington with much horn-tooting, heralding the approach of an era of "finer and better things" in their particular field. Not so Dr. Stanley. The work she is taking over has a firm foundation. Good work has been done by the office of home economics, which grew out of nutrition experiments carried on by Professor O. W. Atwater as long ago as 1900. Dr. Stanley disclaims any intention of a general reorganization of the work as it was carried on under the chief of the office, Dr. Langworthy.

"What we hope to do is to enlarge the scope of our investigations," she explains. "We need more money—our annual appropriation now is only $71,000—but we have first to justify our existence, to prove that we are worth more than that to the country."

Getting Dr. Stanley to talk about herself, one interviewer decided, could not be done. She seems not to think of herself apart from her work. Here are a few meager biographical facts, gleaned mostly from outside sources. One gathers that she wants to be known by what she does as head of the Bureau of Home Economics, rather than by what she accomplished before coming to it.

First, the "Dr." before her name indicates a Ph.D. in nutrition, Yale, 1911. She wears that title lightly. Neither is she inclined to detail the offices she has held, the papers she has written, and the investigations she has made, although she has done pioneer work in the field of home economics. Research discloses the fact that she is the author of many surveys and pamphlets, of various bulletins of the University of Missouri, where she taught, and of articles in the *Journal of Home Economics*, which have made her name widely known in scientific circles.

She has written on such diverse subjects as "The Occurrence of Purine Enzymes in the Tissues of Invertebrates and the Lower Vertebrates" (her Yale thesis) and "A Brief Discussion of the principles of Candy Making." She is chairman of the legislative committee of the American Home Economics Association, in which position she has gained experience in the ticklish task of handling Congressmen. In 1913 she was a delegate to the international conference of home economics teaching at Ghent. In 1918 she was appointed a special agent for the Federal Board of Vocational Education and investigated home economics work in twenty-one Southern and Pacific coast states familiarizing herself with the problems of home economics in schools and teacher training institutions.

Many Times Professor

She has an unusually well-rounded academic training for her position. She graduated first from the University of Nashville, where she specialized in science. While taking a summer course at the University of Chicago, she became interested in home economics, specializing in nutrition, and studied for her master's degree at Columbia. Since 1907 she has taught at the University of Missouri, filling successive positions as instructor, assistant professor, associate professor, and professor of home economics in charge of the department, which position she held at the time of her appointment as head of the Bureau of Home Economics.

From her manifold experience and investigation, Dr. Stanley has gained a very definite idea of what the average housekeeper, Mrs. American Citizen, needs and should expect from a bureau created to serve her. The investigations of the bureau cover a wide field—economics, household equipment, art in the

home, nutrition, clothing; but every one of them must have, insists Dr. Stanley, something more than scientific interest—they must point the way to better utilization of time and income in home management.

"We must recognize the fact," she says, "that women will be less and less able, as time goes on, to get full-time household service. This is, to my mind, the greatest thing that ever happened to women. That they must learn to do more of their own work means that they will take active interest and thought in finding what must be done and more efficient ways to do it."

She is particularly interested in a proposed series of studies to be made by the bureau in which the economic factor in housework will be stressed. It is possible, she believes, to evaluate fairly accurately the various "jobs" which the housekeeper performs in her daily round. Don't be surprised when the bureau gets out a report telling you how much your housekeeping activities are worth to the community in dollars and cents with or without making your own bread, say, using or doing without a vacuum cleaner, doing your own laundry or having it sent out.

"The shortage of domestic labor since the war, and the increasing outside demands upon the modern woman make it impossible for her to keep house in the same way her mother did," declares Dr. Stanley. "She has already learned that it is in most cases a waste of time and money to make her own bread. We want to show her that there are certain other short cuts in housework which are not the mark of a lazy housekeeper, but merely an effort to adjust housework economically. For example, we want to find out by scientific analysis whether it is better for the housekeeper to make certain articles of clothing, or to buy them ready made.

"We want to study the value of woman's work in the home. It has never been scientifically computed."

Another series of studies which the bureau will make under Dr. Stanley's direction relates to standards of consumption. This will include such scientific experiments as testing of textiles and nutrition tests on foods, as well as evaluation of the more general factors entering into prices of commodities. Other factors besides material and labor, for example, enter into clothing costs. The seasonal nature of clothing and changing fashions have almost as much to do with prices as the quality of the goods. How much should they influence the price? Women, who control spending in the home, should know more about these things than they do at present, in Dr. Stanley's opinion. She intends that the Bureau of Home Economics shall stand ready to supply them with definite knowledge of the commodities which they buy.

She believes firmly that the time is coming when, a monetary value being put upon woman's contribution to the home, and scientific standards for domestic consumption having been worked out just as they are worked out for industry, home work will carry a new prestige and dignity. This is the end to which the Bureau of Home Economics, under the leadership of Dr. Stanley, will work.

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Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

September 28, 1923.

COMING back to the capital from a far and cold Adirondack politically ignorant bliss, it would seem as if there were a sign in the sky:

HAVE FAITH IN CALVIN COOLIDGE

But the capital is straining every point to catch a confirmation of what he himself said:

"I am not one of those who believe votes are to be won by misrepresentations, skilful presentations of half truths, and plausible deductions from false premises. Good government cannot be found on the bargain counter."

In the meantime, he is assembling a broadside for his first message to Congress at the opening in December, and no one expects that he will reveal himself to any extent before that time.

So Washington is on the waiting list and has been lately a saddened place. Our friends here, the Japanese, only recently received word that their children, parents and near kin in Tokio are safe. For ten days they have been silent, not knowing the fate of small children sent to Tokio to attend school. The secretaries at the Japanese embassy were unable to get word as to the whereabouts of parents. Mr. Uyeno, publisher of the Japanese Asahi newspaper with its million and a half circulation, said here that among the editorial staff of his office in Tokio and Osaka there was scarcely one who had escaped personal loss or injury in his family.

Down here everybody pretends to have been away for the summer. But so many politicians and Congressmen refer familiarly to the weather of July and August that one knows they were here a great part of the time. A Congressman or Senator can hardly afford a "full-time" vacation these days. They have been at their desks off and on, and party leaders have foregathered for many a conference in an attempt to clarify the political situation in advance of Congress. It has not been an easy summer. In addition to the personal sadness in the death of President Harding, there has been a serious complexity in having to change horses in the middle of the stream. The capital has been afloat. There has been almost as much feeling of newness as if the death of President Harding changed the administration from Republican to Democrat.

And it is also obvious that during the period of congressional inaction, the international situation has gotten on the nerves of the capital. Prospective candidates for the next election who emerged during the summer have been forced into taking a stand on foreign affairs. If, at the outset, they did not declare themselves for or against the League of Nations or world association, they have been forced into it by direct

inquiry. Even Senator Borah has softened his isolation policy and at times actually comes around to belaboring those who would not go to the help of Europe. Since last spring, scores of Senators, Congressmen, and others prominent in politics have made personal inspection trips to the other side. Correspondents have been abroad and seen for themselves. Washington today is of one mind—Europe is in a mess. Washingtonians have been arrested for going into Germany with too much money; have been put in jail for coming out with too much money; have been arrested for buying something in Germany and inadvertently taking it with them out of the country, and so on. Senator LaFollette and his family were held up at the Bavarian border. There have been personal instances enough to convince the isolationists that this sort of thing cannot keep on in a civilized world.

Railroad Problem Pushes

Every effort is being made by those who are shaping the congressional program to keep the international affairs issue in the background, but it is just as evident that it cannot be kept down. Party leaders still say that the next Congress will be one of domestic issues; that it is to be mainly a transportation session—for one reason, because the net result of President Harding's personal investigation of the farm situation was that, after he had heard the grievances of the farmer face to face in a plowed field and asked, "Well, what is at the bottom of your troubles?" he heard the invariable reply, "Freight rates! Freight rates!" President Coolidge, at his conference this week, said that the transportation problem would be under the guidance of Senator Cummins, of Iowa, who, with his long experience in the framing of railroad legislation, would be thoroughly equipped to consider the matter. It is probable that he will at an early date submit a plan for transportation amendments to President Coolidge, and that the President, Senator Cummins, and the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission will decide upon the Government's program.

What an opportunity this would be if Cabinet members were admitted to the floor of Congress, as they are in England, Italy and other countries! Secretary Hoover, both from the viewpoint of the economist and the engineer, has a valuable grasp of the transportation problem. Secretary Hoover, by the way, has greatly added to his fame for economic background and ability to size up highly technical and complex situations, by his trip with President Harding. He never was at a loss for one moment during the trip, for facts and figures showing not only his knowledge of conditions as they were, but the whole long history which led up to them. But some Italians, listening to the wrangles which arise in the Italian Senate, look upon the American form of congressional Government as an improvement over their own. And although Washington thinks occasionally that the complete separation of the congressional and the administrative ends of the Government creates a psychological antagonism, a suggestion of change only comes when the capital is wrought up under high pressure of some current exigency. During Woodrow Wilson's long illness, there was talk of making Cabinet ministers more approachable by Congress, and all sorts of changes. But these things drift and only come up under some new stress.

There is this one thing, however, which seems a loss of value. The departmental end of government is in receipt of highly valuable information and international interchange which, of course, Congress may have access to if it takes the trouble to ask for it or knows that it exists. If there were a closer cooperation between the departments and Congress in the shape of a working alliance instead of a feeling that one must beat the other, a great mass of material would be opened which would save both sides much work and many blunders.

Swapping Knowledge With Italy

Your correspondent has in mind, for instance, as a small example, the fact that now in the Department of Agriculture there is a definite international interchange in the person of Signor Cesare Longobardi, of Rome, who is here from the International Institute of Agriculture. It seems that a representative of the Department of Agriculture already has been in Italy, studying in collaboration with the Institute the international agricultural situation, and in return Signor Longobardi now comes to this country to exchange information and study American conditions. The International Institute of Agriculture at Rome has a membership of some two hundred delegates from all over the world. Its files of agricultural experience are invaluable. It encompasses the economic, financial, political and all other aspects of the farm situation wherever it is found. It was founded by an American, David Lubin, of California, who peddled his idea at his own expense, first at Washington, where he was turned down, and then to the crowned heads of Europe until he came to the King of Italy, who saw the practicality of the suggestion and provided funds for the inception of the International Institute. For a purely scientific investigation of what is the matter with agriculture in this country, the Department of Agriculture could furnish such experts as its representative who has been studying at Rome and Signor Longobardi, now temporarily in this country.

It is evident to every person who attends the conferences with President Coolidge that he is deeply concerned as to what to do for farm relief. Democrats are saying that the present publicity and apparent excitement over the subject is all "stuff." That the Republican tariff enacted last year necessarily affected the farm situation adversely and that the lack of a stable policy for international relations has cut off the foreign market for American products. Republicans are more concerned over the actual situation than what caused it, and it is natural that they are considering particularly the fact that at this late date, so near the coming presidential elections, the farm vote is becoming disgruntled.

The President and the Farmers

President Coolidge, in the last few days, has received a large delegation of bankers and agriculturists from the Northwest, led by Senators and Congressmen of that territory, arguing for a program of legislation for the stabilization of the price of wheat. As is his custom, he has allowed this group to talk at him until their throats dried. He himself has said very little, but he has made it plain that he has not at all foreclosed the idea of a session of Congress earlier than the specified time in December. He only wants to be convinced that he has submitted to him a program justifying such a call. The President wants two things: first, a relief program agreed upon by experts as scientifically remedial, and second, a legislative program which the farm leaders in both Houses of Congress believe would be approved by a voting majority. In other words, he does not want to create another legislative *impasse* which will merely look like an attempt to solve the problem.

The delegation which called on the President yesterday specifically dealt in wheat, and it is known that the President considers that the remedy should cover not only the grain farmers but the hog-raising industry, which is a vital part of the farm interest. With the international poverty, America must keep herself in a position to furnish fats for the depleted peoples. Germany is suffering severely to-day because the fat ratio per capita is insufficient.

President Coolidge recently talked with the former Republican leader in the House, Representative Mondell, of Wyoming, who told the President in effect that he did not think an extra session of Congress would meet the difficulty. Mr. Mondell ought to be able to know, after his experience as Western Congressman and floor leader. Senator Borah has been in conference with the Chief Executive, and many

Western congressmen have telegraphed to the President that the farm situation is "desperate."

The group urging the President to advocate price stabilization for wheat was led by Senator Lynn J. Frazier of South Dakota, Senator Norbeck of South Dakota, and other Dakota Congressmen. The gist of the program suggested by them is that there be a Government organization having the power to buy and sell wheat for export and for the domestic market; this organization to have a capital of $50,000,000 which would be appropriated by Congress. It would be within the province of the Government body to disassociate the foreign demand for our wheat from the domestic demand, and automatically stabilize the price of wheat and place it at a higher level than it is at present. The committee calling upon the President also urged that the Interstate Commerce Commission consider reduction of freight rates for grain and grain products. President Harding called Congress two weeks in advance to consider the Merchant Marine situation, this committee told President Coolidge, and the extremities of the farmers certainly warranted a like call now.

On the other hand, representatives from the large farm organizations have called upon the President with the advice that in their opinion an early session of Congress would not provide the remedy. But those around the President know that two distinct political camps are represented in the farm group. Senator Frazier and the other liberals from the Dakotas want Government subsidies and control of industry as a general policy. President Coolidge is not one who unwittingly would ally himself with a radical faction.

However, in showing a friendly spirit toward political groups in his own party, President Coolidge has gained favor during the last few days. President Harding, when he had patronage to award (or, to the layman, jobs to give out) considered that he might very properly withhold them from those Republican leaders who notably had made trouble in the party. When he had

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"The Fighting Angel of Czecho-Slovakia"

By Nancy M. Schoonmaker

RETURNING European travelers may not agree as to the wisdom of the occupation of the Ruhr, as to Mussolini's inherent greatness, as to the villainy or virtue of the Turk, but there remains in the minds of all of us at least one common point upon which we are in accord—Czecho-Slovakia. One of the new states born out of the after-war changes, it lies like a great pear between Germany and Poland on the north and Austria and Hungary to the south. "The hope of Europe," "the light spot in the dark continent," so the world speaks of her. For no one who enters it can fail to feel the enthusiasm, the hope, the success with which these people are going about the business of rebuilding the world.

And among those who are giving themselves to such noble purpose, no one, with the possible exception of Thomas Masaryk, the President, and Eduard Benes, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, stands out more prominently than does Mme. Fredrika Plaminkova, called the "Fighting Angel of Czecho-Slovakia." It is a title she won for herself, however, long before the war, in the old days when she was battling against the iron will of the dominating Magyar for the larger rights of women. Now she is a member of the City Council of Prague.

I asked her how long she had been a feminist, and she laughed. "Always—before everything." And then she told me a bit of ancient history—how back in the golden days of her race the great Bohemian teacher Comenius had declared himself in favor of opening all schools to both sexes, and how life in every phase of it, both war and peace, was equally shared by men and women.

Fredrika Plaminkova

And so she takes no credit to herself.

But today, with suffrage won, with women swept into high political place on the tide of that revolution which brought forth the new republic, Mme. Plaminkova gives herself with equal devotion to the service of both men and women. I sat for an hour in her little apartment in Prague, there under the shadow of the Old City Hall, with its wonderful decorations within and without, with its great tower in which is the curious old astronomical clock, and before it the impassioned statue of their great religious martyr, John Hus, and watched the little stream of men and women who constantly pour up to her door, asking her aid. There were as many men as women, old and young, city folk and those too lately come from their peasant villages to have yet laid off their beautiful peasant costume.

"My clients," she calls them, whom she represents in the City Council—"and others as well—if they think I can help them."

She took me with her to a meeting of the Council, one at which there was to be a spirited debate and where she and the dozen or so other women members took part with exactly as much ability, intelligence and interest and with as little self-consciousness also as their male confrères. I saw Fredrika cast a very firm and positive vote to turn over some of the unoccupied buildings to the use of Russian refugee students, a measure which the Communists had convinced themselves would be a dangerous thing to do since these students came not from the proletariat but from the intelligentsia and might therefore be a menace to any state that sheltered them.

Busy with the affairs of the city, with her party by which she is sent out to many meetings—for she is an unusually able orator—she found time, nevertheless, during the fortnight I was in Prague, to show me everything. In one of the official city automobiles I was taken to visit every branch of the government, every public social institution in the city, castles, palaces, parks, museums, operas, concerts, schools, universities, all that the city boasts of art and history and all that the new state is doing to build up its new future. For she wanted me to see and she hoped I would tell America what they were trying to do, what were their ideals, what were their difficulties—"and our gratitude (don't forget that) for America's help in saving our children through Miss

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Mrs. Stannard, Ex-Matron

The Story of a Backsliding in Ohio

THEY had a sort of traveling trial in Ohio this past summer. It began at the Girls' Industrial Home about ten miles from Delaware, Ohio; it moved to Columbus; it moved back again. And the reason for its restlessness was the intense interest taken by a great number of people, largely women, who packed the court-room, and gave the whole affair more publicity than was wanted.

The judges were a bi-partisan commission of two members, constituting the Civil Service Commission of Ohio. One was a Republican, one a Democrat. The public-spirited people who filled the court-room were representatives of the Ohio Federation of Women's Clubs, the Ohio League of Women Voters, the churches, welfare organizations and the like. The principal in the case was Mrs. Mae E. Stannard, Chief Matron of the Girls' Industrial School at Delaware, from May, 1922, to a day in June, 1923, when she was summarily dismissed. And the other persons concerned—really most concerned of all—were 560 girls who lost a kindly, competent matron.

"Padding the Payroll"

And the charges? They sound very serious as they are read, but for people present at the hearings they simply dissolved. A friend of the CITIZEN who attended the trial says her impression was that everyone who came to testify against Mrs. Stannard in effect testified in her favor. The chief charge that survived was a purely technical one of "padding the payroll." Out of vouchers totaling for the year $175,000, there was a defect in the clerical handling of four five-dollar items. "There was no question as to where the money went—not even a shadow of an implied doubt as to anyone's honesty. The money was completely accounted for, but there was a technical irregularity in making out the vouchers." Incidentally, the lawyer for the state who harped on these items was popularly referred to as "Five-dollar Walton."

This "padding the payroll" charge was so thin it could be seen through with half an eye provided the eye wasn't prejudiced.

The other principal charges were those of accepting a secret bribe to compromise a bastardy case and cruel treatment of the girls. As for the first, on the one hand the prosecution claimed that a colored girl of weak mind ap-

Mrs. Mae E. Stannard

prenticed to a private home, had been returned pregnant to the school, that a check had been received from the family and a statement of secrecy signed. The defense, on the other hand, showed that the check sent by the family as a gift to this girl had been recorded openly in the books, reported to the proper officials and deposited in the bank in the girl's name; and no evidence was brought to show any motive for the gift but generosity.

Ohio again—but not because we are playing favorites. This local story is significant the country over, wherever women are concerned about the merit system or the welfare of delinquent girls. The account here is summed up from issues of the "Ohio Woman Voter" and the "Dayton Woman Citizen," supplemented by the story of a friend of the CITIZEN *who was present at the trial.*

Those charges of cruel treatment, which sounded particularly revolting, "were, it seemed, based on spiteful and ignorant misrepresentations of incidents not only innocent in themselves, but in line with the most intelligent and enlightened methods of dealing with delinquent girls." There was a story about a dark cell, which turned out to be a moderately dark room formerly in use, which Mrs. Stannard had employed only once or twice in emergencies, and which months before she had converted into a storeroom for canned fruits. After she was removed from office, the window in this room was tightly boarded up on the inside, and it was left for investigating women to discover the recentness of that darkening of the "cell." A distressing tale of young girls forced to chop down trees and carry heavy stones, resolved itself into a picture of this school community building a log recreation cabin—from the branches of trees already fallen, and with stones carried one or two at a time—a very healthful, happy performance, prescribed by a psychiatrist.

This recreation cabin was well in line with the things Mrs. Stannard did for the Delaware girls—things which beyond all question had lifted the school, in that one year, to a high place among such institutions, and made it a credit to the state. For instance, she abolished corporal punishment, in proof whereof witness a collection of paddles, used by her predecessor, which she sent to the Welfare Department. She abolished hair clipping as a punishment for slight offenses. She opened the closed gymnasium. She abandoned the system of paroling girls at a given time regardless of records, and installed a system of paroling on honor. She established a classified honor system of cottages, gradually substituting government by reward for government by punishment. She changed the girls' diet from starchy foods to milk, eggs, fresh vegetables and fruit; brought in a skilled recreation director and changed the old plan of silent walks for supervised recreation, including picnics and club activities. She established in addition to recreation, industrial art, gardening, canning, domestic science (reopened), poultry and rabbit breeding—providing as much as possible of active outdoor occupation as treatment for her psychopathic wards.

Removed

But the woman who did all these intelligent things is no longer in charge of the Delaware girls. To the question, "Shall the removal stand?" one of the two men on the Civil Service Commission answered yes, and the other said no—a tie—and the Ohio law, by some marvelous logic, interprets this tie vote in favor of the status quo. The removal stands.

The story back of the trial is brief and simple. Mrs. Stannard, having passed Ohio's Civil Service examination

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Editorially Speaking

A Man in a Rut

SOME minds dig themselves so deep into a rut that they cannot see over the top. An example is that of the senior Senator of the State of New York. Whenever he thinks of the 18th Amendment, he is precipitated into a *delirium*, and when his mind travels to the 19th Amendment, the *tremens* set in. He is not yet convinced that either one of these amendments has ever legally become law.

He has introduced an amendment into the Senate to provide that amendments to the federal constitution when submitted by Congress shall be ratified by referendum to the people of the various states. It is even rumored that a conspiracy exists which would make this amendment of his retroactive. That need not frighten anybody for it simply cannot be done. What is more likely a dream of New York's senior Senator is that he may sometime, somehow, get his amendment passed by ratification of the legislatures and later may be able to cause the re-submission of the 18th and 19th amendments.

The senior Senator is much agitated because the right of the people to create their own constitution and to amend it is in the hands of their representatives rather than their own. In a recent speech in Rochester he warns against haste in amending the constitution and declares that the will of the people is often overruled through lobby power. He, and the former anti-suffragist paper, still going, cry out with one voice, "Back to the people!" He is working up sentiment for his amendment and he reviews by way of impressing his audience the manner in which the suffrage amendment was ratified. It is clear that that amendment troubles him far more than the 18th, although he has no sympathy or admiration for that. What really troubles him is not "the will of the people," but that that will does not always accord with his own.

The flaw in his presentation is that he only tells part of the story. While he is worrying over the people losing their will, he forgets that the great State of New York by a majority of "the will of the people" of over one hundred thousand enfranchised its women, and basing their action upon that fact, the Republican party in convention assembled asked the senior Senator to vote to submit the Federal amendment and thus clear the slate in regard to this political discrimination against women. Twice the legislature made the same request of him and yet despite the fact that *people*, party and legislature had made the request—influences which should most affect a representative in Congress—he deliberately stood alone to block the submission of the federal amendment. He was able to withhold its submission so long, that the record of history stands that the women of twenty-four nations of the world were enfranchised before woman suffrage was achieved in this country, all the time boasting that it was a government of, by and for the people. Where was "the will of the people" then? It was not their will; it was the senior Senator's will.

The will of the people! According to the senior Senator people are men, and whatever men who agree with him say, is "the will of the people."

The senior Senator is still worried about Tennessee. It kept him awake nights at the time of the ratification and it still has a disquieting effect upon him; yet he has forgotten some of the chief facts concerning that ratification. He is right when he says there was a legislative battle but he forgets that all the political elements in the entire United States which have made renown for themselves in the way of the purchase, intimidation or seduction of voters, were in Tennessee bright and early on the first morning of the legislature and stayed through the night. The old whisky lobby, which for many years made Tennessee infamous and snapped its fingers at the will of the people; the old railroad lobby, known from ocean to ocean for the boldness with which it thwarted the will of the people of Tennessee; the manufacturers' lobby, who never knew the people had a will—they were all there; and legislators who had honestly, intelligently and firmly promised to vote for the ratification of the amendment fell from the poll list like dew before an August sun. That there was bribery, all persons directly connected with the suffrage side believed.

When a number of the legislators, obeying the behests of these combined lobbies, took to their heels rather than face a majority overwhelmingly in favor of ratification, their act was recognized by all honest people as the last resort of enemies of "the will of the people." Yet the Senator claims that the ratification was illegal because the absence of these thirty-eight runaways made it so, although their behavior was definitely illegal. There was enough test of the legality of the ratification of Tennessee to pass it into history as a closed chapter, and the great fact remains that the women of the United States voted in 1920, because the authorities who had power to speak declared the Tennessee election legal.

If it were illegal, then the election of 1920 was illegal, for from ocean to ocean the women voted.

When and if the Senator's amendment ever becomes a part of the constitution and when and if the 19th Amendment should be re-submitted—which is unthinkable—it is well to remember that the women of the nation will have the right to vote upon the proposal of their own disenfranchisement. Never in the history of the world has any class of citizens voted to disenfranchise themselves. No amendment of the United States constitution has ever been resubmitted and lost. The senior Senator who dreams of these unrealities imagines that despite advancing ideas, despite the expanding intelligence of women, despite the growing intellectual and political understanding of both sexes, the men and women of the new time will yet voluntarily vote to go back to the old time.

It is pitiable that the senior Senator is so poor a sport that he worries when "the will of the people" goes contrary to his will. When he got his way, he saw no infringement of the people's will, though half the people were denied the expression of their will. The senior Senator cannot see over the top of his rut and it has no windows. Some opponents may live and die unreconciled, and the senior Senator is one of them. It is a sad thing to see men like that left standing still as the great world marches on.—

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

The League's Achievement

LITTLE by little the League of Nations is establishing itself as a new and effective instrument for averting the results of the inevitable disputes between nations which are apt to lead to war. The decision of Italy to recognize the authority of the League to deal with such a question as their recent clash with Greece testifies eloquently to the growing power of the League. It was not an easy backdown for Italy. Mussolini's headstrong and autocratic action in occupying Corfu, his aggressive denial of the right of any outside interference, made a barrier which at first seemed

impossible to overcome; but the public opinion of the civilized world obliged him to give way. The point is that for the first time in history there is an organization, a piece of international machinery, through which the public opinion of the world can express itself, to which fifty nations have promised their support, and which is growing stronger with each new incident in which it is involved. The authority of the League is now acknowledged over any dispute among member nations likely to lead to a rupture. A new and positive force for peace is in existence. All the more pity that the United States is not lending its powerful influence as a co-operator.

Improve the Primaries

IF women knew more about politics the primary would be a much more effective institution than it is at present in most places. The direct primary is disliked by politicians more because of the possibilities it offers than for its usual results. Primary day too often comes to the voter unheralded. He finds himself utterly unprepared, but the boss has been on the job. He has already decided who will be nominated and the voter has no further responsibility except to mark his cross on the boss's ticket. "What is the use of voting in the primary," a woman argues, "when all I can do is to mark a cross on the one set of names on the ballot?" The lack of interest which is inevitable in such a case is all the more serious because in a great many places the primary settles the election—that is, the candidates of one party are sure to be elected no matter who they are.

The cure, to be effective, needs to be begun much earlier than on primary day. Voters in larger numbers need to wake up and take an interest in the election weeks earlier than they do at present. As it is now, by the time the papers begin to talk about the candidates and the average voter begins to think about the election, everything is settled as far as its results are concerned. The primary is better than the party convention, but as at present constituted, primary laws are rarely effective. They can be made so. The date of the primaries should come late enough in the fall for voters to be at home and settled for the winter, and information about primary day should be given every voter, as much as information about election day. These are simple but very important changes. Others are needed. The primaries must be made effective or they will not be retained. Apathy and inertia are the besetting sins of democracies. Wake up, women voters, and take a vow that next year you will begin earlier to think of your political duties.

Films for the Family

"ARE THE MOVIES IMPROVING?" Mrs. Charles E. Merriam, Chairman of the Committee on Better Films of Mothers' and Parent-Teacher Associations, Illinois Council, says a reluctant no. In her annual report, published in the *Educational Screen*, she says that during the first six months of the year her Committee has seen 147 feature films and has been able to endorse only 21 for the family and 26 for high school age—about a third of the number seen. Last year, they endorsed about half of those shown. "Even then we do not say that the films listed are worth while. We simply say they are harmless." The most hopeful sign she sees is that the boys and girls themselves are "becoming bored to death with the kinds of films shown." Her special plea is for a classification of films into adult and family groups, to save the young people from seeing pictures which warp and distort their minds by showing them phases of life they are not prepared to understand. She wants such a law as exists in London, so that with "films stamped, before release, as family films or as adult films, and advertised in this way, you can pick up your evening paper and know before going to the theatre whether you will find a film that you can safely take the family to see or whether it it safer to stay at home."

It sounds sensible. What do our readers, similarly concerned over the movies, think about it?

Take the Profits Out of Arms

ACCOUNTS of the closing sessions of the League of Nations Fourth Assembly say that "the immediate efforts" of the League will be devoted to securing an international agreement to curb private manufacture and traffic in arms and to induce the United States to take some part in the projected conference. It is a painful memory that the United States is responsible for the failure of an earlier attempt at a solution, in its refusal to ratify the St. Germain convention, or to suggest any other arrangement with which it would co-operate. And it is good news that in spite of this a renewed effort is to be made. Women's organizations concerned to further peace should keep this subject clearly and constantly in the foreground, and try to get into the popular imagination some sense of how war temperatures would be reduced if the manufacture of arms brought no private profits.

Political A-B-C's

WOMEN are still timid and self-distrustful in their attitude toward the vote. The majority of them are conscious of their ignorance of political matters, and they are unlike men in that they are not willing to act blindly. This makes it more than ever important that they should have every opportunity to learn about politics and the machinery of government. Logically this work belongs to the great political party organizations and they are missing a fine opportunity in not meeting the need. It would probably be too much to expect that they would be able to teach the subject of the duties of citizenship simply, with party doctrine as an incidental, although they would probably gain in support rather than lose by such a procedure. Meanwhile the League of Women Voters is doing valuable work with its citizenship schools and many other women's organizations are also striving to meet the need. The teaching of the subject can hardly be made too elemental and it should reach a vastly larger number of women than it has reached so far.

Georgia's Paint

IF one state can "clean and paint up" regularly, others can. Maybe others do. Anyhow, the story of what Georgia did is a shining example. A summary of what was done is made by Mrs. Gordon Chason, Chairman of the Division of Civics, Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs, who was evidently very important in the movement, and probably initiated it—the report that has reached our desk doesn't give the history in personalities. It begins with the organization of the clubwomen of the entire state for civic work, winning the co-operation of officials all along the line—county commissioners, councilmen, boards of trade, governor. Two clean-up and paint-up campaigns were proclaimed—one in March, one in December, and the results, even in terms of paint on houses, vacant lots cleared, back yards planted, would fill a column. Once roused, the housekeeping instinct raged through the state, and mere paint developed into such activities as the equipment of rest rooms and women's exchanges, of community rooms in schools, campaigns against fly and mosquito and for pure food and pure milk, and an ambitious tree-planting along the highways, with the beautiful roads of Japan and England in mind. These Georgia clubwomen should have the sincere praise of imitation.

LOOK on the back cover for the details, again, about those prizes offered by the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission for papers on How to Get Out the Vote. The time has been extended to November 1, at midnight. Be sure to get your paper in on time.

What the American Woman Thinks

The Vienna Congress

By Miriam G. Shepherd

Is the International Federation of Working Women to become just a part of the International Federation of Trade Unions, or to keep its separate existence? Miss Shepherd, an official of the American League, writes here, specially for THE CITIZEN, *the story of the discussion at the recent International Congress at Vienna.*

TOO many of those who have been following for several years the development of the International Federation of Working Women, the third Congress, recently held in Vienna, was particularly significant. This Congress took a very definite stand against war as a method of settling international disputes, and declared itself in favor of an international court with affirmative jurisdiction. The Congress also issued a statement endorsing protective legislation for women "in those countries where the organized working women wish to use this method." The delegates gave considerable attention to the problems involved in the organization of working women, to the questions of family allowances and motherhood endowment, but the most important action taken by the Congress was that concerning the future of the organization.

Beautiful Schoenbrunn Castle, for several hundred years the summer home of the Hapsburgs, was the setting for the Congress. The delegates came to know the charm of Schoenbrunn, with its soft yellow walls, its brilliant flower garden, its fountains, and long shady alleys, clipped as carefully now as in the days when the ill-fated Duc de Reichstadt rode with his shadowy escort through the park. Certain it is that a more animated group never came to the castle than the working women who journeyed there from China, Japan, Argentina, Chile, from Europe, and North America, to try to make international co-operation among working women a real thing.

Four Years' History

The International Federation, it may be well to recall, was formally created in 1921, after a preliminary period of two years following the first Congress, held in Washington, D. C., in 1919, upon the invitation of the National Women's Trade Union League of America. At the Washington meeting, Mrs. Raymond Robins was made President of the provisional executive committee of the Congress, and she also was elected President of the new Federation at Geneva in 1921. Mrs. Maud Swartz, of the New York City Women's Trade Union League, was the first secretary of the Congress, and is vice-president for America. Mrs. Swartz is president of the National Women's Trade Union League of America.

The objects of the Federation, as defined by the Geneva Congress, are, briefly: To promote trade union organization; to develop an international policy giving special consideration to the needs of women and children; to promote the appointment of working women on organizations and committees affecting the welfare of the workers.

The British Proposal

At Vienna, the British secretariat proposed that the Congress should ask the International Federation of Trade Unions to admit the International Federation of Working Women as a section, or secretariat. This arrangement would affect the fundamental basis of the International Federation, for the 1921 Constitution makes the organization an independent international group. The British, and many of the European delegates at Vienna, took the position that if the organization were really to serve the best interests of the organized working women of Europe, it must become an integral part of the great trade union "International" which has its headquarters at Amsterdam. They felt that the recommended change was a logical step in the development of the organization. Dr. Marion Phillips, delegate from Great Britain, Secretary of the International Federation of Working Women since 1921, and in charge of the London secretariat of the organization, said, in closing her report to the Congress:

"We—representing as we do the women in the organized trade union movement—must work more and more closely in co-operation with the International Federation of Trade Unions, so that we may in this way increase our own strength and that of the Trade Union International. We can best do this by making our Federation an integral part of the Amsterdam group. And I might point out right here that it is a remarkable accomplishment for our International Federation of Working Women to make the executive board of the Amsterdam Federation *want* to create a secretariat or bureau to look after the women's interests. This is largely due to the splendid initiative and enthusiastic support of the American group in our Federation, for without them we should not be where we are today."

The report of Dr. Phillips, with its recommendation, to the effect that the Vienna Congress should instruct the secretariat to open negotiations with "Amsterdam" for the purpose of creating the secretariat, was accepted by the Congress. The American delegation did not vote on this plan, but issued instead a statement bringing out the point that the National Women's Trade Union League of America (the American group represented in the Congress) could not vote on this proposition without submitting it to its entire membership in convention assembled. The point was also made that the American Federation of Labor is not itself a member of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

In the opinion of Mrs. Raymond Robins, President of the Vienna Congress, the organization will defeat its purpose if it becomes a "section" of the International Federation of Trade Unions. As she said in an interview at the close of the Congress: "A bureau at Amsterdam, under the direction of the International Federation of Trade Unions, which has not even one woman on its executive board, cannot do for working women what we wanted our International Federation to accomplish. Such a bureau can very properly do an excellent piece of research work, and it will undoubtedly be most valuable to the National Trade Union groups which are affiliated with 'Amsterdam.' Unfortunately, such a bureau as this cannot touch the largest part of the problem, that of the women in the unorganized countries, such as the Orient, and South America, or in countries where organization is by no means complete, as in our own United States. And even if this bureau could reach these groups, could give to them the guidance and information they so keenly want to have, it is impossible for us as Americans to become part of a class-conscious movement such as the 'Amsterdam' group. We in America think differently. We are not ready to admit our inability to recognize other groups, or to work with them because they are not members of one particular political group, of which the 'Amsterdam' Federation is the economic expression."

Next?

The proposition as adopted by the Congress, without the American vote, will be carried into effect at once, but the International Federation of Trade

Unions cannot take action before its next convention, in April, 1924. The decision of this convention will be referred to the National Women's Trade Union League of America at the time of its Biennial Convention, in New York City, in June, 1924. Future American participation in the International Federation of Working Women will therefore rest upon the action taken at these two conventions. For the present, the Geneva constitution is in effect, and the Federation will continue as it has for the past two years, with headquarters in London.

Mrs. Raymond Robins, who has been president of the organization from its inception, refused to stand for re-election. The new officers are: president—Mlle. Hélène Burniaux, delegate at the Vienna Congress from the Belgian Commission Syndicate et du Port. Ouvrier; secretary—Miss Edith McDonald, Great Britain; treasurer—Mrs. Harrison Bell, Great Britain; vice-presidents—Mrs. Maud Swartz, U. S. A.; Miss Margaret Bondfield, Great Britain; Mme. Jeanne Chevenard, France; Signora Laura Casartelli Cabrini, Italy.

More Story-Telling

By Ruth Sawyer

Once a professional story-teller, Ruth Sawyer still sometimes tells stories—for instance, to a library-full of children, in the intervals of writing novels. So she speaks from experience.

ABOUT once in so often I break out with a reinfection of story-telling; it takes me as regularly and completely as hay-fever. When the epidemic is on, I am impelled with a wish to gather all the story-tellers I know and speed them forth on the high-roads and little roads shouting, like the peddlers in the story of Aladdin—"Old tales for new tales! Old tales for new."

This is not an attempt to discuss the value of realism in modern fiction and the surfeit thereof. I do not wish to question whether it is good or bad; whether it is preying on us as a public or we on it. I do not care whether it exonerates itself as an antidote to the cloying sentimentalism that was undeniably with us in the past; although much of it as a remedy seems to me to lie outside the use of honest physicians. My urge here is single and it is namely this—that as a delightful and enjoyable recreation the average modern fiction is a failure. We may agree or may not with the serious young Britishers, that fiction today is not meant to be a recreation; but if we cannot turn to it for personal pleasure, what can we have in its place? And again I say, old tales.

There are a host of inimitable folk-stories of all races that never see the light of day so far as most of us are concerned. It is impossible for the average person to plod through hundreds of volumes for the sake of the handful of tales worth culling; nor has the average person sufficient knowledge or fund for comparison to make him a discriminating judge of what is really good. And yet, for lack of time or incentive or knowledge it is too bad that the average person should miss acquaintanceship with some of the delectable and truly intriguing stories that we have straight from the African Gold

State, the Pueblo Indians, Tibetans, Basques, and Head Hunters; not to mention the Celt and Scandinavian of wider familiarity. Therefore, I recommend story-tellers. For there are persons—available in nearly every locality, if searched—who have made it their vocation to gather the tales, adapt them, and pass them on.

For the tales themselves—there is material that is inspirational and idealistic but shorn as a spring sheep of all mawkishness and sentimentalism. There is stuff of beauty and high endeavor that feeds souls and hearts as well as minds. And with all this there is a humor as keen as any modernist can boast of and a plot development that might well put to shame the authors of those books which lead the lists each month in the *Bookman*.

In a recently reedited and republished collection of Lawrence Housman's stories for children called "*Moonshine and Clover*" it is told of a certain Toonie that he went out and questioned the faggot-maker as to how it might be possible for him to "get to see the faeries." And the faggot-maker replied that one must have three things to meet successfully with them—a handful of courage, a mouthful of silence, and a capful of moonshine. Now it is this last ingredient that is so tragically missing from our present-day fiction; and for which I believe at heart most of us hunger. There must come for all of us times when we grope toward a beauty not mirrored in the everyday life about us. We strain our ears for the sound of that voice which called the Princess Adene into the land of faery "Where nobody grows old and godly and grave; where nobody grows old and crafty and wise; where nobody grows old and bitter of tongue." Were it not so, we would all become Rabelaisian monsters in no time at all.

If our imaginations are not going to shrivel up and slough off in the way of other rudimentary appendages, we must hold fast to our caps full of moonshine; or, if we are unfortunate enough to have lost ours, at least beg a shimmering glimpse from one who still possesses. In all that vast field of folk-tale we find stuff as varied and appealing as imagination can demand—from hero epics to romance, from legend to nonsense tales. And there is much need for such material in every center where youth and citizenship is being built strong.

As a purely socializing factor for community purpose I think story-telling cannot be surpassed. As a means of exciting interest in books and developing a sense of the best, there is no more successful means. As a factor in the programs of the Americanization League—it is invaluable. But, apart from utilitarian reasons, as a feast for the spirit and refreshment from the everyday round of humdrum, commonplace, routine existence I can think of nothing better to offer than a strain from the faery pipers and the sound of faery feet on the hills or a square of magic carpet—or the hour's possession of a wishing ring. All of it such stuff as dreams are made of, but well worth the mixing with our daily rations.

For the sake of the children who may be starting life inwardly blind and crippled—for the sake of the grown-ups who may be losing all sense of childhood, I should like to see story-hours and story-tellers springing up as thick as wild mustard all over the country. Every recreation center, every playground, every literary society should have its story-telling just as much as every library. It has been the source of much wonderment to me that with all the labored studying going on in groups—studying of poets and poetry, dramatists and dramas, novelists and novels—so few clubs made it their business to study the folk-source of so much of the material they read in transplanted form.

My urge for story-telling is on the side of art and not on the side of morals; although I do believe that you can give your boys and girls more incentive toward right living, high thinking, and praiseworthy acting through stories than by all the hectoring and nagging in the world. And by stories I do not mean the wishy-washy, goody-goody kind. I mean the stuff that has sprung from the very spiritual loins of the race in its effort to grow away from a grasping of the earth toward a sensing of the stars.

So, if you happen to be in a community where story-telling has failed to enter, you are losing something that you can ill afford to do without.

The Woman Voter

(This full-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.)

Edited by RUTH KIMBALL GARDINER *for*
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The Executive Committee Meeting

THE three-day meeting of the Executive Committee, September 22-24, brought all National League officers to Washington headquarters, with the sole exception of Mrs. Solon Jacobs, who was unable to leave Birmingham. Mrs. Richard Edwards, formerly first vice-president, had been asked to attend the conference, but was not well enough to make the journey from her home in Peru, Indiana. Miss M. Louise Griffith, assistant treasurer, met with the committee.

Decision had been made beforetime to follow a suggestion from Miss Hauser that formal reports by officers be omitted from the meeting and presented at the meeting of the Board of Directors, in October, instead, so that without departing from the agenda, it was possible to find more time for discussion than would otherwise have been the case.

Saturday morning had been set aside for dealing with problems of administration and all the matters the term includes, and Mrs. Park who, of course, presided, saw to it that the meeting kept to the agenda outlines. Miss Griffith reported on behalf of the Department of Finance that incorporation papers are in process of filing under the laws of the District of Columbia, explaining that the League constitution must be slightly amended to read "members of state Leagues," in order to comply with incorporation requirements. As an incorporated body the League will enjoy obvious advantages which cannot accrue to an informal organization of related Leagues.

The proposal that the League co-operate with the Federal Council of Churches in World Court Week was approved. Miss Morgan reported that the committee which has charge of the Bok peace prize has asked permission to refer to her office requests for information on the World Court and that she had gladly given it.

The committee voted to send a letter of commendation to Commander Owsley of the American Legion, because of the legion's demand for a conference on limitation of air armament. The letter, which will have gone forward long before League members read this report, is to be signed by Mrs. Park and Miss Morgan.

Several changes had been made in the agenda by the end of the first day's session and what may be called odds and ends of administration and general headquarters work were considered at the beginning of the session on the second day. Miss Sherwin's summary of the work her department has done was the striking feature of the day. Between July 1 and September 15, she said no fewer than 20,366 pieces of literature had been ordered from her office and sent to sixty-seven towns and cities in thirty states, besides consignments on request to the *Bibliotheque et Musée de la Guerre* in Paris, and the library of St. John's University in Shanghai. Miss Sherwin said also that she would like to recommend a school like the institute of government and politics held at Columbia University in July, to be held in each region next year simultaneously and in connection with summer schools. Miss Sherwin has not been able to find out exactly how many citizenship schools have been conducted this year but those she has exact data on number more than one hundred.

The third day's deliberations had to do chiefly with the 1924 convention and with the program therefor. The convention dates, tentative as yet, are April 6-13, and the program has been merely blocked out. Miss Hauser roused applause by presenting to the committee an invitation from the Chamber of Commerce of Toronto, Canada, to hold the League convention in that city. The committee was obliged to decline the invitation, but members of Leagues of Women Voters in Canada will be invited to the convention. One of the members of the committee remarked that the invitation from Toronto shows how much an organization of women can do for the cause of better international understanding, and hoped that many sister Leagues across the border will send members to the convention at Buffalo.

The get-out-the-vote campaign occupied its due share of the final day's deliberations and the plans for co-operation with other organizations were shown to be well under way. Resolutions endorsing the League's undertaking have been received already from about a dozen organizations including the American Association of University Women and the American Home Economics Association.

Perhaps the most important decision of the meeting was that the League's major congressional measure in the next session of Congress will be a child labor amendment and the World Court. Work for a federal prison for women offenders will be included in the legislation program. In the states, effort during the coming year will be concentrated on law enforcement.

The Green Mountain Tour

THE busiest woman in Vermont, if not in all New England, these past few weeks has been Mrs. Mary Andrews Conner, president of the state League and advance agent of a speaking tour such as few other states have enjoyed. If there is man, woman, or child in the state who does not know about the tour it is because he is stone blind and deaf or locked up somewhere. On October 4, at eight o'clock in the evening, the first gun of the campaign was fired in Bennington. Mrs. Robert DeNormandie, of Boston, director of the region in which Vermont lies (the first), brought Miss Ruth Morgan of New York, third vice-president and head of the Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War, and Mrs. Ann Webster, of New Mexico, chairman of the Committee on Social Hygiene, with her to the town as guests of the state League, and each officer had something worth hearing to tell Vermont women. After Bennington, the speakers motored to Rutland and Manchester, and before their tour is ended they will have spoken in Brandon, Middleburg, Springfield, Windsor, Bristol, Burlington, Melbon, St. Albans, Enosburg Falls, Morristown, Newport, Orleans, Barbon, Lyndonville, St. Johnsbury, Lunenburg, Brattleboro, Woodstock and Montpelier, completing their journey and

Mrs. DeNormandie

Miss Ruth Morgan

Mrs. Ann Webster

their talks in the state October 13, which means that for nine days the little company will be giving two performances a day almost every day and making no two appearances in any one town.

After the thirteenth, Mrs. Webster goes on to Maine to attend the state League convention, and Miss Morgan returns to New York and speaking engagements farther west.

Miss Morgan's Department

A MEETING of the Committee on International Co-operation to Prevent War was held at the New York office, Wednesday, September 12, to discuss the very interesting proposal of ex-Ambassador John Davis at the meeting of the American Bar Association, of which he is president, that a constitutional amendment be adopted changing the provision for a two-thirds majority in the Senate on international matters, to the usual majority requirement. In the League of Women Voters this matter has long been debated. As early as last May League women were aware that foreign statesmen usually utter the bald statement that the Constitution of the United States forbids its having a foreign policy. The League committee prepared an article showing the dilemma in which we find ourselves as a nation. We endorsed the two-party system which practically compels Republicans and Democrats to oppose each other when an international treaty or proposal is made to them, and if a two-thirds majority must be secured to confirm any treaty, either the Senate is obliged to act in a non-partisan spirit or the proposal is lost; and as Mr. John Hay so wisely said in his interesting memoirs, when he was Secretary of State, "the Senate will be the death of me."

Our committee does not propose, nor does the League insist on, one course or the other. We do not demand either non-partisan action nor an amendment to the Constitution. but we call attention to the situation as a national riddle to which somebody has got to find the answer.—R. M.

How to Send Them

THERE is a new helper in the Cleveland offices of the League of Women Voters' first vice-president from which leaflets, fliers, broadsides, pamphlets, and all the rest of the League's ammunition for the get-out-the-vote campaign are sent out. She is a young helper, an earnest helper, as enthusiastic as she is efficient, and it is a point of pride with her that no order for the League's "*Know Your Town*" pamphlet, or the "*Seven Steep Steps to Efficient Citizenship*" poster, or President Maud Wood Park's pledge for conscientious citizens, or anything else shall remain unfilled longer than it takes to tie up a bundle and affix stamps. It is not possible, however, for a new helper to know all the League literature by its familiar names. It is only possible not to be daunted by anything. The other day a telegram from the Boston League came to the new worker's desk.

"Rush 3,000 steep step flyer by Thursday," it ran.

The new worker gave a gasp. Her eyes stared a bit and for half a moment she gulped. Then she rallied gallantly, and walked composedly to the desk of her superior officer, telegram in hand.

"Now," said she, "I'll have to ask where I can get hold of an airplane."

Social Hygiene for Every Woman

A FEW years ago a student in New York City was taken to her first visit to the Women's Court in Jefferson Market, which was then held at night. As she sat through the trial of case after case involving violations of the tenement house law, soliciting for the purposes of prostitution, etc., and saw one bedraggled little figure after another pass before the magistrate, where she admitted or denied her guilt, the student wondered where the man partners in crime were being detained. She waited until midnight before she ventured to whisper to her companion making inquiry. Obviously surprised by her ignorance her companion informed her that men involved in sex offenses were not arrested.

"Why not?" she whispered back.

A shrug indicated her companion's annoyance. "Society would not stand for it," came the classic reply.

In order that the greatest of all discriminations against women may be brought to the attention of every woman the state chairmen of social hygiene committees are asked to form court-visiting committees. The plan submitted to the state chairmen recommends that they make special effort to include women who are not particularly familiar with court procedure, so that they may bring to the committee a fresh viewpoint, not handicapped by a tolerance of prevailing methods. These committees may include any number of women, but some members of them must always be available to visit courts in which the cases of women and children are being tried, and thus familiarize themselves with the actual working out of the social hygiene laws. They will learn by observation under what laws women are arrested; the meaning of terms like bail, indictment, remanded, defendant, etc., and they will be brought to see the defects and the limitations of their laws. But before all else they will learn to inquire of the court the number of women arrested for sex offenses, and the number of men arrested for similar offenses, and they will ask why the numbers are not the same.

The committees will be given a chance, also, to learn the difference between crime and disease. In concerning themselves with conditions under which persons are detained for treatment for venereal diseases, they will inquire why, in many instances, alleged quarantine measures are applied, not only to women alone, but only to poor women. They will learn first hand that when health authorities join with police authorities in unconstitutional practices, the result is a form of regulation of prostitution, which is comparable to the medical inspection measures of days gone by, and they will demand an honest interpretation of the health authorities' powers.

It is planned that membership in court-visiting committees shall not be limited in number, but that it shall be open to as many women as desire to enroll. The committees will be asked to make reports on their observations, to local Leagues and to the national chairman, and as the reports will represent the opinions of many women, based on personal experience, they will form the most important step in bringing

to an end the greatest discrimination of all that are made against women. A. W.

Citizenship Schools

YALE UNIVERSITY and the Connecticut League will co-operate in a school of citizenship, October 24-27, which will begin with a lecture on Connecticut today by Mr. Don Seitz, of the New York *World*. "Where do we go from here?" is the alluring title of the lecture Dr. William Reynolds Vance, professor of history and political science, will give, and after Dr. Henry Wells Lawrence's talk on the Connecticut constitution and its origin, will come Professor Walter Wheeler Cook whose subject is, "What shall we do with our radicals?"

Speakers for the second day include Dr. George Burton Adams, emeritus professor of history; Mr. Herbert Knox Smith, the Hon. Harry Morgan Ayres, representative from Westport and associate professor of English at Columbia University; Miss Emily Whitney, Mrs. Lewis Rose, Mrs. Helen W. Winternitz, and a speaker not yet decided on. "The Rehabilitation of the Governor," by Dr. Allen Johnson Larned, professor of American history, begins the third day's program, and in the study of executive and judicial departments the lecturers will be Charles Edward Clark, associate professor of law; the Hon. Charles Montague Blakewell, senator from New Haven; Professor Edmund Morris Morgan, and Judge William B. Boardman. State and international problems will occupy the closing day with Edgar Stevenson Furniss, Professor Clive Day and General Henry Tureman Allen as speakers. Opportunity for questions and discussions will be given after each lecture.

The institute of government and politics which the Minnesota League and the University of Minnesota will co-operate in conducting, will be the first institute of the kind in the state. The dates set are November 5-9, the place the Curtis Hotel, in Minneapolis, and the faculty is to be drawn from various western universities and colleges. The course as now arranged—and changes may be made before the school begins—provides for lectures on the political background of the Constitution, state government, including reorganization and the budget, social progress and the Constitution, municipal government, problems of law enforcement, and American foreign policy. The Minnesota League will hold its fifth annual convention during the school and sessions will be so arranged that all delegates may attend both convention and institute.

When the Massachusetts League and Wellesley College hold their two-day school of local government and politics, beginning October 23, they will begin at home and deal with the problems of the citizen and neighbor, the town, the city, and the county, rather than with national and international affairs. Mr. Phillips Bradley of the Wellesley Department of History, will have charge of this course and will be assisted by Professor Julia Orvis, who heads the department, Professor Jane Newell, Professor Henry Mussey and town and state officials. The history, organization, machinery, and proposed reforms of political parties will be studied in a second course which Dr. Edward Curtis, associate professor of history, will direct with Miss Elizabeth Donnan, assistant professor of history, as aide.

At Washington Headquarters

MISS EDITH ABBOTT, chairman of the Women in Industry Committee, was unable to attend Miss Sherwin's convocation on September 21, and sent in her stead Mrs. Kenneth Rich, vice-chairman of her committee and vice-president of the Illinois League, and Miss Mollie Ray Carroll, who is professor of economics and sociology at Goucher College, in Baltimore. Miss Marian Reilly, formerly dean of Bryn Mawr and now president of the Philadelphia League, visited headquarters that same day and Mrs. George Henry Haynes, of the Worcester (Massachusetts) League, was another visitor of the twenty-first. There came, also, Dr. Janet Reid, director of the Children's Bureau, of New Mexico, and Miss Agnes Morris, who holds a similar position in Louisiana. Miss Morris used to be president of the Louisiana League and gave many a lecture on citizenship for which, as she says, "the men got me the women," the men of the state evidently approving the teaching of politics and government. Miss Morris, who suggests Miss Sherwin when she smiles, is whimsically convinced that the race has made progress in the matter of babies. The new-born, she declares, used to come into the world with mere dabs for noses, ears of no particular shape, and with a general air of being not quite finished.

"I've seen several brand-new babies lately," says she, and Miss Morris knows all about babies for she has brought up no less than three families, "and they're different. Their features are perfectly defined and they come into the world with their minds made up as to what they are going to do with themselves. I assure you the modern baby isn't at all what a baby was a few years ago."

Mrs. Richard W. Edwards, whom Ohio women will recall knowing at Youngstown headquarters during the suffrage campaign of 1912 and whom Texas League women will remember in their state much later—Mrs. Edwards' husband is a railway man and as they are never separated she has lived in many a place in these United States—came into headquarters one September day on her way to Toledo, which will hereafter be her home. At headquarters one person knew her as Daphne Peabody, the delightful entertainer, and another as the Red Cross lady who taught bandage making during the war. It was as Daphne Peabody, trained speaker, singer, and teacher of deportment that Mrs. Edwards remarked casually on the importance of thinking of one's feet when one gets out on the platform to preside or to address an audience. The average woman, Mrs. Edwards has observed, is likely to stand with her feet far apart, seeking a wide base because of a feeling of insecurity and embarrassment, and Mrs. Edwards does not believe any woman with her feet planted far apart can ever make a happy effect on an audience in these days when feet are bound to be seen. As a first rule for speakers, Mrs. Edwards advises the old-fashioned but always graceful. "Heel of the right foot at the instep of the left foot or heel of left foot to instep of right foot," and if headquarters staff is a judge, this is a rule so seldom observed that the suggestion is worth passing on.

Leagues and League Work

THE San Francisco League left nothing undone to get out voters on registration day, September 18. The last excuse of the unawakened voter that she was not feeling very well, or that she hadn't any way to get to the polls, or that she couldn't leave the children, was taken from her. The League planned with the registrar of the city to have a deputy at a certain time in every large apartment house and announced that time by means of placards in the elevator. Deputies were sent to residence districts also. Every clergyman was asked to make the date and the importance of registration public, deputies were offered to clubs of women. There were registration booths in big department stores. Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays before the fateful day there were short radio speeches at half past six to catch the home woman at dinner and remind her of her duty, and all the more obvious methods of awakening interest were used. On registration day there was a great noon celebration in the plaza in front of the city hall by permission of the park commission, the mayor, and the chief of police. The program was patriotic, with music and brief speeches, and the striking ceremony of registering several spectacular groups of the foreign-born in their native costume, and there were motion pictures of the event made to show in many other

places and stimulate by example. The sun does not visit San Francisco until after it has lightened the rest of the country but there is no such arrangement in regard to ideas. Ideas are one of the largest of the native California crops and one that is always sound to the core.

A VOTER'S first birthday party is suggested by the Department of Efficiency in Government which sends out a leaflet telling how the thing can be done. The first page of the leaflet has a delightful picture of a birthday cake-ballot-box on it, with a single candle, and the other pages outline the plan of such a party. As a souvenir for the first-time voter a special edition of "*Parties, Politics, and People*" has been prepared. Inside the front cover is a space for the new voter's name and the name of the League which gives the souvenir. In the front of the booklet is Mrs. Park's pledge for the conscientious citizen; and Professor Moley's four lectures, which are in reality a political history of the United States in brief with a discussion of parties and of machines in politics, follow, with other matter which is as interesting as it is valuable. The very last page of all bears a chart showing party control of the national government in each administration. The department is sending out a new leaflet descriptive of "*Know Your Town*," illustrated with sketches of the organized walks, the pencil games, the "spelling down" and the neighborhood study groups by means of which the booklet can be given fuller and more effective use.

IF it was not "roses, roses all the way" (September is a little late for roses), it was luncheons and enthusiastic meetings all the way when Mrs. Paul Rittenhouse and Miss Florence Harrison toured the fourth region. Their motor car took the fourth region trail at La Crosse, Wisconsin, September 4, reached the state capital the next day, Milwaukee the day after that and Chicago in another twenty-four hours. Local Leagues everywhere gathered to meet and listen to the two travelers and from many a town a little escort set them on their way to the next engagement. Pontiac, Bloomington, Decatur were the Illinois towns visited, and from Decatur the two took the old trail to Indiana and Indianapolis, thence to Louisville and to Lexington, to talk with Kentucky League women. Across the river again to West Virginia and on the 24th at Wheeling the tour ended. Mrs. Rittenhouse took train back to Chicago to resume her duties as executive secretary of the fourth region, and Miss Harrison went on to Bryn Mawr to join Miss Gertrude Ely and begin her work as executive secretary of the second region.

THE Massachusetts League loomed large at the Eastern States Exposition which was held at Springfield, September 16-22. For six days members of the Springfield League and Mrs. Martha Helen Elliott, government efficiency chairman of the state League, explained League aims and methods to all comers and displayed National League publications with the cream of publications from the neighboring states of Rhode Island and Connecticut. The League occupied a fourth of a cottage in the home economics section. Standing committee work was shown by appropriately dressed dolls in action, for the League reasoned wisely that dolls would attract children and children would most certainly drag mothers to the exhibit to be captured by the League. There was a straw ballot on "Shall the United States enter the World Court?" but returns are not yet available. A Springfield League member dressed in the familiar robes of Columbia presided over the League quarter of a cottage and there were frequent informal ten-minute talks which drew interested audiences. Mrs. Robert Stebbins, chairman of the Springfield League, added laurels to her crown by her inspired direction of details.

THE Department of Efficiency in Government has received a number of inquiries regarding the bibliography (*Woman Voter*, August 25) and several suggestions of titles which might have been included therein. The department wishes it understood that the bibliography is suggestive, not exhaustive, and that it was prepared in the first place to supply a particular need—that of Miss Winifred Smith, of Saginaw, Michigan, who wished to have material to be used with each set of questions; material which women in her part of the country would be able to obtain without undue difficulty. In the nature of the subject no bibliography in the efficiency in government field can be definitive, and useful titles for addition will occur to almost any librarian.

THE Maryland League believes that the digest of election laws state headquarters has published is the briefest in existence. It is a mere little sheet folded twice into envelope size and it contains all a Maryland voter needs to know in order to register and vote at the right time and in the right place. There is space, too, for a word or two as to why every qualified voter should vote and the sheet begins with these words, "Sure cure for what ails the body politic—the ballot." A card accompanying the digest gives the dates of registration in Baltimore and in the counties and the voting hours of the general election.

THE Altoona (Pennsylvania) League had a tent at the Blair County Fair, in which every woman who came a-fairing was welcome to sit her down and rest. It was decorated with League placards and with American flags, since the most appropriate place in the world for the flag is the place where good citizenship is urged, and the women who looked after the tent and the welfare of its visitors were Mrs. C. W. Montgomery, Mrs. C. E. Knighton, Mrs. F. H. Hutchinson, Mrs. J. M. Watts and Mrs. H. H. Hoover.

IN PREPARATION for the general state election, November 6, the Maryland League is giving a series of weekly lectures at League headquarters in Baltimore on subjects pertaining to intelligent use of the franchise. The first lecture was given on September 25 and the last is set for October 30. Matters covered in the course are: the distribution of power between state and nation; the executive department; the legislative department; the judicial department; election laws, and nominating systems.

THE *Civic Pilot*, official organ of the New Jersey League, offered prize scholarships at the Columbia School of Government and Politics and now *Pilot* readers are enjoying résumés of the lectures, written by the two prize-winners, Ruth Forbes Sherry, the new president of the Elizabeth League, and Harriot T. Cooke, chairman of the New Jersey League's questionnaire committee. The *Pilot's* August issue is of quite exceptional interest because of the two summaries of the memorable course.

WHEN the Fourteenth Ward (Pittsburgh) League says "rally" hereafter other Leagues will please to understand that the Fourteenth Ward does not mean the desperate calling together of a remnant. The League means precisely what the word "rally" used to mean when politics was the great interest of a simpler and less entertained people. The rally called by that Fourteenth Ward League for September 12 brought out no less than a thousand women.

AS SO often happens when a League enjoys a really competent helper, matrimony has stretched out a hand and snatched away Miss Nellie Taylor, who has been executive secretary of the Indianapolis League for the past two years. She will be succeeded by Mrs. R. H. Miller.

OCTOBER 1 and 2 were the days set for the annual conference of the first region which is to be held at Providence, Rhode Island. The National League was represented by the treasurer and the third vice-president.

World News About Women

The Drys Organize

FORTY delegates from the principal women's organizations in the country—representing ten million women—met recently at the room of the Woman's National Committee for Law Enforcement, in New York, and drew up plans for a national dry campaign. They chose as their slogan "The Nineteenth Amendment must come to the aid of the Eighteenth." A definite political organization was formed, with Mrs. Henry Peabody, of Massachusetts, chairman of the committee, and regional directors for the five districts into which the country is divided. These delegates pledged to give wide circulation among their organizations to a brochure—a sort of prohibition symposium—containing special and reprinted articles by Ida M. Tarbell, Commander Evangeline Booth and Lady Astor. It also gives a calendar of the "registration rallies" to be held in the spring of 1924. The booklet sells for twenty-five cents and the slogan, "Sell 1,000,000 copies and save America," was adopted.

Women's Activities

COMPARISONS are odious, and besides, the writer wasn't fortunate enough to attend the Women's Activities Exhibit held at the Commodore Hotel, New York, last year. But this year's Exhibit (the second)—September 24 to 29 at the same place—was all that one could desire. Put on by the New York League of Business and Professional Women, it represented women's activities in every field—wearing apparel, beauty shops, educational work, handcraft work, labor-saving devices, investments. The booths—we counted one hundred and thirty-one, and there may be more—were fascinating.

Aisles of white fences with gorgeous colors blended behind them. Railings with tempting lingerie, fascinating jewelry, creams and powders guaranteed to make you beautiful. Boxes with luscious looking candies, contraptions to give that "girlish line" to ungirlish figures, methods of removing iron rust and stains from pretty clothes. Smart hats your fingers itch to perch upon your head, marvelous artificial flowers, small figures that mechanically take part in summer or winter sports, and hold you enthralled till the bathing girl passes by just once more in her canoe; and dolls made by women, and puppies from kennels run by women.

And then there were all the exhibitors so willing to tell you what they were doing. The New York League of Women Voters had a voting machine, and a lady who never seemed to tire of explaining. They conducted a referendum on the World Court—eight times as many votes being cast for it as against it, and a preferential ballot for President. West Virginia had a booth for their 4-H clubs which we told about in the September 9, 1922, *Citizen*; and, by the way, West Virginia is the only state to have a state 4-H camp. North Carolina had a booth and was eager to tell you of her state resources. The Southern Women's Educational Alliance explained the way they helped Southern girls and women to secure the best preparation for life. The Woman's Institute gave you a folder telling how a dress could be made in an hour, and were anxious to explain other efficient short cuts. The Lucy Stone League would tell their purpose to those who lent an attentive ear. In fact, the whole gamut of activities carried on by women or affecting women was represented.

It proved conclusively to even the casual eye that the business world deprived of women stood a very good chance of collapsing.—W. R.

Delaware's First

MRS. ROBERT R. TATNALL, president of the Consumers' League of Delaware, is the first woman to be elected to public office in Delaware. She is a member of the Wilmington Board of Education, a non-partisan board of seven members. Besides her interest in the Consumers' League, Mrs. Tatnall is a member of the Advisory Committee of the Industrial School for Colored Girls, a member of the Wilmington Inter-racial Committee, and an active worker for international peace.

Election News in Maryland

GRACE S. SHAFFER of Frostburg, Maryland, is the first woman to run and be elected in Allegany County. She ran for member of the State Central Committee.

The Equal Rights Pageant

ON September 23 the National Woman's Party gave a pageant in the Garden of the Gods at Colorado Springs, to celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the first equal rights convention. This inaugurated the local campaign in behalf of the equal rights amendment to the Constitution, which was drafted at the Seneca Falls meeting in July. A political convention for women, in which every state will be represented, is announced in the press as the next step of the party in its national campaign.

The Harvard Prize Play

THE Harvard Prize Play contest has been won by Dorothy Hartzell Kuhn of Canton, Ohio, with her comedy entitled "Duds." Miss Kuhn will receive the $500 cash prize offered yearly by Richard G. Herndon, and a contract from him for the production of her play. The contest is open only to such students of Professor Baker's famous 47 class as have never had a play produced.

A Birth Control Conference

THE second large conference on birth control to be held in America under the direction of Margaret Sanger, president of the American Birth Control League, will take place at the Drake Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, October 29, 30, 31. Delegates are being sent from women's clubs, nurses' and welfare organizations, and medical societies. The first sessions will present facts covering every angle of the enormous human waste in the present social system, and the concluding sessions will be devoted to constructive ideas, with birth control as the solution of these rapidly increasing problems.

Health Co-operation

THE Women's Foundation for Health has been elected to associate membership in the National Health Council. Thirteen organizations are at present represented in the Foundation, each interpreting the common program issued by the Foundation staff according to its own policies. To facilitate this interpretation, the Foundation has prepared a common text, "The Handbook on Positive Health," which is concrete and simple.

Watchful Californians

THE California Community Property act (see CITIZEN of July 28, page 23), sponsored by the women's organizations and the Bar Association of the state, went into effect at midnight of August 16 after an attempt to secure a referendum on it had failed.

Shortly after the passage of the act, certain business interests started to circulate petitions asking that it be referred to a vote of the people before going into effect. The signatures of 48,289 qualified electors were necessary to place that measure on the ballot. All

signatures must be verified by county officials. It is a matter of experience in California that petitions are frequently drawn carelessly, and signed by unqualified persons, and that officials are not completely conscientious in the work of verification. Therefore, the women who had worked for the passage of the act through the legislature at once began a quiet campaign to see that faulty signatures and petitions were thrown out. The vigilance of the women in detecting errors so reduced the number of signatures that the final count showed the petitions to be 844 names short of the necessary number. No further attack can be made on the law for a year, during which time it will have a chance to prove its value in actual practice.

The obtaining of signatures to a petition is merely a matter of sufficient money. People who want an initiative or a referendum measure on the ballot simply go to someone who conducts a business of collecting signatures and order them at ten cents each.

In commenting on the whole incident, Mrs. Parker Maddux, president of the San Francisco Center of the California Civic League of Women Voters, says: "The thing I feel worst about, even though we won out, is that a splendid theory like the referendum should be trailed in the dust of dubious and commercial methods, but I don't know what we can do about it except to keep the kind of watch we carried on in this case."

With Painters and Sculptors

OCTOBER 16 to 30 is the date for the Thirty-third Annual Exhibition of the National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors—Miss Emily Nichols Hatch, president. The place is the Fine Arts Galleries, 215 West 57th Street, New York City. Three prizes will be awarded: $100.00 by the National Arts Clubs, for the best work of art; $100.00 by John Clerici for the best figure painting or portrait; $50.00 by the National Association for the best sculpture.

The School of Democracy

MORE than five hundred women registered for the School of Democracy which the Woman's Democratic Club of New York City opened at the Hotel Commodore September 17. Some were from Oklahoma, Virginia, and other distant states—two national Democratic committeewomen among them.

There was much interest in the public speaking class, and so many women asked for practice classes that Mrs. Halsey Wilson arranged to conduct one in the afternoons.

On the evening of September 28 the entire school paraded from the Commodore to Town Hall, and occupied a block of seats at the Democratic State Committee meeting as a lesson in practical politics. Governor Smith spoke for the school at Town Hall, October 3. Women from the various districts paraded that night, and graduates of the public-speaking class held soap-box meetings.

The Lady and the Bandit

ROSITA FORBES, who has traveled in the Sahara Desert, and written of her experiences, made a visit recently to Raisuli, the famous Moroccan bandit. She is the first white woman to be honored with the privilege.

A Lawyer Honored

MISS SUSAN C. O'NEIL, attorney in Waterbury, Connecticut, has been elected a member of the American Bar Association. One of the qualifications for election is that during the three years preceding nomination, the person shall have been a member in good standing of the bar of any state. For more about women and the Bar Association, see page 29.

Director-at-Large

MISS BELLE SHERWIN, first vice-president of the National League of Women Voters, and head of the League's work for education in citizenship, has been appointed director-at-large of the Cleveland Association for Criminal Justice, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Fred Goff. Miss Sherwin was responsible for the school of politics and government conducted by the League and Columbia University in July.

Correction

IN the list of "states in which women may be jury-women," in the *Citizen* of September 8, we included a state that shouldn't have been there—Wyoming. We are sorry—and especially sorry to be forced to admit that this pioneer suffrage state backslid. For women served on juries in Wyoming as long ago as 1870; but it was only for a few years, and the Wyoming legislature has since enacted a law which says that *male* citizens may serve on the jury.

Miss Adams, who wrote the article in which the list appeared, is not responsible for the slip, nor is Wyoming. Our source of information—not in this case an answer to our questionnaire—was supposed to be reliable.

Also in that number, we made the statement that Mrs. Alice Curtice Moyer-Wing, of Missouri, is the first woman head of a state department in the country. We believed that, though the statement as previously made in the magazine and as furnished to us from Missouri sources, was that Mrs. Wing is the first head of Industrial Inspection as a department. Mrs. Florence Kelley, however, in the interests of keeping the records straight, and giving credit to an early feminist, writes in to say that in 1893 she was appointed by Governor John P. Altgeld to the position of Chief Factory Inspector of the state of Illinois, and held her position with an assistant and ten deputies.

General Federation Notes

By Lessie Stringfellow Read

ARIZONA clubwomen recently celebrated their twenty-first birthday and a "majority birthday party" was held, with the oldest club in the state represented in the club pageant. A tree—named the Federation Tree—was planted in honor of the anniversary. A concert was given by the state's best artists and $100 was cleared for the National Headquarters Fund. During the convention Mrs. T. H. Cureton, state president, received a telegram from Mrs. E. C. Rumpler, G. F. W. C. membership chairman, announcing that every club in Arizona had been admitted into national club membership.

TWELVE girls are being educated through loans made to them by the South Carolina State Federation of Women's Clubs' student loan fund.

PLAYING Big Sister to friendless girls is the favorite altruistic work of members of the Oklahoma Federation of Women's Clubs. This has led to the building by the Federation, of a community house for the Girls' Industrial School at Tecumseh. "The women of the Federation do not stop at building a house; they remember the girls' birthdays with gifts," writes the *Daily Oklahoman*. "The clubwomen also remember the girls at Christmas. Many of the shrubs, plants and bulbs that now adorn the grounds of the school came from the clubwomen of the state. Magazines and books are also sent and are eagerly read and reread until they literally hang in shreds. Two of the more advanced girls are attending the Shawnee high school, the clubs of Blackwell and Shawnee giving the scholarships."

MEMBERS of the Kansas Federation of Women's Clubs are feeling especially gratified over the appointment of one of their number, Mrs. Mae C. Patrick of Santana, as a member of the Advisory Council on Indian Affairs. Mrs. Patrick is the retired president of the Seventh District Federation. Appointment was made by Secretary Hubert Work of the U. S. Department of the Interior.

THE Western Federation of Women's Clubs is the new name given to the organization formerly known as the "Intermountain and Coast States Federation." The name was changed at the annual convention recently held at Anaconda, Montana.

Rigorous enforcement of the prohibition laws, more respect for all legal enactments, less space for crime news in the daily press, uniform marriage and divorce laws, and the passage in

the next session of Congress of the Towner-Sterling bill to create a national department of education, were advocated in resolutions adopted.

MRS. JOHN C. URQUHART, president of the California Federation of Women's Clubs, is being noticed as a leader in the peace movement. At a board meeting recently held in San Francisco, she announced plans for a campaign "to supplant war with arbitration," and suggested in a stirring speech entitled "Spiritual Force of Understanding," that all Armistice Day observances on November 11 "take the form of a 'law-not-war-program.'" The board, representing some six hundred women's organizations, declared emphatically for a World Court, banishment of illiteracy in 1930, and greater co-operation of the world's constructive forces for peace, as opposed to army and navy departments committed to war preparation programs.

NEVADA has a "Cookie League" whose members daily furnish cookies to ex-soldiers in the Letterman General Hospital, San Francisco. California women are following their example and are organizing leagues to supply the numerous other hospitals in their state. Similar work is being done in Arizona where cookies are being sent to a hospital where none but limbless boys are confined. Disciplinary barracks at Fort Mason have appealed to the club women to extend their work to other institutions.

SOUTH CAROLINA club women are renewing their efforts to complete their $10,000 endowment fund, about $5,000 of which has already been raised. Mrs. Leroy Springs is chairman of the Endowment Fund committee.

A PROTEST against a government policy which permits industry to bring about such conditions and acute suffering as resulted from the coal strike of last year has been registered in the form of a resolution by the Massachusetts Federation of Women's Clubs. Urging that immediate steps be taken to prevent "the repetition of such a catastrophe," a copy of the resolution was ordered sent to the President and Vice-President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House, and to United States Senators.

FOUR THOUSAND copies of the admirable brochure called "Teaching Honesty in the Home," written by Dr. William B. Forbush of the National Honesty Bureau, have been presented to the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Copies may be had free of charge, while the supply lasts, by writing to Miss Lida Hafford. A stamp should be enclosed with each request.

A Line on the Movies

By LAURA L. LAEDLEIN

ASHES OF VENGEANCE—produced by the Associated First National: Sixteenth century France and a maid and a man, with sixteenth century France in the background, where it belongs, and the maid and the man to the fore in a delicate love story. Family strategy in a setting of romance and beauty. Norma Talmadge—always in good taste—makes of *Yeolande* a woman of charm and intelligence, with a vigorous hand in family affairs. Conway Tearle is as good in the high-spirited *Rupert*.

THE HUNCHBACK OF NOTRE DAME—produced by Universal: Not—naturally—Hugo's full-woven tapestry, but the picture has a fair degree of the novel's color. Hugo's romantic realism is treated with the broad brush, and well. The cathedral scenes are interesting. Lon Chaney gives a remarkable performance as the hunchback dwarf, *Quasimodo*. Well worth seeing, but too much horror for children.

ROSITA—produced by United Artists Corporation: A musical comedy sort of play of Spain, and a street singer who musically-comically has the entrée of a king's palace. Mary Pickford as *Rosita* is always good, and in many a comedy scene is exquisitely right. Holbrook Blinn is amusing as the king who doesn't philander intelligently enough to outwit an interested wife. A pleasant sort of play with lively action.

THE WHITE SISTER—produced by Inspiration Pictures: Marion Crawford's Italian novel done into a play of much beauty, both of scenes and of emotional drama. Lillian Gish and Ronald Colman are equally good in the parts of the young nun and her soldier lover in a really touching love story. There is no harm in taking the children, and there are some exciting volcano-in-action and fire and flood scenes boys would like.

DULCY—A story of the wife who makes mincemeat of her husband's business prospects because she can't keep her young fingers off. A clever comedy treated as delicate farce, with Constance Talmadge in the central role, where she belongs. No interest at all for children, and no harm. Produced by Associated First National, from the play by George Kaufman and Marc Connelly.

THE WHITE ROSE—Sex and young love badly sentimentalized, and to no conclusion. Mae Marsh in the part of the unmarried girl mother. A weak presentment of the question. Produced by D. W. Griffith himself.

THE GREEN GODDESS—produced by Distinctive Pictures, after the William Archer play: A very good adventure play, with real men and women one would rather like to meet. George Arliss is excellent as a super-sophisticated Indian prince, forgiven, as many a villain is, because of his breeding and humor. Indian temples and a sought-for human sacrifice, and a rescue by His Majesty's troops in airplanes. A good compromise play for the children-and-adults party.

AT regular intervals the National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations publishes a list of classified films, which have been reviewed by the Better Films Committee, and are recommended as affording clean and wholesome recreation. We publish here the September list, "for the family, from ten years up"; some of the films having been noticed in the CITIZEN's review column of new releases:

"Penrod and Sam"— "Johnson's African Big Game"—"The Soul of the Beast" ("there is much brutality which might better have been omitted") "An Old Sweetheart of Mine"—"The Go-Getter" — "Slippy McGee" — "Wrecks."

The list "for high school age or over" is: Charles Ray in "The Girl I Loved"—Walter Hiers in "Sixty Cents An Hour" ("insane but harmless")—Jack Holt in "A Gentleman of Leisure"—"Down to the Sea in Ships" ("but the quicker you forget the brutal love story, the better"—Lon Chaney in "All the Brothers Were Valiant" — "Human Wreckage" ("because it is said that the drug habit permeates our high schools, this film of Mrs. Wallace Reid's is included. The school or the church, however, seems a better place for it")—Thomas Meighan in "Homeward Bound."—Harold Lloyd in "Safety Last."

Washington

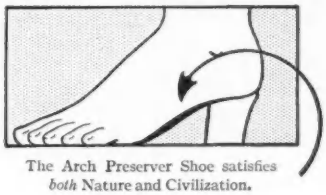
(*Continued from page* 12)

favors to extend to Senators from Wisconsin, i. e., appointments to be made by the President usually with the guidance and advice of a Senator, he was in the habit of conferring with Senator Lenroot, of Wisconsin, rather than with Senator La Follette. It was one of Senator La Follette's little punishments that he was not allowed his share of the gratuities for his state. The other day, President Coolidge reversed the Harding policy and awarded to Senator La Follette recognition in this matter. President Coolidge believes that it is not for him to say who are the sheep and who are the goats in the Republican party, and that he is President of all the people and not only of those who keep "regular." This move on the part of the President has made a splendid impression and is gratifying to party leaders who hope in the next Congress to create a liaison among the groups, if only for the sake of the campaign advancement.

The next Congress is to be one of

Nature plans that the foot rest on heel, ball and outside *arch.*

Civilization demands that heel and arch be *raised.*



The Arch Preserver Shoe satisfies *both* Nature and Civilization.

Don't wait until your feet begin to hurt

IT IS easy to prevent foot ills. It is more difficult to cure them. Indeed, in advanced stages, nothing can be done to restore a badly broken down arch to its original strength and vigor.

Nearly everybody is born with good feet. Their very strength is often a handicap. If your feet began to hurt as soon as they were mistreated, you would make a real effort to understand their needs and treat them fairly. But they will stand a shocking amount of abuse before they give you definite foot pains — though they cause nagging nerve strains from the very beginning.

If you play fair with your feet while they are still well, they will stay young and vigorous as long as you live; you can stand or walk as much as you like without discomfort; and you will be surprised at your increased energy.

Choosing shoes for health and comfort does not mean choosing awkward, ungainly footgear. There is only one shoe which supports the foot adequately — the Arch Preserver Shoe — and it has all the fashion appeal of a shoe which you would choose for style alone.

If you went barefoot all your life

you would never have any arch trouble. When your foot rests flat on the ground, the heel, the outer side (long arch) and the ball are all adequately supported and the rear part of your foot which is strongest, bears about seventy-five per cent of the weight of the body.

As soon as you put on a fashionable shoe, the heel raises the outer side of the foot off the ground, taking away its accustomed support, at the same time that it throws a much larger proportion of weight on this part. Gradually tendons stretch and the arch sags down, interfering with circulation. There begins an unceasing nervous strain which saps your vitality and makes you prematurely fagged and faded.

What every normal foot needs

is a shoe with an arch which is capable of bearing the weight of the body without sagging — an arch that comes at just the right position in relation to the arch of the foot. To give this kind of support, a shoe must be specially designed and fitted, as only the Arch Preserver Shoe is designed and fitted.

This remarkable shoe keeps every bone, every tendon, every blood vessel and every nerve in its proper place, because it has a concealed, built-in, anchored arch-bridge which supports the entire weight-carrying structure of the foot, yet it bends freely where the foot bends. The inside of the sole is flat, not cupped, the foot rests on it as naturally as on the ground. By wearing Arch Preserver Shoes you actually rest your feet while you are using them.

Fitting the shoe arch to your foot arch

requires a scientifically worked out system of measurements. All shoes except Arch Preserver Shoes are fitted according to measurements from heel to toe. The foot with a long arch and short toes is given the same shoe as the foot with a shorter arch and longer toes. If the arch of the shoe is reinforced it may do more harm than good unless the shoe arch fits the foot arch precisely.

Arch Preserver Shoes are fitted from heel to ball so that the arch of this shoe supports your foot arch perfectly and bends exactly where your foot bends. The Arch Preserver construction does not affect the lines of the shoe at all — but the features which enable this shoe to support your foot correctly, also keep this shoe from breaking down and losing its shape. The result is that to their smartness and comfort, is added long wear and economy.

THE ARCH PRESERVER SHOE

Supports where support is needed
— Bends where the foot bends

ARCH PRESERVER SHOE
TRADE MARK REG. U.S. PAT. OFFICE

"KEEPS THE FOOT WELL"

This trade-mark protects your feet

The exclusive features which give you this unusual combination of advantages, are patented and can not be successfully imitated. The only way you can be sure of happy, healthy, smartly shod feet is to look for the Arch Preserver Trade-Mark on the sole and lining.

No 78

No. 102

Send for FREE Books

Send for free booklets explaining in complete detail how this fashionable shoe conforms to every requirement of nature and why it is the only shoe that offers this perfect combination of smart style and complete comfort.

Arch Preserver Shoes are made for women and misses by only The Selby Shoe Company, Portsmouth, Ohio.

The Selby Shoe Co., Dept. 3 Portsmouth, Ohio.

Send the booklets, "Why the Arch Preserver Shoe Preserves the Foot," and "The Feet and the Face."

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worry, according to all the signs. It will be cat-chase-cat. There is a strong feeling here that President Coolidge wants the nomination from the bottom of his heart; for one reason, to compensate him for the difficult work and strain of completing the Harding term. At this particular time, there seems to be real indecision as to whether or not he could carry the country, and word comes here that some Republican clubs themselves so far are careful not to underwrite anything which would look like an endorsement of Coolidge for the next term. And the worry is not altogether over something that Congress can control. For a safe election, the Republican party needs prosperity. With prosperity it could re-elect a Harding or a Coolidge, it is said. With poor business conditions and the psychological state that would engender, an entirely different ticket would be called for. Then the country would have to know Coolidge for his acts, or know some other man who personified results. With a poor business outlook, it would be a Roosevelt election—some candidate whose personality was more like a dynamo than a storage battery. This is one reason why all the farm agitation is so distressing, from the Republican viewpoint. It presages election difficulties.

Well, this is what Lloyd George is coming into when he arrives. The only Welshman in the Coolidge Cabinet, Secretary Davis, of the Department of Labor, has charge of the program of welcome which will be extended to the former British Premier. The whole capital is making plans to give him a party. If he eats as many dinners as are in sight, he will be covered with mayonnaise from head to foot.

Your Investments

Railroad Equipment

By ELEANOR KERR

THERE are a great many items in the newspapers nowadays about the purchasing of new equipment by the railroads. They need and have needed new rolling stock for a long time, since during the last ten years a great deal less than the normal amount has been bought, while repairs have been neglected and traffic has been exceedingly heavy.

When freight and passenger cars are bought by the hundred and engines in lots of ten, the cost quickly runs up into millions of dollars. So the railroads are likely to finance new equipment by issuing notes which are sold to the investing public.

These notes are secured by a mortgage on the cars or engines, and it can be readily appreciated that they form very attractive investments; a railroad must have equipment in order to operate, and so the noteholder has a lien on a most vital part of the railroad's property.

These notes are usually issued in serial form—that is, a certain part of them comes due each year, usually beginning within a year or two of the date of issue. This enables the investor to buy a maturity which exactly suits him; and the shorter maturity equipment notes are about the most attractive short-term issues on the market.

Insurance companies, trust companies and large corporations are among the big buyers of "equipments." They find them particularly desirable because of their safety, the many different due dates—which bring in money, for reinvestment or other purposes, twice every year in each issue and the comparatively generous income return. (Equipment notes of first-class railroads sell on a basis to yield from 5 per cent. to almost 6 per cent. when the first-mortgage bonds of the same roads are on a basis to yield from 3½ per cent. to 5 per cent.)

Most equipment notes are now issued on a very ingenious system called the "Philadelphia Plan." Under this plan, the equipment is owned by a trustee for the bondholders, who does not give the cars, engines, etc., over to the railroad until *all* the notes have been paid off. In other words, the railroad rents the cars, etc., under an agreement by which it pays the trustee each year, or oftener, an amount equal to the interest on the notes and the principal about to mature. Thus the railroad is constantly paying for more and more of the equipment, but the title does not pass to the railroad until all is paid for. The investor, therefore, has behind his notes a constantly increasing proportion of the original security, which more than offsets the depreciation of the equipment as it is used. In addition, the railroad agrees to keep the cars or engines in first-class condition at all times, and replace any which become worn out, are burned or otherwise destroyed in wrecks.

Not all of a railroad's cars and engines are purchased in this way. Many, if not the larger part, are paid for by the company out of its earnings, or from special reserve funds built up when times are good. New equipment is as often necessitated by the opening of new lines, new connections and sudden growth in the industries along existing lines, as by need for replacement.

In spite of new inventions and the commercial use of airplanes and motor trucks, the railroads of the country are still its commercial arteries and their equipment performs a vital part in the handling of our products.

Public Opinion

(*Continued from page* 8)

or magazine with a large circulation and many advertisers can afford to offend this or that advertiser—even as the large department store can afford to offend the individual customer. Few newspapers, however, can afford to offend all or even a large portion of their advertisers. This means, in a word, that few newspapers indeed can afford to offend big business. On those things upon which big business is divided or indifferent the larger papers have a considerable measure of independence, but upon those matters on which corporate wealth is unanimous or nearly so—rare indeed is the newspaper that can be independent.

More serious than either of the fore-

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going defects is the appeal to prejudice for the sake of profit. The way to sell the paper is to catch the public fancy. That fancy may best be caught by an appeal to the emotions, prejudices, biases, complexes, or what not of the multitude. To catch and retain that fancy all must be sacrificed. And so the newspaper staff trims and adorns its stock in trade—the news—in the way which in their judgment will produce the largest sales. Instead of—First to last, the Truth, First to last—the Public, becomes the motto of every newspaper office. And so you have the newspapers dramatizing events—introducing villains where none exist, well realizing that for the masses the melodrama is the most popular form of entertainment. You have appeals to race hatreds, religious antipathies, national prejudices, no matter how slight the occasion. The things which it is the most important for the public, in their own interests, to know, are (often) precisely those things which it does not pay a paper to print. Hence the tendency is and will be to yellower and yellower journalism, with less and less regard for the truth, and more and more regard for the one supreme goal—greater sales.

It would seem, then, that the press is, indeed, a frail instrument to carry the burden of popular government. "It is like the beam of a searchlight that moves restlessly about, bringing one episode and then another out of the darkness into vision. Men cannot do the work of the world by this light alone. They cannot govern society by episodes, incidents, and eruptions."

And yet in great measure that is exactly what they are trying to do.

Is there any panacea? None. Certain of the defects, however, can be partially overcome. The obvious course to pursue upon the discovery that certain papers place certain emphasis is to discount that emphasis. Perhaps the best way to do this is to check one paper against another and occasionally if not regularly compare the accounts that are given of the world's news. A further corrective is the reading of magazines which revise the happenings of the week, and in this reading should be included a periodical with whose point of view you entirely disagree.

But it's only by the study of books that the defects of the modern press can be overcome. The preparation of a book is a much more careful and painstaking undertaking than the writing of an article for the press, and as a result books probably are much more accurate than the press. But there are many books, and some of them more worthless than the yellowest papers. By a judicious following of the book reviewers, however, or by obtaining guidance from the specialists in our universities and colleges, it *is* possible for the average individual to make a selection which with but a reasonable expenditure of time, will place her among the well-informed few.

But what has all this to do with government? Everything! On the basis of the information or misinformation now obtained from the press, the individual forms a judgment which becomes a part of and helps determine that great force—public opinion. *And public opinion rules the country.* Our political parties, our city councils, state legislatures and Congress exist for the sole purpose of enacting into law the decisions of public opinion. Whatever defects exist in the machinery that supplies the public with information upon which it bases its decisions, are basic defects in the governmental machinery of the country.

It is to a consideration of the difficulties in the way of the formation of a rational public opinion that your attention has been invited in this article.

It is with the questions: How can they be remedied? What can you do to remedy them? that it leaves you.

For further reading upon the subject of the article Walter Lippman's *Public Opinion* is suggested.

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Mrs. Stannard

(*Continued from page* 13)

with a high rating, was appointed to her Delaware post by Dr. Mac Ayeal, at that time Ohio's Director of Public Welfare. Eight months later a governor of the opposite party came into power. He appointed Mr. John E. Harper Welfare Director. The Welfare Director has the right to choose his own assistant, and in a short time Mr. John McNamara, whose wife had been for nine years, up until the appointment of Mrs. Stannard, Chief Matron of the Delaware School, was made Assistant Welfare Director. During those years Mr. McNamara had been superintendent of buildings and grounds.

Presently there were disquieting rumors that Mrs. Stannard was to be removed—very disquieting indeed to the Ohio women who had been so pleased with the improvement in the school. On June 5th the charges were preferred by the Welfare Director, and notice of her dismissal was sent to the Civil Service Commission. The Matron herself heard of all this officially on that same day—through a reporter. Presently Mr. McNamara arrived at the school, gave her official notice, and dismissed her.

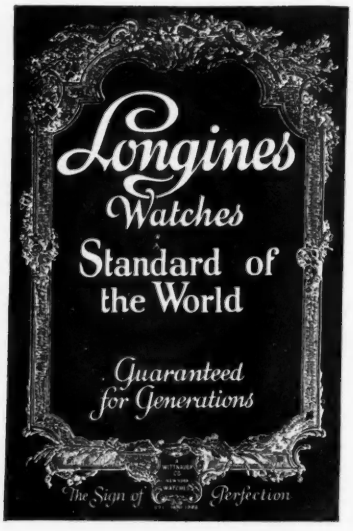
But this summary removal was not allowed to stand. The attorney general ruled that it was in violation of the Civil Service laws—and incidentally said that after studying the evidence he was "thoroughly convinced that the

charges as filed are wholly insufficient." A few days later the letter of the law was complied with—notice was properly given, and a trial arranged for. From July 2 to July 11 the Civil Service Commission hearing was held, the attorney general declining to represent the Welfare Department.

Among the great number of those who attended the hearing with keenest interest, were Mrs. Cornelius Selover, President of the Ohio Federation of Women's Clubs, and Miss Juliette Sessions, President of the Ohio League of Women Voters. Both were deeply concerned to sift this whole thing to the bottom, seeing Mrs. Stannard not only as an individual, but as a representative of a great body of experienced government employees in responsible posts, and her case as a trial of strength of the merit system opposed by politicians. Among the witnesses in Mrs. Stannard's favor were Miss Elizabeth Reeves of the Russell Sage Foundation, who had made a careful study of the school; Miss Mary Irene Atkinson, chief inspector in the Division of State Charities of the Department of Public Welfare; the chief clerk of the school for five years, and a woman who had been for ten years Supervisor of Education there.

To all of the "unofficial jury" (as the *Ohio Woman Voter* calls the crowd that filled the court-room) the decision was a shock and a surprise. They too had heard the evidence and they found in it no reason for taking this kindly and efficient woman away from her job. They have asked the Commissioners to give them the details of their opinions. But the one who voted to sustain the removal, hadn't time—he was going away for a vacation.

The tie vote of a two-member judicial body does not satisfy the "unofficial jury." They are not through. Ohio should not be. Nor should any one concerned with the administration of the Civil Service, nor any one concerned with human welfare in government.



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The Bookshelf

By M. A.

THREE books by three of the younger women, two English and one American, are interesting and significant not only in themselves, but also as types of writing, examples of what moderns are doing with that art so frequently miscalled "literature."

"*The End of the House of Alard*," whose title is instantly reminiscent in sense and rhythm of an older American classic, is Sheila Kaye-Smith's novel. The house of Alard, land-poor English aristocracy, looms like a monster over the lives of its individual members, demanding the living sacrifice of loves and ambitions. Out of seven children, only two escape it, and the rest are ground beneath the ruin of its top-heavy tumble. In form, the book follows the best English traditions. It has no loose ends. It sweeps along with a sense of power, unity, individuality quite apart from its characters. Yet they do not suffer, do not become puppets. They are real people, determining their destinies or having them determined for them; eating, loving, fighting, talking, each of them alive in the pages of the book.

"*Jacob's Room*" might be in a different language, might be a statue, or a piece of music, so thoroughly is it another form of art. Virginia Woolf presents Jacob himself, holding up one facet and then another, calling attention to a reflection, and running out to bring in the very person of the image. Chapters, sections, are as unrelated, as disconnected as the thoughts of a person you see only at intervals. Everything is below the surface, in the depths of Jacob's mind, and yet, as written words must if they are to make pictures, it deals with things seen. If Mrs. Woolf has a theme—and it is no more certain that she has than that Jacob has formulated a consistent philosophy—it is this, "After all—it's not catastrophes, murders, deaths, diseases, that age and kill us; it's the way people look, and laugh, and run up the steps of omnibuses."

"*Escapade*" is the ironically frivolous title Evelyn Scott has given to an intense and turbulent period of her life which she sets forth in diary form. Having fallen in love with a married professor of biology, she elopes with him to Brazil. They have no money, her baby is born, they live among the poorest people in the cheapest slums. Hard and sordid as it sounds, no outline can convey the sense of intense degradation and of sharp beauty which she pictures. Words to her are terrible tools which she uses with all the force of an over self-conscious, ill, and forcedly idle young person to whom life is stripped and bare. Nothing is mellow, no outline is blurred. Ugliness and beauty are so sharply outlined that they wound equally.

The End of the House of Alard: E. P. Dutton, 1923, $2.00.
Jacob's Room: Harcourt Brace, 1923, $2.00.
Escapade: Thomas Seltzer, 1923, $3.00.

The Fighting Angel

(*Continued from page* 12)

Julia Lathrop, and in helping our young men and women through the 'Y'."

One evening, again in an official car, we went for dinner at Letohrádek, the palace set in the middle of a great park, formerly the summer home of the Austrian governor of Bohemia, now turned over by the new government to be the residence of the American "Y" workers who have made of it a really vital center of social life.

But it was our last evening together that has left the most vivid picture of this remarkable woman. We had had serious days together. That evening the spirit of play had caught us. At dinner she said we must take no dessert. Instead we would have something else later, a bag of cakes purchased at a tiny shop and carried under our arms through dark streets, by many a strange turn, up through narrow passes, a long, long hill, beneath an old stone wall, though a house, a kitchen, out again and up and up to come at last to a little out-of-door restaurant, where we met a dozen friends. Seated above a sheer stone cliff we called down our order to the garçon far below and polishing our glasses with our handkerchief—so it is done—sipped our red wine and munched our cakes and looked out over the city like a dream place under its lights, and talked and talked of many things, gay, not too serious, till the night was almost spent.

There was the blackness of long past midnight as we stumbled back down the long sloping way. But at my hotel she came in for another moment—to say goodby and to pledge another meeting sometime, somewhere, in her world or in mine. From the door I watched her move swiftly off through the night, her noble figure, her swinging step, the poise of her magnificent head, fearless, resolute—I think the picture will never fade.

With Our Readers

Letters of comment on the articles for and against the League of Nations published in our issue of July 28, have been coming. Here are two of them, and others will appear later.

An Open Letter to Herbert Adams Gibbons

I HAVE just read your article, "The League—As a Liberal Sees It," published in the *Woman Citizen*, July 28, 1923. Being a liberal (as I think) myself, the title of your article appealed to me, particularly when I saw your name attached.

But it was something of a shock when I came to this statement: ". . . in the summer of 1923 the advocates of our joining the Versailles League without reservations could not muster as many as ten per cent, in any intelligent group."

As it happens, I had just been glancing over the results of "The New Republic's Straw Vote For Liberals," as tabulated in the issue of August 1. The figures as given there are: "Join the League," 828; "Join with Reservations," 735; "Opposed to League," 863. This, as you will see, is something over three times as large as your estimate. In the following week the figures were: "Join the League," 980; "Join with Reservations," 839; "Opposed to League," 984.

H. C., Madison, Wis.

Dr. Jacobs, a leading feminist of Holland, directs her criticism at the other anti-League article.

WITH the greatest interest I read *The Woman Citizen* of July 28, 1923. In a note at the head of that copy you say that you can print three articles on international co-operation from the three dominant points of view . . . for study and for response. I therefore ask if it is allowed to a reader of the Old World to express the impression which the article of Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton has made upon her?

I have not the privilege of knowing Mrs. Upton personally, but what I have heard and read of her valuable work in the woman movement during many years placed her in my admiration very high among the American great women. And now her article, "A Republican Looks at the League," astonished me so much that I asked myself how can it be possible that such a wise woman uses such arguments—why the U. S. A. should not join the League of Nations?

The reason why Europe invites the United States to join the League of Nations is because the League cannot fulfill its enormous task if such a big power remains outside. If the most powerful nation remains outside as a looker-on and will only join the group of serious workers for humanity's welfare when it can be sure to profit by it, then it plays the same rôle as the woman who remained outside our woman movement as long as it stood in sign of scorn and ridicule and who entered our oganizations when victory was in sight.

I hope that not one of the nations which has joined the League of Nations has done it principally for its own benefit. The League of Nations can only fulfill its aim well if it consists of nations which are conscious of the fact that to strive after the welfare of humanity is a greater aim than to work for the best of one's own country, and that by serving the interest of the world one serves best the interests of one's own country.

I will finish by saying that I am not of the opinion that the constitution of the League of Nations is already what it ought to be and that the League is already able to fulfill its great aim, but the American citizen knows better than anyone else that such a body of united states must have time to grow and that it year by year can become stronger if the united elements work together in harmony and believe in its great task.

Dr. Aletta H. Jacobs, The Hague.

Next—those husbands of "careerists":

THE "Symposium of Husbands" evokes the same eager interest as does an account of how the President spends his day or how a famous actress retains her figure. But it deals entirely with men and women who have definite talent and ability and who have arrived in their chosen professions.

Owing to the numerical importance of the ordinary dubs, it might be of interest to hear discussed the following questions: Is the average woman whose ability and earning capacity are small happier doing stenography or clerking in a store than she is doing housework, and is she developing more mentally and spiritually? Regardless of her happiness, is she contributing more to society by achieving a fair degree of success in some profession, say, than she is by raising a family of ordinary children? How are the average couple whose combined income is small able to afford enough service in the home, providing there are children (and hasn't it been proved the less talent, the more probability of children?) to enable the wife to work outside even if she so desires? Doesn't bare necessity dispose of the problem for most people, and, after all, isn't it only the especially gifted or the especially rich who have the necessary equipment for enjoying voluntary choice in the regulation of their lives?

Carolyn Waters,
Minneapolis, Minn.

Who Is Right?

MAY I correct a statement made by Mrs. Florence Kelley in the July 28 number of the *Woman Citizen*, that women are not admitted to membership in the American Bar Association? They have been admitted for at least five years on the same conditions as men, Miss Mary Lathrop of the Denver bar being the first one to take advantage of that privilege. At the meeting in Cincinnati two years ago Pearl McCall was elected on the Executive Council from Idaho and Emma M. Gillett, Dean of the Washington College of Law, was one of the vice presidents. At the meeting in San Francisco last year, Kathryn R. Pike, law clerk in the customs division, United States Treasury, was elected on the local council of the Association for the District of Columbia.

Ellen Spencer Mussey,
Honorary Dean, Washington College of Law.

ORIGINALLY the Bar Association was closed to women. The following sections of Article III were added September 5, 1919:

(a) Nominations for membership shall be made by a majority of the Local Council of the state to the Bar of which the persons nominated belong, and must be transmitted in writing to the Chairman of the General Council, and approved by the Council on vote by ballot, except as provided in sub-division (d) hereof.

(d) During the period between annual meetings, members may be elected by the Executive Committee upon the written nomination of a majority of the Local Council of any state. One negative vote in the Executive Committee shall prevent an election.

Since then women and Negroes have been admitted on the terms stated in these sections. It follows that in parts of the country where either women or Negroes are *not* nominated "by a majority of the Local Council of the state to the Bar of which the persons nominated belong," they are ineligibile to membership in the American Bar Association. Eligibility to membership in the American Bar Association, thus qualified, is a very different thing indeed from eligibility, for instance, to the National Association of Social Workers. A requirement for nomination which appears at first glance to be a simple precaution against persons whose education or character does not bear scrutiny, can be used against both women and Negroes whose professional qualifications and character cannot be successfully challenged, when ever there is sex or race prejudice.

Florence Kelley.

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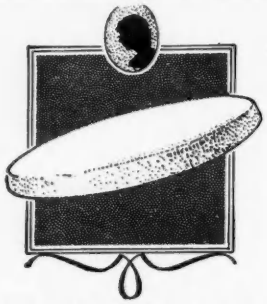

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Heart-to-Heart

FROM COVER TO COVER

THAT the CITIZEN is winning its way and proving gratifyingly helpful to women is more evident day by day, judging from the letters that come to the Editor's desk. Its very conciseness and brevity fit into the busy woman's life (and what worth-while woman isn't busy these days?) "I read it from cover to cover" is a frequent sentence in subscribers' letters.

The advertisements in the CITIZEN also seem extraordinarily popular. One subscriber wrote, "The advertisements are the part of the CITIZEN I like best, because I feel sure they are reliable." (I wish we could tell you of the advertising we have refused.) And speaking of advertising, let me remind you that advertisers like to hear from readers. Almost every one likes to get letters, and when the letter is friendly, or perhaps is in praise of his goods, or is asking for expert information which he offers to give, you may be sure it will be warmly welcomed by the advertiser, and will also prove an asset to your magazine.

A recent letter touched us very much. It came from Indiana with a renewal of a subscription: "I wish I could get subscribers for the CITIZEN, but I am ninety-three years old. Have been on crutches from a fall sixteen years. I am very hard of hearing and my hands are too shaky for a pen, but I want the work to go on." That is the kind of woman citizen that puts many a young one to shame, and we are proud that among the hosts of young and active readers, we can still interest one who has fought the good fight for so many years.

The CITIZEN is being used more every year as required reading and for classes in social and political science. In the past week several teachers have asked for copies in bulk for their students. The Seattle Public Library ordered some extra copies of the issue of July 28 for use in debate. The subject of the state debate in the public schools in Washington this year is the World Court, and the material in that number of the CITIZEN was found particularly helpful.

Over the Top

The Florida League of Women Voters will probably be the first state League to win the WOMAN CITIZEN *prize of* $100.00 *for subscriptions. Montana, Minnesota, Michigan, Nevada, and California, both the Northern and Southern sections, are all making October drives for subscribers. The* WOMAN CITIZEN *hopes to send many checks for* $100.00 *this fall for the work of state Leagues. Write for particulars to the* WOMAN CITIZEN.—*G. F. B.*

The Woman Citizen

Volume VIII | OCTOBER 20, 1923 | Number 11

News Notes of the Fortnight

Unrest in the Philippines

THE opponents of General Wood scored a victory in the recent elections in the Philippines. Ramon Fernandez, Coalitionist candidate for the Philippine Senate, was elected. The Coalitionists are the party, led by Manuel Quezon, that brought the issue against Governor General Wood to a head last summer. The candidate of the pro-Wood Democratic party, however, won a higher percentage of the vote than had been expected.

The campaign was very heated, and the Filipino feeling against General Wood's administration is at high tension. The Coalitionists are out for independence, and contend that the promise made to them some years ago under the Jones Act that independence would be facilitated by the American administration as rapidly as possible, is by no means being fulfilled.

Having control of the legislature, the Coalitionists now threaten to block all measures recommended by Governor General Wood. Assistant Justice Malcolm, of the Philippine Supreme Court, has added fuel to the fire by saying that unless this controversy is amicably settled, the United States may re-establish military rule and withdraw such self-government as the Filipinos now have.

Greece Not Guilty

THE Commission of Inquiry appointed to investigate the Janina murders has severely criticised the Council of Ambassadors for allowing Italy to collect the 50,000,000 lire put up by Greece. This money, it will be remembered, had been deposited by Greece as security, and the Permanent Court at The Hague was to assess reparation damages if the inquiry showed Greek guilt. The Japanese, British and French members of the Commission (of which an Italian made the fourth), say that they had not finished their inquiry when the Council ordered the indemnity paid, and that the phrase in their preliminary despatch which indicated negligence on the part of Greek sub-officials by no means implied the responsibility of the Greek Government. It was not, they claim, the basis for an indemnity award. They report that they have found no evidence that any Greeks had a part in the murders, and they insist on being heard in person by the ambassadors.

Very Briefly

THE United States Government has purchased one of the finest residences in Christiania, Norway, for its legation mansion and office.

The National Red Cross holds its annual roll-call from Armistice Day to Thanksgiving, November 11 to 29.

China has a new president, elected to the post by the parliament after many months in which there has been no acting president, though Li Yuan-hung, who fled from his post last spring, still claimed the office. The new man is Marshal Tsao Kun, chief of the northern militarists.

To the American Jewish Congress, held this week, President Coolidge sent a statement promising a continued refusal to sanction any anti-Jewish discrimination, which there is a tendency to interpret as lining the President up against the Ku Klux Klan.

Virginia is now on the dishonor roll for lynching. A note from Richmond says that a Negro was taken from the King and Queen County court house and shot to death.

Michigan University Regents refused to allow a discussion of the League of Nations by former Attorney General Wickersham at their institution, on the ground that it is a political issue. Northwestern University Law School promptly asked for the vacant date.

It is reported that Henry Ford will return to the Government his share of the company's profits made on war contracts, amounting to $1,750,000.

Turkey a Republic

UNDER its new constitution Turkey will be proclaimed a republic, with a president having a four-or five-year term. The National Assembly, the despatches report, will have legislative power only, while the executive power will rest in a cabinet responsible to the Assembly. And the old name Ottoman Empire has been abandoned for the simple name Turkey. The new prohibition code, which went into effect on October 15, is a slight modification of the old code in the direction of wetness, and has been attacked strongly by prominent Moslems in Constantinople.

Allied occupation of Turkey has now ceased. The Allied troops withdrew with formal ceremonies to the accompaniment of a Turkish celebration, and though the American force did not participate in the celebration, the American ships were removed to distant stations.

Germany's Dictator

THE outcome of a sharp struggle among conflicting groups is that Chancellor Stresemann has become the constitutional dictator of Germany. By a vote of 316 to 24, the Reichstag passed a measure giving him "extraordinary powers." If it had failed to pass the bill, Stresemann, under President Ebert's authority, would have dissolved it.

This emergency arrangement — it lasts at the most only until March— gives the Chancellor the opportunity and the huge task of reorganizing German finance. It is a distinct victory for the Stresemann administration against the two extremes, the Nationalists and the Communists, and gives Germany in some sense a fresh start.

The dictator's power stops only at altering the eight-hour day, which was the rock on which the Cabinet broke ten days ago. The Socialists withdrew in protest against the proposed abolition of the eight-hour day, and the whole Cabinet resigned. Stresemann, with difficulty, succeeded in forming another, a coalition, and for the moment the widely varying groups are held together. The first move made by the dictator has been applauded—he has arranged that taxes shall hereafter be paid in gold. Paying in the vanishing paper currency has meant a rate that looked high and really was very low.

The power of the Industrialists is steadily growing. This group is hostile to the Chancellor, on account of his offer to take their wealth to apply on reparations (the unheeded offer of the late summer), but its head, Herr Stinnes, voted for the dictatorship bill. He and his group have been conducting negotiations with the French. During the

fortnight the Germans asked for a parley on the resumption of work in the Ruhr, and were told that the question must be settled locally between the French authorities and German industrialists. The German miners' union has since signed a pact with the French authorities for return to work in one of the largest mines.

Meantime, there is an increasingly desperate situation among the middle and professional classes, while unemployment among the workers is growing. Correspondents of the *Christian Science Monitor* have made full and careful investigations of conditions and have presented a report that shows "the mere support of existence for many people practically impossible." Unfortunately, the industrialists of Germany in holding out their wealth and in seizing the moment to extend their own operations have not only exploited their own people but have cast doubt on the reality of the general distress.

So far France has made no move that would make the reorganization of German finance easier. Belgium has just proposed that the Allies reconsider a proposition for a reparations arrangement which she made some time ago, and the Allies have consented. Great Britain shows no change in policy or attitude.

The A. F. of L. Convention

AFTER a hot debate, the American Federation of Labor expelled a Communist from its convention at Portland, Oregon. The evicted member was William F. Dunne of the Silver Bow Labor Council of Butte, Montana. The Secretary of the United Mine Workers brought the impeachment charges—that Dunne was attempting to destroy the trade union movement and had made untrue statements concerning officers of the Mine Workers' Union. The vote was 27,838 to 107 in favor of impeachment, and Dunne was asked to leave at once. His expulsion colored later discussions: there was strong denunciation of all propagandists for communism or revolution, as hostile to the trade-union movement. The Ku Klux Klan and the Fascisti movement also came in for denunciation. So did the Railway Labor Board. Proposals for the recognition of Russia and for the formation of a Labor party were heavily defeated.

Governor Pinchot Active

GOVERNOR PINCHOT of Pennsylvania reserves the right to become a candidate for the presidency, without making a statement about it now. It is understood that in a recent conference Secretary Mellon, who favors the nomination of Mr. Coolidge, suggested that Governor Pinchot should not seek delegates in the Pennsylvania primaries next May but should be content with the usual complimentary vote. The Governor declined both the promise and the honor, and said that he would remain free to select his own delegates. The supposition is that if by next spring it is clear that the President has made a successful record, Governor Pinchot will not contest the nomination; and that otherwise he will be actively for it.

Prohibition is being strongly emphasized by Governor Pinchot. As chief speaker on the opening day of the Citizenship Conference in Washington, he charged Federal officials with encouragement of law breaking, and called on the President to end the "whisky rebellion" as Washington did.

The Oklahoma Issue

AN election to decide whether or not the Oklahoma legislature had a right to convoke itself, in order to impeach the Governor, took place in spite of Governor Walton's opposition. It went against him, overwhelmingly, and a temporary injunction obtained by him to prevent the certification of the results did not affect the situation. Before the date chosen for the legislature to meet, the Governor surprisingly called it together himself—in order to put before it an anti-Klan bill which he had drawn. He even offered to resign if it would pass his measure for unmasking the Klan. The legislature assembled on his date, but it laid aside his bill, to wait until it had finished investigations looking toward impeachment.

The leader of the opposition is W. D. McBee, once a Texas cowboy, and now speaker of the legislature. McBee and other opponents of the Governor charge that he has installed radicals in office, has freed or paroled a number of desperate criminals (not to mention his refusal to allow imposition of the death penalty), and that bad as the Klan is, his dictatorial methods were not justified—that, in short, he is power mad. The Governor, on the other hand, claims that his fight is on a terroristic organization that has a stranglehold on the state; that he has used the weapons of censorship and martial law only in order to secure the testimony of persons flogged by the Klan, and that no innocent person has suffered.

Raynor Studios, Chicago.

Elisabeth Telling (our cover artist) has done a great many portrait studies. According to her own words her "specialty seems to have become child portraiture." A glance at the program of her one-man exhibit at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1922 confirms the fact. Jane, John, Billie, Mildred and Louise, Frances and Katherine are among the names listed.

Miss Telling was born in Milwaukee. She studied at the Art Institute of Chicago, received an A. B. degree from Smith College, and later studied with William P. Henderson, Charles Frances Browne, M. Heymann, in Munich, George Senseney and Hamilton Easter Field. She has exhibited in the Chicago Society of Etchers and Artists of Chicago and vicinity, the Brooklyn Society of Etchers, Print Makers Society of California, Annual American exhibition at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. The Pasadena State Library has some of her work among its permanent collection of prints.

Vermont on Prohibition

AT the recent primary election in Vermont the Republican voters apparently spoke in favor of prohibition. A candidate was chosen for United States senator, and a candidate for representative in Congress in the second district, both of whom were strongly for enforcement of the present prohibition law. Porter H. Dale, the senatorial nominee, won more votes than both of his opponents combined, and the nominee for representative, Colonel Ernest W. Gibson, won by a safe margin. The Democratic senatorial nominee is a wet, but the Republican party is dominant in Vermont.

Salandra's Bad Case

INTERESTING comment on the effect of the Corfu incident upon the League of Nations continues, ranging all the way from gloomy scorn to jubilation. Particularly interesting is the account which Mr. Raymond Fosdick brings back from Geneva. He points out that the reference of the affair by the League to the Council of Ambassadors was the logical method of approach, inasmuch as the murdered officers were representing the ambassadors at the time of their death. "If anyone thinks that the organized condemnation of fifty nations is something that can be trifled with," he says in the *League of Nations Herald*, "he should have seen the perspiration roll down the face of the Italian delegate, Signor Salandra, at the meeting of the Council of the League on September sixth. In a tone so faltering that it could scarcely be heard across the room, Salandra tried to put a bold front on a case that he personally knew to be bad. It was a pitiful failure. Against him was arrayed the public opinion of almost the entire civilized world."—*Oct.* 16, 1923.

Of Ambassadors and Budgets

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Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

October 11, 1923.

EVERYTHING around President Coolidge during the fortnight has been humming. A quiet calm has pervaded the White House. How long President Coolidge can withstand the buzzing about his head and still retain an uncommunicative mien is one of the guesses of the capital. The more that happens in political circles the less seems to come out of the White House. There is a long newspaper chant:

"GIVE US NEWS"

But as I tried to emphasize last time, the whole tone of the capital is to let the President go his own way at his own gait and not to comment prematurely.

The time has about come, however, when Mr. Coolidge will be so loaded up with pending questions that he will have to spill. The fortnight has been complicated by the announcement of the prospective retirement of Colonel Harvey as Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, and of Richard Washburn Child as Ambassador to Italy; Colonel Harvey to be succeeded reasonably soon and Mr. Child to take a leave of absence, return to Rome and be relieved as soon as Republicanly convenient. This caps the climax in the appointment situation, making that subject one of the most important on President Coolidge's calendar today.

The High Cost of Eminence

It makes a great difference to every American citizen, man or woman, just who is at the head of any foreign office of the American government. It means personal and government service of the highest order. Colonel Harvey was appointed in the spring of 1921 by President Harding, after having virtually obtained Mr. Harding's nomination at the Republican Convention of 1920. At that time it was conceded that Colonel Harvey swung the issue. He has not remained in England as long as most of his predecessors, and his record has not been as dignified as that of eminent men before him.

He arranged with President Harding for relief on the ground that it was too expensive and too much of a drain upon his personal finances to keep on. The question of keeping up an adequate American Embassy in London is still a difficult problem for any man not a multi-millionaire. One of the first recommendations of the special committee of the National Civil Service Reform League on the Improvement of the Foreign Service of the United States is that "embassies, legations, and consulates be purchased in the principal cities." In London the problem also involves the maintenance of the necessarily large establishment.

Who Next in London?

But everybody knows about Colonel Harvey. He has seen to that, and the question of who is to be his successor is the one that most interests Washington. On the principle of who is making the most trouble, or who could make the most trouble, for the Republican party, several names are considered in the list of ambassadorial possibilities. What a grand place to dump Henry Ford. What a splendid disposition of Senator Lodge, loosening him from the chairmanship of the Foreign Relations Committee and opening it to some younger and perhaps Western man. It is said around the White House that the President would seriously consider preferment of a representative of Western interests when candidates are mentioned. And then what a nice berth for Speaker Gillette, who has plenty of millions, and who, by leaving the speakership in the House, would somewhat disentangle the idea that its principal officers all come from in and around Boston, or somewhere in the codfish country.

Then there is Henry P. Fletcher, late Ambassador to Belgium and at present Ambassador to Brazil. And ex-Governor Frank W. Lowden of Illinois, who is present in party nightmares just now. Governor Lowden always comes up when there is some prominent post in view, as nobody knows in the Republican party just what Lowden will do if he is not tied, and some have said that it would be a little indelicate on the part of President Coolidge to offer him the post because it might be interpreted flatly as seeking to get rid of a prospective opponent in the coming elections.

John Bassett Moore, a most eminent statesman, at present out of the country a great deal as the American member of the International Court, is another possibility and one pleasantly thought of by those who seek to re-establish the prestige of the American Embassy.

There is, too, a friendly and important conjecture about Charles B. Warren, Ambassador to Japan at a time when Anglo-Japanese relations were very delicately put; a man who was highly successful at a hard job. Mr. Warren has been in Mexico as one of President Harding's commissioners to negotiate some understanding with the Obregon Government which could result in American recognition. With John Barton Payne he was successful in this. Mexico was recognized this summer and the appointment of our ambassador and the reception of the Mexican envoy only await the exchange of treaty ratifications by Mexico and the United States confirming the understanding reached. President Coolidge, it is known, believes that our ambassador will not go forth until the treaty is signed. At present Mexican affairs are being administered by an American chargé and a Mexican agent here.

Mr. Warren Stands High

Mr. Warren is a high type of politician who has been an esteemed member of the Republican National Committee, and chairman of the contest committee at the last National Convention, who handled in a signal way all the contests for seats. He was known to have been in high favor with Presi-

dent Harding. Moreover, he is a Westerner, born in Bay City, Michigan, in 1870. One of his legal achievements was his appearance as associate counsel for the United States before the "Joint High Commission to determine Bering seaplanes." He has been counsel for the government in other important suits. The beet-sugar industry owes its efficient organization to him. While he was on the staff of the Judge Advocate General during the World War, he assisted General Crowder in the draft to such an extent that much of the success of the operation of the draft is said to have been due to him.

Just now, however, the capital really thinks that the most likely prospect is that of James M. Beck of New York, Solicitor General of the Department of Justice under Attorney General Daugherty. Mr. Beck visited President Coolidge, escorted by Secretary Hughes, this week. When Colonel Harvey was appointed and Mr. Beck was traveling abroad he is said to have carelessly remarked that President Harding would have appointed him Ambassador to the Court of St. James's if he had not been under personal obligation to Colonel Harvey.

Mr. Beck is a New York lawyer of considerable fame. He won an enviable regard during the first period of the war when he interpreted the White Papers of Great Britain and made an analysis of them which was used as a starting point for their study throughout the country. Mr. Beck is an Easterner.

On the President's Mind

President Coolidge has a personal responsibility in the matter of these appointments, as ambassadors are presumed to be the personal representatives of the Chief Executives, and for many years have been used, in a sense, to pay off personal obligations. The residue of a presidential campaign has been the operation of this system of political "rewards and punishments." So the President has this very much on his mind just now, at a time when it might be presumed that President Harding had settled the matter for four years, and at a time, too, when Mr. Coolidge apparently is trying to concentrate his whole mind on his first message, by which he truly will be severely judged. If he had made himself known in any substantial way before this message, it would not receive quite such a scrutiny, but, under the circumstances, every comma will be held before a telescope. It has been common knowledge around the White House that he has gone at the preparation of his message by a thorough study of the condition of each department and an endeavor to ground himself thoroughly in the fundamentals of departmental business instead of trying immediately to conceive policies to be superimposed upon his lack of knowledge of details. Of course, this takes time. Some are criticising him for it, holding that he should make it his business to create policies and let someone else worry about departmental government. If he produces a stirring and constructive message, all this will be overlooked.

The Coming Message

Indications are now that his first offering to Congress, and in effect to the country, will contain reference to the following situations: Recognition of Mexico. The new budget now in preparation. Prospective amendments to the transportation act. Agricultural situation and some program for farm relief, including indication of what the disposition will be of the government nitrate plant at Muscle Shoals and the proposition of Henry Ford to buy it from the government. Tax reduction and consideration of amendments to the immigration law which will relieve tremendous embarrassments and hardships involved in the strict application of the quota law for immigrants to this country. Rehearsal of the bonus situation: Secretary Mellon is known to be standing pat in his conviction that the country should not pay a soldier bonus, and the general opinion is that President Coolidge also wants to see where the money may be obtained to pay for it before the government approves of the principle. Reorganization of the departments and business of the government, with specific agitation for relief of the office of the President. Walter F. Brown, close friend of President Harding, yesterday visited the White House to confer with President Coolidge regarding a final report of the Joint Congressional Committee on Reorganization, of which he is chairman. This committee has made tentative summaries of a report, which have been discussed already.

As a result of the President's trip to Alaska it is likely that President Coolidge will have new recommendations. For instance, one of the bones of contention in reorganization has been that the Forestry Service, for many years in the Department of Agriculture, be changed to the Department of the Interior. This was the pet scheme of Secretary Fall, upon which he went to the bat many times when he was head of the Interior Department. Secretary Wallace of the Department of Agriculture is just as insistent that the Forestry Service remain where it is. President Harding, on his western trip, had personal knowledge of the efficiency and splendid administration of the service as it is at present. There is talk at the White House of laying the whole reorganization plan before an early meeting of the Cabinet so that departmental jealousies can be somewhat smoothed out. The business of the consolidation of the War and Navy Departments is still unsettled and has bitter opponents, as would be natural.

The proposition to give the President some relief has taken somewhat tentative shape in a plan calling for one Assistant to the President, who shall have four secretaries; one to have charge of the executive offices, staff and personnel of the White House; the second to look after everything pertaining to legislation; the third to have charge of presidential appointments, patronage awards, postmasters, etc.; the fourth to deal with executive clemency. An important assistant apparently has been overlooked in this plan in the person of a publication expert, such as the present incumbent, Judson T. Welliver, who was with President Harding during the campaign and in the White House, and has continued with President Coolidge, a man of invaluable aid to all correspondents and to the White House generally as a literary adviser. Secretary Tumulty served in this capacity to some extent, although not exactly filling such a professional position. He, however, knew Mr. Wilson so well that he was far more able to speak and write for him than any secretary in the White House since the Wilson days. The Washington public has not had a chance to know Secretary Slemp well enough yet and surely Secretary Slemp does not yet know his man well enough to be able to impersonate him or act as his mentor for speeches and advice to correspondents.

The Alaska Question

With the presence in Washington this week of the Governor of Alaska, Scott C. Bone, the capital is beginning to speculate as to how much President Coolidge personally will profit from the Alaskan trip of the Hardings and how much good will come to Alaska through their great personal sacrifice. It is unfortunate now that Vice-President and Mrs. Coolidge were not members of the party. At the same time, it is inconceivable that the enormous study and investigation of the Alaska situation should come to no concrete end because of the death of President Harding. Washington is eagerly awaiting some word from Mr. Coolidge that he has this subject on his mind; that it will have consideration looking toward carrying out some of the recommendations of President Harding, Secretary Hoover and other members of the Alaskan party. There will be surprise if Mr. Coolidge does not include specific recommendations for Alaska in his coming message.

Plans for the reception of Lloyd George here have been increasingly elaborated since his arrival at New York. He is to lunch with the Presi-

(*Continued on page* 24)

Poland's Better Half

By Charles Phillips

Formerly with the Red Cross in Poland and author of "The New Poland"

IT is interesting to make composite pictures in one's travels, to arrive if possible at a definite type. This is no more easily to be done in Poland, however, than in any other land, so many and varied are the native characteristics. Still, there may be said to be two distinct types of Polish women—the Slavic blonde, whose faintly flushed fairness often has a touch of the ethereal about it that is lovely beyond words. (Is it the stamp of generations of sacrifice and endurance?) And the brunette, so richly colored, and with such warm Creole-like eyes, that one wonders how much southern blood is in this northern country. The broad high-cheek-boned, square visage of the Slav is not so commonly seen as might be imagined; but the small Greek head is common, and the straight nose and clear-cut features seen so frequently in Ireland.

With these special marks noted, the humble male observer must confess that he finds Polish women, like the women of every other country in the world, charming, beautiful, graceful—(how they can dance!) Despite their training in Old World reserve, they are very much the "good fellows" that their American sisters are, fond of outdoor sports, great walkers, and inimitable in the saddle. Though on the average the Polish girl may possess a few more of the "accomplishments"—music, languages, and so on—than the American girl, she is none the less practical and not at all slow in adapting herself to the work and ways of her sister from overseas.

Women's High Place

But to return to our composite portrait. A certain two guests whom I met in the house of a Warsaw friend, combined with the memory of the hostess herself, all together depict for me a sort of symbolic figure of the Polish woman—the woman legislator, the woman soldier, and the woman in the home. The lines and features of each, superimposed as it were one on the other, fall readily into a composite whole. Together these three stand for "the better half" of Poland. Around the strong, steady, glowing lamp of their fused light the little flashes-in-the-pan of erratic (and erotic) femininity which occasionally thrust themselves up for notice, simply fade away or blow out, mere candles in the wind.

One evening my host and I were

© American Red Cross

"The brunette type, so richly colored, suggests southern blood"

tardy for dinner, having gone late in the afternoon to visit the Diet, or national legislature. There he had pointed out to me, from our seat in the guests' gallery, one of the women legislators at her desk just below us, mentioning her name and remarking that I would meet her later. I did, that evening. She was at the house when we arrived. From her and from others I drew much information regarding the work of the women of Poland.

It was a simple matter to talk with this modest little lady, who bore not a single earmark of the ordinary "public personage." She was plainly dressed—but then, for years the women of Poland have put costly fashions, even among those who might afford them, out of the pale of good taste.

Like everyone else who observes or inquires into the matter, I was surprised when I found what the women of Poland are doing. Here is a country where women have achieved a higher position and have held an ampler field for a longer time than any other I have heard of, not even excepting our own America. Complete equal suffrage is only one item. Eligibility to the highest office in the land is another—for a Polish woman could be elected to the Presidency of the Republic. And woman's "emancipation" in Poland has had nothing sudden about it, nor did it happen over night. The women of Poland have been public leaders for centuries; leaders, workers, builders, only they have not been heard of in the outside world; or, if heard of, it has been under a mistaken identity, labeled with the name of other nations—either of those governments which partitioned Poland and blotted her name from the map; or else of those countries where Poles for the past century and more have sought refuge in exile.

One knows well enough that no nation could persist in its nationhood were it not for its women. But it is interesting to have precise examples.

In the case of Poland we may go back to the fourteenth century for an example—to Jadwiga, the young Polish queen who, when she succeeded to the throne in 1382, was betrothed to a man she loved, William of Austria. It was a true lover's match. But Jadwiga gave up her lover and wedded the pagan Jagiello, Prince of Lithuania, because the politics of her country demanded such a union. With her aura of romance and self-sacrifice, and a record as well of a full life of great deeds, not the least of which was the Christianization of Lithuania, Jadwiga stands as one of the traditional heroines of Poland.

In the Fight for Freedom

Jadwiga began a long tradition of nobility of deed and sacrifice on the part of women, which has been kept alive through the centuries by a host of the daughters of Poland who have worked and suffered and fought for their country. Suffered? One needs but to recall the tragedy of the lovely Walewska and Emperor Napoleon. Fought? They certainly have fought. In Kosciuzko's time, when the story of our own Moll Pitcher manning the cannon was still new and wonderful, women by the hundreds fought with scythes and forks and with their bare fists in Poland's desperate struggle for freedom. In the Polish rebellion of 1830 Emilia Plater bled and died in uniform. Again, visiting one day at the Warsaw citadel with a Red Cross girl from Gary, Indiana, I was shown Cell Fifty, where her great aunt had been imprisoned for over a year because she was caught carrying dispatches for the Polish forces in the uprising of 1863. I could go on recounting dozens of such cases.

It was all one long fight. Especially through the dark hundred years of the "partitions" the women of Poland

never ceased to fight, though not always with gun or sword. Then it was in the home that they had to put up their greatest struggle; for all about them the strength and power of Poland's oppressors worked and moved to destroy the soul of the nation. If the language of the Pole remains today a living force, the richest of all the Slavic tongues, it is because the women of Poland never gave it up, but talked it and taught it, in secret and at the risk of their lives, rather than see their children lose its heritage. If the songs and music and art and all the traditions of the land have never died out, but have been kept, remembered and alive, ready now for their reblooming, it is because the women of Poland have been both true and strong.

II

For my own part, I did know something of Polish womanhood even before I came into Poland. There had been Modjeska, artist and patriot, devoting her years, even long after she had rightly earned a rest, to the sole purpose of keeping the good name of her native land before the public eye in America. That was her working ideal; and she told me more than once that it was likewise the ideal of Paderewski, of Sembrich, of the de Reszkes, of Hoffmann, of Benda; of all the famous Polish artists whom America has known for the past generation.

It was Modjeska who first told me that Madame Curie (born Sklodowska) was a Pole—that illustrious and modest woman whose discovery of radium is acknowledged to be the greatest scientific achievement of our time. The world thinks of her as French. From Modjeska also I knew that the first director of the first pedagogic institute in Europe, Mademoiselle Josefa Ioteyko, of Brussels, author of "The Science of Labor," was a Pole. Known to the world in general as "a famous Belgian sociologist," this gifted Polish woman later became professor of psychology at the College de France. Modjeska likewise had made one acquainted with the name of Zamoyska, a name which in time came to symbolize for me the whole vast social work accomplished by Polish women in their own country during the past quarter century.

Where They Learn Housework

Zamoyska is but one of many, but her work will speak for many. Exiled from Prussian Poland some thirty years ago, she sought refuge in the southern part of the country, at that time under Austrian rule. There at Zakopané, she founded Poland's first school of what, for want of a better term, we must call "domestic science," the aim of which is to teach Polish girls the dignity of household labor, the joy of knowing how to do every-day-things right. Peasant girls and daughters of aristocrats meet in this school on a common footing, learning by actual work everything a housewife needs to know, from sewing and mending to butter making and the care of cows and poultry. When the American Red Cross went into Poland a course in nursing and "bedside hygiene" was added by it to the curriculum of the school at Madame Zamoyska's invitation.

In Continental Europe the trained nurse as we know her was unknown before the war, except among the nuns of various religious sisterhoods. In Poland the story of these Catholic Sisterhoods is an epic in itself. They have been the country's pioneers of new

Tucked deep in the mountains is Poland's domestic science school

womanhood, as the term is taken in its highest sense. Polish nuns, away back in one of the earlier wars, before Florence Nightingale and the Crimea, were the first nurses ever known to go out on the battlefields to care for the wounded and dying. They have kept up their great tradition, as we discovered in innumerable instances in the Poland of 1919 and 1920. In one remote spot, far off in the devastated areas of the east, we found a nun who was a graduate dentist and who required only the simplest instruments to go on with her work among the poor. What volumes that one little shy woman, hidden behind her worn veil and patched habit, spoke of the brains and pluck of Polish womanhood! Yet we came across her like everywhere.

III

The fireside war of the Polish woman, fought for generations to keep alive the Polish souls of her sons and daughters, was not confined to the hearthstone. She made her own home, it is true, a center for the culture of the community—as is the case of Madame Morawska, one of Madame Modjeska's relatives, who taught the whole countryside of Posnania Polish history by means of her rhymed verses, which took the place of forbidden Polish books, and are as familiar today in Poland as "Mother Goose" is with us. But the Polish woman also went out into town and village and into the cottage of the peasant, organizing clubs, circles, associations of every conceivable kind to promote the welfare of her sisters and their children. Her daughters grew up in an atmosphere of helpfulness. They learned to sew, to teach, to sanitate, to plan homes for peasants and workingmen. They studied medicine, accounting, law, agriculture, handicraft. At every turn they found old ways or made new ways for woman's endeavor, though more often than otherwise they were forced to go to other lands to perfect themselves in their studies. When the partitions of Poland paralyzed the political life of the nation, all its energies turned to cultural and philanthropic activities—to education, hygiene, conservation of health, agricultural reform; to the development of industry and home crafts; to every imaginable form of social welfare. And in all of these activities women played their part and often took the lead. Thus it is that today, turn where you will in Poland, you will find women at work and leading in the nation's work, whether it be in the making of the practical side of life, or the artistic.

Polish Women Artists

As for art, a man simply throws up his hands. Painters, sculptors, architects, poets, dramatists, novelists, historians—Polish women have made their names as all of these. So also in the applied arts the women shine. House decoration, furniture designing, peasant tapestries, weaving, pottery, lace making (Madame Modjeska established a school of lace making at Zakopané)—every Polish home has its examples of the work of women in these various lines, all expressing and perpetuating the national traditions and spirit.

The result of all this, when the crash of 1918 came, was inevitable; with freedom of political action regained, the women of Poland were ready for leadership in it. A glance at the women who sit today in the national legislature at Warsaw—there are seven of them, as well as five in the Warsaw municipal council—tells the story of the Polish woman in politics.

To begin with, the first government of the Republic of Poland, the provisional government which stabilized the newly emancipated State after the armistice in 1918, owed its orderly foundation in good part to the women of the country. They had already organized themselves into a national woman's league, with some fifteen thou-

sand active members, a league which later, under the leadership of Countess Sobanska, correlated all the work of all the women's associations in the entire Republic, and became a very powerful organization.

This league in the beginning educated and made possible the enormous women's vote which, early in 1919, did much to establish the first elected government of the new Poland. But out of the first election there arose more than an emergency government. Women legislators as well as men also appeared, rising to their place not alone through the necessity of the moment, but by the merit of exceptional ability proven through long experience in social activity.

Every one of these women has spent a lifetime in hard work, helping to prepare the Polish masses for the liberty they have now secured. Education has been one of their best achievements. Madame Moczydlowska's name (pronounced Motchidlovska) is synonymous with that of the famous model town of Liskow, founded by Padre Blizinski—a village of western Poland known to sociological students in Europe as one of the best examples on the continent of community development. (Since it was founded in 1900, illiteracy in the district has been reduced from eighty per cent. to ten per cent.) In temperance work, Madame Moczydlowska has been equally distinguished, and it is through her influence that several important

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Political Parties—Why?

By Schuyler C. Wallace

THE chief function of political parties is the translation of public opinion into governmental action. This can only be accomplished through the presentation to the voters of a choice of issues. The formulation and presentation of issues is then the prime purpose of a political party.

How delicately attuned are these instruments to this purpose? How effective is their operation? A survey of American history alone can give the answer. If in that survey we find issues create parties, then it must be acknowledged that the parties exist for the purpose of presenting issues to the public. If we find that parties continue to exist long after the issues which gave them birth have passed off the stage but continue by virtue of the fact that they select and present the most vital issues of present-day politics to the public for decision, then it must be acknowledged that they are performing the very useful function of brokerage. If, however, we discover that political parties habitually set up straw issues, confuse, obscure, or even ignore existing questions of policy, a question may then be raised as to the service they perform.

Party Platforms vs. Issues

That justification for raising this question exists, a review of recent political campaigns readily indicates. Almost as full as the woods are of trees are the platforms of the various political parties of pious platitudes. Statements intended to appeal to emotion and prejudice, but otherwise meaningless, are perennially proclaimed. Votes, not the presentation of issues, have evidently been very often in the minds of party managers.

Illustrative of this is the pledge in the Democratic platform of 1880—"the Democratic party is the friend of labor and the laboring man and pledges itself to protect him alike against the cormorant and the commune." Quite as meaningless so far as the presentation of a specific issue is concerned is the Republican perpetration of a later date—"the Republican party has always been the champion of the oppressed and recognizes the dignity of mankind irrespective of faith, color, or nationality; it sympathizes with the cause of home rule in Ireland and protests against the persecution of the Jews in Russia."

Why do people regard "politics" with contempt—or at least distrust? This second article in the Columbia University series indicates a reason. Dr. Wallace asks embarrassing questions about political parties, and suggests to the woman voter her part in clearing the political muddle. The next article still discussing parties will deal particularly with modes of nomination. This series parallels a course specially designed for the use of women's organizations. Outlines of the course may be obtained by writing to the CITIZEN.

Just what stand upon suffrage the same party took in 1900 is rather puzzling to determine. "We congratulate the women of America," the platform stated, "upon their splendid record of public service in the volunteer aid association, and as nurses in camp and hospital during the recent campaigns in the Eastern and Western Indies, and we appreciate their faithful co-operation in all works of education and industry." It is also difficult to discover the issue that is raised in a campaign in which the Republicans declare, "the Civil Service Law was placed on the statute books by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our former declaration that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced," to which the Democrats reply, "the Democratic party stands committed to the principles of Civil Service Reform, and we demand their honest, just and impartial enforcement."

These are but a few from among many, but they suffice to show that very often for the sake of votes political parties will set up straw issues, and attempt by irrelevant appeals to the emotions to catch the fancy of groups and classes.

A far more serious perversion is the deliberate confusion of issues that often occurs. Of this the last political campaign furnished an all too striking illustration. Neither in the platform of the Republican party nor in the campaign speeches of its candidates can be found any definite statement concerning our entrance into the League of Nations. That we would not go into the League without reservations was made quite evident, but whether the Republican party would lead the United States into the League if the Lodge reservations were secured, or whether the party was definitely committed against entrance into the League, was impossible to determine. The party straddled the issue so that on election day votes were cast for the Republican party in the belief that that party would lead us into the League with reservations, while other votes were cast for the same party from exactly the opposite conviction.

This practice, of course, is by no means confined to the Republicans. A survey of the platforms of both the Republican and Democratic parties would reveal similar situations very frequently in each and particularly with regard to railroads and trusts.

Ends, Not Means

Even more conclusive evidence that the parties are not functioning effectively is the fact that of the six outstanding domestic issues of the last three-quarters of a century only three were presented for popular decision by the major political parties. The tariff,

free silver and the income tax were party issues. Slavery, woman suffrage (except after it was practically here) and prohibition were not. Yet this is the function of political parties—the presentation of issues.

What is the explanation of their failure to function? The answer is a simple one. The forces which make for the institutionalization of parties, that is, make parties ends in themselves, have perverted them from their real purposes.

What are these forces? They are three in character, psychological, structural and economic. The most important, perhaps, is the psychological. Inertia and habit are responsible for the casting of as many votes as is reflection, a fact which enables party managers to discount the wishes of great numbers of their adherents. Thus, the impulses of pugnacity and competition come into play in the course of a campaign—very intensely in the party managers but more or less intensely among all party adherents—and this also contributes to intellectually dishonest practices. Victory thus often seems more important to the party adherents than the principles for which the campaign is fought. If necessary, principles are subordinated to victory.

The Average Citizen Resigns

Almost if not altogether as important as these factors is the existing complexity of American politics. The number of offices to be filled by popular vote produces a situation beyond the grasp of the average citizen. The result is, in great measure he turns over his duties to professional politicians. He does not select the candidates; he does not select the issues. His chief function is rarely more than the formal ratification of the work of others.

Very often these "others" have a vested interest in the result, that is victory means to them economic gain. To the average professional politician, victory, offices, and spoils are the *sine qua non*. Party expediency, not principle, is the guide of action.

So the proper function of the party is perverted, with the result that American politics is in a great many particulars a muddle and distrust of political action continues to grow.

What can be done about it? Again there is no panacea. Considerable improvement, however, can be made. Independence on the part of the voters both within and without the parties will accomplish a great deal. The larger the number of independent voters—those with no personal axes to grind, no vested interest in the success of their party—who participate in party councils, the greater is the probability that the party will stand for principles rather than expedients. This means, so far as the average reader of this magazine is concerned, that the more active she becomes in party councils, in all likelihood by so much will the situation be improved.

The second way in which the voter can contribute her share toward making parties function properly is by independent voting. Constant punishment of parties which attempt to gain votes in illegitimate ways will alone put an end to the practice.

Third Party Votes

Emphasis should be placed on the fact that a vote for a third or minor party is not a vote thrown away, for very often the major parties sin so equally, in subordinating their proper functions to party interest, that if the choice lay only between them it would be between tweedledum and tweedledee. A vote for a minor party, it is true, is not likely to elect a candidate, but it is no more thrown away than are all the votes that were cast for the losing candidates. Indeed, it is probably more effective than a vote cast for the losing candidates. Of the twenty-eight major demands concerning domestic policy which have been made by minor parties during the last half century, only four (Fiat Money, Direct Election of President, Government Ownership of Railways, Socialization of all Means of Production) have failed to be enacted into law or championed by one of the major parties in a presidential campaign. Furthermore, these twenty-four demands constitute more than two-thirds of all the constructive domestic legislation advocated in the platforms of the two great parties since 1872. They are:

Civil Service Reform, Woman Suffrage, Direct Election of Senators, Department of Labor, Initiative and Referendum, Recall, Proportional Representation, Restriction of Chinese Immigration, Regulation of Corporations, Graduated Income Tax, Postal Savings Banks, Parcels Post, Reform of the Inelastic Currency, Regulation of Railways and Telegraphs, Social Insurance (Workmen's Compensation), Right of Combination, Ameliatory Legislation, Prohibition of Child Labor, Prohibition of Intoxicating Liquors, Revision of the Homestead Act, Graduated Inheritance Tax, Suppression of Polygamy, Arbitration of Labor Disputes, Free and Unlimited Coinage of Silver.

In view of these facts, one can hardly say that a vote for a minor party is a vote thrown away.

Another, and probably more effective, method of compelling the parties to respond to the wishes of public opinion has been developed in the organization of pressure groups. These organizations vary widely in character and effectiveness. Most spectacular among them has been the Anti-Saloon League. The American Federation of Labor, the Chambers of Commerce, the League of Women Voters, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Citizens' Union, City Clubs, Good Government organizations and a thousand and one bodies of a similar character might be cited as examples of the phenomenon. In all of them there is a dynamic nucleus which knows what it wants and is determined to get it. Around this driving force is gathered a group of adherents, some fanatically attached to the cause, others less so, gradually shading off into those who, although apathetic to the movement *per se*, are supporting the organization for this reason or that.

With this group of votes always at their disposal, the leaders of the association proceed to bargain, and just as a district leader uses the strength of his constituency to advance his personal fortunes, so the strength of the "pressure group" is used to advance the fortunes of its cause. It should be remembered, however, that the strength of a "pressure group" does not depend entirely upon its immediate voting power, but depends also upon the strategic position the organization of its members may occupy in relation to the formation of public opinion; that is, a "pressure group" such as a chamber of commerce has a strength greatly beyond its numerical membership; its financial resources, its control (through its membership) of the local press, its respected position in society, all combine to greatly extend the scope of its influence. The Anti-Saloon League also occupied an advantageous position in the fact that it had access to practically every evangelical pulpit in the country.

Anti-Saloon League "Pressure"

The tactics of this latter organization may well serve to illustrate the technique of the "pressure group" in its most highly developed form. Aside from the activity that was needed to raise money, the energies of the League have been confined to three channels, propagandizing, lobbying, and campaigning. The evils of intemperance and the iniquities of the saloon were set forth so often that sheer repetition converted many whom reason could not reach. In their "educational" work, however, they differed not a whit from numerous rival propaganda agencies.

It was in effectively organizing their adherents to exert pressure upon the legislatures and party organizations that the Anti-Saloon League won its right to be called the foremost "pressure group" of the country. By maintaining lobbyists at vital points the League not only placed at the disposal of the "drys" in official position the advice of master tacticians, but maintained a "whip" to rally the adherents of the dry cause in times of crisis. Whenever "dry" legislation was in danger, or a

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Figures Are Friendly to Her

By Marjorie Shuler

IF anyone believes that an accountant has a dull time of it, just adding up figures with never an interesting experience from one day's end to another, just let them talk with Miss M. E. Moore, A. S. A. A., incorporated accountant, if you please, the first university woman to become one in all England. If you are seeking Miss Moore's office in London it is well to approach it from fascinating Saint James's Square, by which you can reach Jermyn Street, a thoroughfare celebrated in English fiction, and thence to No. 67. Up a narrow little wooden stair with queer little square landings and you are in the bare front room, where Miss Moore interviews her clients. There are panelled and painted walls of a mellow yellow, a Turkish rug, a desk well cleared with the mail piled neatly in a wicker basket and the inevitable red ink of the accountant handy by the customary big black bottle. Down one side of the room is a long oak table piled with orderly rows of ledgers. There may be a brown leather brief case if Miss Moore has been especially busy and has been taking work home with her at night. And there is sure to be a vase of flowers.

You may have to wait your turn with other clients, some one from Lady Rhondda's office for instance. For Miss Moore takes care of part of the accounts of the biggest woman in Great Britain's industrial world. It may be a woman lawyer or that rising young woman surgeon who has attained to offices on Harley Street, sacred to the best in the English medical profession. School headmistresses are common visitors, for Miss Moore has a number of their accounts. But there may be ahead of you a woman who has invented an appliance for keeping food hot or cold and who is now managing director of the company which is manufacturing the article. Or perhaps the managing director of a real estate firm. Or the managing director of a firm of women engineers. Or a woman dentist, perhaps that one who is doing herself rather well in the fashionable haunts of Cavendish Place, or a woman auctioneer. Or the head of a firm of women dressmakers. Or a woman who makes a business of breeding dogs and horses and whose Chow pups bring her in a good forty pounds apiece. Oh, women are getting ahead in England these days, and Miss Moore's office is a good place to find out about them.

If you are at all curious, before you get started on your talk with Miss Moore you may want to know about the M. E. Is it in order that she may appear mannish that she has those simple initials on her door and on her cards? Does she want prospective clients to whom she writes to think that they are getting the services of a man? The plain straight frock, the plain parted hair might lead you to think so. For there are no frills about Miss Moore's appearance. But if you guess this, you will be wrong. It is pure feminine vanity. "If I had been named Mona, for instance," she says, "or Margaret or any other nice name that begins with M—but I wasn't. My name is Minnie and I just can't bear to use it."

Miss M. C. Moore, A. S. A. A.

After reporting the Suffrage Congress in Rome, Miss Shuler visited half a dozen or more countries in Europe. She was studying (among other things) how business and professional women are getting on in that torn and troubled world. From each of several countries she brought back to the CITIZEN *a personality study of some woman who has made a place for herself, and forwarded other women's interests as well. The series begins here with Miss Moore—accountant—of London.*

Now you have a good start and you can ask Miss Moore where she gets the idea that it is amusing and interesting to tally figures and keep accounts. "But it is true," she replies. "My own experience has been very interesting. The articled clerk may find it drudgery to be bending over a ledger and just dealing with figures. But once get beyond that to the work of an accountant with clients of your own and you will have not only the thrill and excitement of dealing directly with business problems, but you will enjoy the intensely human side of the people who come to you. Just as people unburden themselves to their doctors and lawyers, so they tell their inmost difficulties to their accountants."

Perhaps you want to know what qualities Miss Moore thinks a woman needs to go into this fascinating business. "She must have a first-rate business head," comes the answer. "She must have *savoir faire* and tact to deal with all kinds of people. She must have integrity. She must have grit, for while the next generation will have an easier time of it, this one has to do the pioneering.

"It may be pioneering work, but if you do get a man client he trusts you in a most extraordinary way," says Miss Moore. "And women are not so slow to trust other women, as it is claimed they are," she declares. "Especially the women who do something themselves are eager to give their accounts to other women in other lines of business."

Perhaps there is a reason for trusting Miss Moore. Here is a little story which may let in some light as to why both men and women do have confidence in her. When she first started in business, she had rather a hard time of it. She had taken special mathematical work in Cambridge and then tried public service as a concession to the opinions of her family and her friends. But "the city," as London's business district is known, called her and she went into training with a firm of incorporated accountants, finally winning the coveted degree of incorporated accountant for herself, although it has been as yet accorded to few other women. At first clients were few and far between. In those days of famine, there came to her the headmistress of a well-established and flourishing private school.

"I am not satisfied with the way my accounts are being handled," she said. "They are involved and intricate and I can't understand at all what the man who has them is trying to do. He has had the books for twenty-five years but I am going to take them away from him and I want to give you the work."

Secretly Miss Moore went over the books and found that while the system was old-fashioned it was well done and the books were faithfully and honestly

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Editorially Speaking

Be Sure to Vote

HAVE you registered? Or if personal registration is not required where you live, are you sure that your name is on the list of registered voters? Do you know what offices are to be filled on election day? Have you studied the list of candidates and made a careful selection of those for whom you are going to vote? Do you know what questions are going to be submitted to the voter so you will be able to cast an intelligent vote for or against them? These are the minimum requirements for the 100 per cent. voter. If you can not answer them we suggest that you apply to the nearest League of Women Voters or to the civic chairman of the woman's club. It is surprising how rare is the voter who has simple, clear information about the election and how difficult it is to find. Your local Board of Election will give you the list of offices and candidates if you apply to them, but that is all. Some day we hope that the state will supply to every voter in advance of election day full information concerning the election, with the record of the candidates.

Because this is an "off year" politically it is probable that 50 per cent. of the eligible voters will not trouble to go to the polls, yet the members of your state legislature, and the local officials who are to be elected are managing some of your most important affairs and spending a large amount of your money. It is very much to your interest to see that they are at least honest and reasonably efficient and that they are working *for* your interests instead of exploiting you. You cannot do that unless you go to the polls on election day and cast an intelligent ballot.

The Klan vs. the Governor

DICTATORS seem to be popular these days. Besides Mussolini, apparently a permanent dictator, and Primo Rivera of Spain, and the practical dictatorship just arranged for Germany, we have Governor Walton of Oklahoma. In the nature of the conflicting elements, the truth of that case is hard to find. Farmer-Labor vs. conservative, "radical" vs. American Legion, Klan vs. anti-Klan—on both sides all along the line the issues in Oklahoma have been highly emotional. But, starting the present fight with what seemed a clear-cut issue, a fight against Klan terrorism, the Governor has carried things with such a high hand that he has rather generally lost sympathy.

Yet, whether the charge that his "tyranny" is the dominant issue proves justified, and despite the disappointment with his methods, the fact of Ku Klux menacing strength remains. Even the Governor's enemies admit that the Klan has anywhere from 75,000 to 100,000 members in the state, and the reports of the projected assembly at Dallas indicate its power in Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, etc. There is no question that it has gained much power over the political machinery in several states and has its representatives in high places.

A comforting theory that has recently been advanced about the Klan is that it will topple over because of its very size, and its heterogeneous membership, because in its extraordinary expansion it has taken in too many people who do not fully grasp, or sympathize with, the hate and intolerance animating the Klan. One thing is certain, the Klan must not be fought by its own methods, but by legal and constitutional procedure, and by a constant education in the real principles of American institutions, which leaves no room for masked application of law by violence.

Divorces Up, Marriages Down

DIVORCES in the United States are increasing and marriages decreasing. In 1916, according to Census Bureau figures, there was one divorce to 9.3 marriages. Now, from the same source, we learn there is a divorce to 7.6 marriages. In 1916 there were 1,055 marriages to every 100,000 of population, as compared with 1,033 in 1922.

The figures showing the rate of divorce in different states obviously prove nothing, in view of the differing laws. New York, for instance, makes a good showing, but New York is known to visit Nevada freely.

It would not be safe to assert positively that the increase in divorce means an increase in moral laxness, though the question naturally rises. A standard is needed—how many divorces, in a world considerably less than perfect, would represent a suitable adjustment of the law to remedy unworkable marriages? No figures are needed, though, to show that the inequalities in the divorce laws of different states are disastrous, and involve all sorts of confusion and injustice. To secure uniformity will be admittedly a difficult undertaking, but it is worth the effort, and all the steps taken to forward it will mean education along the right lines.

A Triple Attack on War

IT was a very futile, short-sighted judgment that at the close of the war made publishers and editors decree that novels with the war as their theme were not wanted and would not be accepted for publication. As if it could be humanly possible to shut out from the thoughts of men the most colossal, dramatic, and momentous occurrence in all history; and as if one could artificially prevent the epoch-making changes which resulted from the war from figuring in fiction. For a time the embargo was carried out and many a story was returned to its author because it featured the war. Five years have passed since the armistice and now three of the leading new fall books by well-known writers have the war as their main theme. While Mrs. Wharton's "A Son at the Front," Philip Gibbs's "The Middle of the Road," and Will Irwin's "Christ or Mars?" approach the subject in totally different ways, yet all three books point eloquently to the same theme, the horrors, the wickedness, and the futility of war. They prove, if proof is needed, that civilization, Christianity, and war are impossible comrades in the modern world. If civilization is to continue, if Christianity is to remain alive, war must be made impossible. It is a theme which can not be reiterated too often and it has rarely been more eloquently expounded than in all three of these books.

Women's Wages

IT is a painfully familiar condition that is revealed in a report on wages in factories of New York State recently made by the State Industrial Commissioner, Bernard L. Shientag. Briefly, it is that the weekly average for men is $31.50, for women $16.50. In the interest of fairness, Mr. Shientag points out that it is not possible to say that women are paid half as much as men for the same work, since a comparison of occupation within the different industries was not possible. "The question arises whether the wages of women are low because the skill required is only half as great, or because the bargaining power of women is not so great as that of men, due to restricted choice of occupation, oversupply in a few

industries, lack of organization and other similar reasons." That organization is backward among women every one acquainted with industrial conditions knows, and knows too, the difficulty of beginning: for how are girls who are working for a tiny wage, with nothing to fall back on, to risk their jobs by joining an organization their employers will disapprove? and how are they to get the higher wages until they join the organization? One partial answer lies in the efforts and interest and agitation of women more fortunately placed. It won't do it all, but it will help.

Girls Wanted!

GIRLS wanted—a great sign stretching across the entire front of a factory building. It is eloquent of cheap labor, a blind alley which leads nowhere, where there is no advancement, no future, and yet into which girls from fourteen to sixteen years old go by the thousands. The individual girl thinks of it as a temporary thing, but such a job teaches her nothing, and if she gets away from it the chances are that she will be less fit and valuable than when she went in. Yet girls and women, like men, must work. The question is where and how—a difficult one. The normal girl wants a home and children. Shall her work be a stop-gap between school and marriage? Then it is bound to be unskilled, undependable, and to be cheap labor. Or shall she be educated both for motherhood and for a job that is worth having? Or are the two things incompatible? At any rate, don't we want the job which is inevitable for the great majority of girls, to be one that leaves her in a better condition, instead of worse, for motherhood? It that too much to ask?

Taller and Thicker

CHEERFUL news about women's health comes in a little pamphlet written by Dr. Clelia Duel Mosher. Dr. Mosher is Professor of Personal Hygiene and Medical Adviser of Women at Stanford University, California, and her figures are based on her study of thousands of these college girls. They are supplemented by statistics from Vassar and Smith Colleges, and the gist of them is that college women have increased in average height 1.2 inches or more in the past thirty years. Not only that, but weight has increased too, and girth of waists, and with these factors has come a great reduction in periodic pain.

Disposing of the possibility that there has been an increase in height through immigration of the taller races, Dr. Mosher finds the causes in the change of fashion, making possible the use of clothing that interferes less with development, in the increased physical activity (and appetite) of women, which has been brought about by the change in dress and the teaching of physical training in the schools. Some of us would be inclined to reverse the order on these causes, but that is a detail. The important thing is the vanishing of *Lydia Languish*, the improved health of college women and their increased fitness for motherhood.

Is This Sportsmanship?

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY, of Lexington, Virginia, was scheduled to play football against Washington and Jefferson, of Washington, Pennsylvania, the other day, on the latter's field. The Virginians declined at the last minute to go into the game because of the presence on the Pennsylvania team of Charles West, a Negro. This was after W. and L. had made the suggestion that West should be withdrawn, and the overture had been refused. West is the same man who was fullback for his team in a game played last year at the New York Polo Grounds against Lafayette University, and who saved the game to his team by his own magnificent work in the last quarter. This of course the Virginians knew before they undertook the game and made the trip to Pennsylvania. No reason was offered for the refusal to go on with the game save the color feeling. Sportsmanship has a code of its own, and a high one. Is there any escape from the conclusion that this was a violation of its principles?

Getting Out the Vote

THE National League of Women Voters may well be encouraged in its effort to get out 75 per cent. of the women's votes, in view of some striking facts lately published by the National Popular Government League. That organization has painstakingly compiled a digest of the votes cast at the last general election in all the states where constitutional amendments, or questions placed before the people by initiative or referendum, were submitted to popular vote.

Sixteen states, scattered from Massachusetts to California, voted upon 135 laws or constitutional amendments. The voters accepted 38 and rejected 97. There are 109 measures which clearly required a decision on matters of important public policy. The people voted progressively on 86 of these, and conservatively on 23.

But the point of special encouragement is the large size of the vote. In the states having the initiative and referendum, on an average more than 73 per cent. of the voters who went to the polls voted upon the questions placed before them; whereas in former times in the country at large the average was only 50 per cent. So marked an increase may well bring us cheer. In Ohio an amendment initiated by the "wets" to weaken prohibition called out a vote exceeding by 1,773 the vote cast for Governor, and was defeated by a huge majority.

In a number of instances more than 90 per cent. of the voters expressed themselves.

Of the 135 measures submitted to popular vote, 42 were proposed by initiative petition, 62 by the state legislatures, and 31 were laws passed by the legislatures but held up for a referendum vote.

The tabulation of the votes actually cast brings out many other interesting facts. It can be obtained for 20 cents from the National Popular Government League, 637 Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.—A. S. B.

Why Was Director Davis Removed?

IT is a satisfaction that the Reclamation Fact Finding Commission is to study the removal last summer of Arthur Powell Davis as Director of the Reclamation Service. Possibly it may find some justification that does not appear on the surface of the incident; but in the opinion of many people, notably the National Civil Service Reform League, the dismissal is already a scandal.

Little more than three months after he left the office of Postmaster General for that of Secretary of the Interior, Dr. Hubert Work asked for the resignation of Director Davis, on the ground that the Reclamation Service should be administered by a business man rather than an engineer. Beyond that there was no statement of reasons. In response to a storm of protest from engineering societies, chambers of commerce and civic organizations, the only defense offered by Dr. Work was a letter to the secretary of the American Society of Civil Engineers in which he said that now that the big engineering projects were completed, a business man, familiar with irrigation, was needed to meet the problems of the water-users.

The retiring Director Davis had been Chief Engineer of the Reclamation Service since its beginning in 1902 and its Director since 1914. His successor, David W. Davis, is a politician from Idaho—at one time a state senator and for two years governor. He has no technical training nor Civil Service standing.

Naturally the arbitrary dismissal in these conditions has had a disturbing effect on the Service. It will take a great deal of explaining to make this seem other than a hard blow to the merit system.

What the American Woman Thinks

The Club Institute

By Alice Ames Winter

The President of The General Federation of Women's Clubs tells about a new idea in women's club work.

IF anything were neeeded to show how far the organized work of women has swung away from the loose amateurish point of view, it would be found in the widespread interest of women in the "Club Institute." Down in Atlanta at the Council meeting of the General Federation of Women's Clubs last spring, again at Chautauqua in the week's session of July, and in lesser experiments in various parts of the country, women have shown a vivid interest in studying and commenting on their own business methods and efficiency.

The Club Institute turns the eyes inward on our ways and our means. It discusses the best and simplest methods of organization, the securing of the best officers and the ways in which these officers should conduct their affairs, the best forms of minutes and records, the selection of committees and how they may be made efficient, club finances and budgets. It goes into the future in covering the various forms of junior organization and the ways of interesting and training young women. It deals with the higher phases in a discussion of club ethics, our relations to each other as joint members of a group, and our loyalty to our purposes and our official representatives. It deliberates on club houses, how to get them, how to use them as community centers, how to finance them. It canvasses our relations to our communities. It debates club programs and public programs.

In short, it involves a comprehensive study of the machinery by which these innumerable groups that have sprung up over the country in a single generation may learn from their own experience "better modus operandi." There are a few new things in the world, and notable among new things are these groups of organized women created to widen their own horizon, increase their wisdom, and then band together their strength for better community and national living.

But they are fluid assemblages. There is a constant stream of new members, new officers, new committees. It is time that each new official family was helped to stabilize its efforts as it comes into office. It need not go on fumbling, making the same mistakes, looking vaguely around for sources of help and information, asking "How did you do it?" From many sources, this elementary question is being answered. "Thus and so did we do it. And it worked." This is the Club Institute. And from the many sources that have been tapped, it is proposed to put the answers into print and make them available to those who face new responsibilities in carrying on organization work.

What the League Is

By Reba E. Richter

This editorial was written in response to articles adverse to the League of Nations in the July 28 issue of the Citizen, particularly Mrs. Upton's. Mrs. Richter attended the Third Assembly.

NO question that ever came before the American public has been so misunderstood and so wilfully misinterpreted as the League of Nations. It is impossible to go into an adequate discussion here of the League, but let me very briefly indicate the fears that kept us from joining four years ago and which time has proven groundless.

The League is not a superstate for the simple reason that it relies wholly upon the moral obligation of the contending nations in a dispute to carry out the decisions rendered. The Covenant of the League no more creates a superstate than does any treaty between two or more nations.

The Council is composed of the four great Powers and six smaller Powers. Each member's voting strength is of equal importance, so it is absurd to say that all the power lies in the hands of the victorious Allies any more than it does in the hands of the neutral nations.

All power resides in the Council—its decisions must be unanimous. Were we a member, if we dissented no action could take place—that disposes of the argument that the League could order us to send our boys abroad to fight Europe's battles and police the world.

Now the other fear—Great Britain's six (now seven) votes to our one in the Assembly. The Assembly is only a forum for discussion. It has no authority to enforce its recommendations. Besides, the Colonial Dominions have shown no tendency to vote *en bloc*.

The other charge against the League—one that delivered six million votes to opposing our entrance—was, that it was a wicked thing designed to execute the vicious Versailles Treaty. Anyone familiar with the League knows that this is not so, that the Reparations, Commission and the Allied and Supreme Councils had charge of the execution of the Treaty and the League was the instrument to ameliorate the conditions. President Wilson said: "We cannot render permanent decisions but we can establish processes." The League was the process through which it was to be done. He realized quite as well as Mr. Keynes the unavoidable injustices of the Versailles Treaty, but he expected us to be on the Reparations Commission and in the League; that would have made all the difference in the world.

Now what in substance is the League? It is the great experiment of not by might but by right. It will eventually develop and codify international law and become to the nations what the ten commandments are to individuals, governing the conduct of one nation in its dealings with another. It is the first instance of an organized agency before which nations have agreed to submit their disputes. That is all it is in a legal and political way. Its humanitarian and economic activities are so great that not a single problem affecting the welfare of the human race but what is provided for in the Bureaus in the Secretariat.

Now why should we resurrect the issue and join the League?

As a result of the World War three-fourths of Europe was prostrate. Where we lost 100,000 men our Allies lost millions. Our country, our resources were intact—Europe was devastated, her resources exhausted. If ever a disinterested friend was needed it was in 1919. We were the great, rich, powerful neighbor and we chose to withdraw our moral support.

The countries of Europe and particularly the newly established ones, actually created by our participation in the war, were abandoned. Instead of the security our presence and example gave, they were left to their own devices. Do you wonder they were panic-stricken, grew suspicious of one another, suspicious of their former enemies to whom our defection gave comfort? We had given to the world in co-operation with our Allies a process which was to enlist the whole world, to usher in a new relationship between nations, and then we refused to co-operate. I have always wondered why the League was not strangled before it began to function. It proves a better frame of mind on the part of the na-

tions of the world than we have been inclined to give them credit for.

The Five Power Pact would have been a glorious achievement ten years ago, but we all know that wars will not be fought in the future by the kind of vessels we agreed not to build. Continued inventions in gas and aviation are gradually making battleship warfare obsolete. Imagine everything in France being wiped out before we could get our troops half way across the Atlantic. No need for ever sending soldiers abroad again. The possibilities of future wars are too horible to contemplate, and it requires no keen intelligence to understand that permanent elimination of war is only possible when all nations will enter upon an agreement to arbitrate their international disputes. One powerful nation refusing, the security of all nations is jeopardized.

Why would our participation make all the difference in the League? It would immediately create a sense of security in the governments of all the European nations. Our refusal to cooperate has strengthened Germany's attitude toward France and removed all check upon France in her dealings with Germany. Every fair-minded investigator will say, despite Mrs. Upton to the contrary, conditions are as they are largely because we deserted at the outset. We have much to answer for and I dread the history our children's children will learn of this unhappy period.

Mrs. Upton refers with pride to our voluntary contribution to the rehabilitation of Austria as an instance of how helpful we can be outside the League. That is like adding insult to injury. The bankers who floated the $25,000,000 share allotted to the United States (Europe and the other countries took five times that amount) received a very handsome commission for the deal. The American investors received a splendid interest return which was guaranteed by England, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland and four or five other countries. We know that England would not default her endorsement and so the loan was subscribed for within twenty-four hours. That is as far as our help went. The League was responsible for the entire plan and Austria owes her salvation to it. We helped feed Russia, at the same time buying from our farmers, at good prices, agricultural products they could not dispose of elsewhere. I don't think we can examine our philanthropy too closely.

The European countries have no desire to pick our pockets. We would have to pay our share of the League expenses, not more than England probably. Is that too big a price to pay for peace? Eighty-five per cent. of our Federal income goes to paying past and present war expenditures. Our contribution to the League would not be any more than some of the income taxes paid by private individuals here.

Our own Constitution, which we regard so sacredly, has been amended nineteen times. Why can't we do with the League what the framers of the Constitution did with that document, so that finally out of this supreme struggle may emerge the dawn not only of a brotherhood of man but a brotherhood of nations?

A Civilizing Process?

By Mary Roberts Coolidge

STOUT, dark, Apache women, in mantellettes of bright calico, were coming up from the Colorado River with ollas filled with water poised upon their heads. The Indian camp on the mesa above was dusty and forlorn, all the children had sore eyes, the women were greasy in person—all because long ago their people had created a legend similar to ours of the

Flood, and believing that the Apaches would some day be overtaken by a deluge, they had camped for centuries high and far from streams.

They walked like statuesque Amazons—these women: floating onward, as it were, on their small moccasined feet in sweeping, full skirts. Around the hem of each skirt was the band of white braid or strip of color, the mark of Christian contact. For when first the missionaries taught them modesty, white women were wearing skirts of twelve yards width, trimmed round the bottom. While fashion has been emancipating white women from full skirts and an excess of modesty, the docile Apache woman is still faithful to her Christian tradition of propriety. Since desert water is alkaline and scanty, and river water heavy and far to carry, the frying-pan remains unwashed, the baby's eyes are sore, but the Apache woman keeps her billowy and inconvenient petticoats with their decorative reminiscence of Victorian dress.

In northern Arizona high above the desert, at intervals of twenty to forty miles apart, great flat-topped rocky masses project above the plain and on them still dwell the Hopis; nine villages on as many rocky islands, without water supply or visible means of sustenance. The men cultivate mottled, Spanish corn on the plain below, bringing buckets of water to each hill from the government wells. The women carry all the water for domestic uses from the spring or the well at the foot of the rock up steep trails to the houses above. At daylight one could hear the soft slither of their feet down and up, each woman with a large jar on her head and another slung in a piece of cotton cloth on her back. In every village women pursued their traditional handicrafts, pottery or basketry, the products to be sold to the tourist and the curio dealer. Always in the presence of illimitable beauty of landscape, with ancient and exquisite designs in their brains and color in their hands, they were yet only a day or week from thirst and hunger.

Chi-i-pah, the Navajo cook's young wife, sat on the ground in a sheltered angle of the sheep ranch headquarters with her fat, button-eyed son in her lap crowing joyously at the pictures in a tattered mail-order catalogue. Her husband, a tall, lithe, alert Indian, cooked for the shearers and the foremen while Chi-i-pah placidly peeled potatoes and wiped dishes with towels guiltless of washing. In her own hogan she had done the family cooking, but here in the white man's camp, where cleanliness and speed were required, she was at once relegated to be the cook's assistant. From a faucet in the corner of the ranch kitchen spring water, bountiful and cold, continually flowed; but Chi-i-pah, young and handsome, with rare native turquoise earrings and her baby festooned in ropes of priceless wampum, was obviously lazy, filthy and superfluous. Dirty, because in her experience water had always been precious and therefore to be scantily used; idle, because her husband was earning good wages and food as cook for the sheep camp. Her mother and grandmother had packed water, herded their own sheep, sheared, washed, spun and woven the wool in original designs into beautiful blankets—for the most part they had supported the family and been recognized as its center. Now, Chi-i-pah with her baby sits in the dirt in a Victorian calico dress, with the family wealth upon her person, while her husband earns the living.

These sketches of Indian women are the vagaries of a vacation in the arid West and may have no significance. The moral shall be as the reader chooses—perhaps the Indian woman is as a lack of water and tyrannous tradition have made her; or perhaps the loss of "economic independence" may be part of that "civilizing" process through which she, like us, must pass to find at last her own true capacities.

The Woman Voter

(This full-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.)

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Concerning Executive Secretaries

IN her general letter to state League presidents, dated September 26, Mrs. Park has this to say:

"To the profound regret of all the members of the Board, Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, our executive secretary, is obliged to return to her home in Texas. Every member of the League owes her a great debt of gratitude for her years of efficient and tireless devotion, and to me the loss of her sustaining and resourceful comradeship in Washington is far greater than I can say. But with her, as with Mrs. Edwards and every other loyal worker who has been forced to lay aside temporarily the burden of official responsibility, we must realize that the way to express our appreciation of what they have done is to work harder than ever in support of their efforts to make the citizenship of women count for righteousness. Mrs. Helen Brooks Davis, of Saginaw, Michigan, comes to us this month as executive secretary and I bespeak for her from the beginning the cordial response which I am sure you will give without urging when you know her better."

It was on the last day of September that Mrs. Cunningham took her official leave of the office where her fairness, her unfailing good humor, her readiness to help, and that indefinable rare something she has about her which makes other women glad to work under her, had made her so sincerely beloved. Everybody was a deal more upset than anybody was willing to admit and everybody felt solemn when Mrs. Park went about whispering that the office force must not rush off at one o'clock for the Saturday half-holiday, because something was going to happen. What happened was that Mrs. Park, on behalf of the Board of Directors and the chairman of standing committees, made a brief speech and gave Mrs. Cunningham a beautiful little wrist watch.

Then the telephone operator stepped forward and on behalf of herself and the janitor, whose real profession is organ tuner—the organ in St. Paul's in London and in the Mormon Tabernacle in Salt Lake are only two of the great organs he has worked on—presented a charming cut-glass vase, though some of those present say it was a loving cup and others insist it was a marmalade jar. Nobody was seeing quite clearly by that time and Mrs. Cunningham, though she carried the occasion off gallantly, insisting she had never realized before what an advantage a corpse has in not being expected to reply, and making other lightsome talk, was, unless witnesses were incapable of judging, as misty about the lashes as everybody else. The office force is firmly convinced that she will be back in Washington before so very long, and the only question disputed about is whether she will sit in the Senate or the House.

Nothing could show the position Mrs. Cunningham holds among women who have made names for themselves better than the list of guests at the dinner Civil Service Commissioner Helen Gardener gave in her honor at the Woman's City Club, October 6. Washington is a city where observance of precedence forbids asking personages to meet guests of honor of station lower than their own. Mrs. Gardener's party was made up of Miss Grace Abbott, head of the Children's Bureau; Miss Mary Anderson, head of the Women's Bureau; Miss Lucile Atcherson, only American woman diplomatist; Mrs. Blair Banister, Editor of the Democratic *Fortnightly Bulletin;* Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee; Mrs. William Chamberlain, president of the club, and Mrs. Lyman Swormstedt, former president; Judge O'Toole and Judge Sellers, of the District bench; Dr. Louise Stanley, head of the Bureau of Home Economics; Miss Harlean James, secretary of the National Civic Association; Mrs. Susan Rhodes, District Playground Supervisor; Mrs. Bessie Brueggeman, chairman of the Federal Compensation Commission; Mrs. Clara Sears Taylor, of the Rent Commission; Lieutenant Mina Van Winkle, of the Washington Police Department; Assistant Attorney General Mabel Willebrandt; Miss Rena Smith; Miss Marian Parkhurst; Mrs. Wyatt, of California; and from the National League, Mrs. Park, Mrs. John Jay O'Connor, Mrs. Walter Brookings and Mrs. Edward Costigan.

Mrs. Helen Brooks Davis, who succeeds Mrs. Cunningham, is a native of Flint, Michigan, and ended her course at the University of Michigan to marry a civil engineer. For a number of years after that she lived in all sorts of remote places, where, as she puts it, "there was nothing to be interested in but people." People became her chief interest, therefore, and an understanding of people a by-product of the interest. After her husband's early death she brought her little son back to Saginaw where her family had lived for years, and there she presently organized a social service department in the city government, and headed it, clad with full woman-police powers, but with neither the name nor the connection with the police department the term implies. She was answerable to the mayor only. After she joined the Saginaw League, an organization, she says, which Saginaw women are not allowed to keep out of, she served as social hygiene chairman and a little later as chairman of the state committee in that field.

Mrs. Davis has done much organization work and begins her service as executive secretary with an admirable equipment of training and natural bent for the work.

Women of Mexico in Convention

THE National League sent two delegates, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, of Texas, and Mrs. William Hess, of Chicago, to the first congress of the North American section of the Pan-American League of Women, which sat in the City of Mexico, May 20-30, and both delegates have made reports of delightful hospitality shown them in Mexico, of the charm of the Mexican capital, and of its beauty. It is from their more formal reports that the following facts are taken:

The congress was held in La Escuela Commercial, a building belonging to the government, which bore all expenses of the congress, and men showed unexpected interest in the meetings, attending in such numbers that at some sessions

they outnumbered the women. A government official said that he came out of curiosity but remained out of interest, considering the congress the greatest conference Mexico had ever had.

Fifteen of the twenty-eight Mexican states, besides the federal district, sent official delegates, and labor, religious, social work, and various welfare groups were represented.

Although the program was carried through almost exactly as it was prepared originally, two problems constantly presented themselves in every session—the economic independence of married women and the single standard of morals. It is possible that part of the interest in economic independence comes from the fact that although there is nothing in the Mexican constitution which specifically prohibits women from voting, the provision that every voter must be an independent economic factor automatically disfranchises women, even women of independent means.

The resolutions adopted cover these two subjects and many others. In the order in which they are reported, a resolution recommending the formation of co-operative associations leads. With a resolution to ask the government to amplify the constitution so that equal pay for equal work shall be paid, and that wages shall be related to the cost of living, is another asking for the establishment of experimental schools for adults in all parts of the republic; for the teaching of hygiene and child care, and for the establishment of industrial and commercial schools for women. A commission is asked for to "investigate and study those industries which the women can develop without injury to themselves or to the race, especially those industries which are socially necessary and which use the raw material which each particular region produces."

A petition is to be sent to the Mexican Congress asking protective legislation for domestic servants similar to that for industrial workers, and all organizations of women are urged to better the condition of servants, with special reference to better living accommodations.

Only one resolution adopted dealt specifically with education, though the subject was given much attention, and a general appreciation of the necessity of working to overcome illiteracy was expressed. The resolution urged each member organization of the congress to make itself an "active center for the organization of a campaign against illiteracy."

Co-education was urged as an aid to social hygiene and the congress declared itself "emphatically in favor of a single standard of morals for men and women." Clinics for pre-natal and post-natal care, juvenile courts, and work for prohibition are urged in other resolutions.

Teachers, parents, musicians, and artists were asked to help in "disarming the nursery" so that children shall not be educated with "an emotional background for war that may demand expression in later life." The government is to be urged to "abolish all financial and political causes of war and to outlaw war." Finally, the congress begged the government to "maintain an abiding peace by friendly association and co-operation with all nations of the world" and promised co-operation "with all movements working for permanent international peace."

Miss Morgan's Work

PERHAPS you have heard the remark that international affairs as far as women are concerned can not proceed very vigorously during July or August or during the Christmas holidays. We are beginning to think that this is hardly a fact as far as July and August are concerned. It is the moment when we all have time to read books, articles and newspapers, and a very interesting meeting was held in Easthampton at the house of Mrs. Woodin, wife of the former coal commissioner of the State of New York.

Miss Portia Willis, acting organizer for Suffolk County, and Mrs. Leavitt, Suffolk County president, had decided that some consideration of our international situation was appropriate even in the month of August and in face, and on the very edge of, the rolling blue ocean, surrounded by sunshine and leisure, nearly two hundred Suffolk County women met for an afternoon to discuss what they might do to help the peace of the world.

Mrs. Leavitt explained the League of Women Voters to women who were not members and Miss Willis and Miss Morgan took up many of the problems confronting the voters, whether they be women, or men involved in foreign relations. The result was that pretty nearly all present joined the League and volunteeered to do their best for the cause.

It is not so important that the League got members as that the country got citizens roused to the special problems of peace and world affairs.

Miss Morgan reported that the world had after all been usually moved on by small groups who believed in right and wrong and who knew both the facts and their own mind. Easthampton women by even that one meeting will prepare themselves to play a more influential part for the good of the country. J. S.

At Washington Headquarters

MISS KATHERINE R. WILLIAMS, of Milwaukee, chairman of the committee on organization in the Milwaukee League, and member of the national Committee on Uniform Laws Concerning Women, was a visitor whom headquarters owed to the convention of the National Council of Catholic Women. Miss Williams is president of the Milwaukee chapter of that organization and with all her civic work still finds time to be a successful lawyer. Women who attended the Des Moines convention will recall her able work and nobody who has heard her exposition of Wisconsin law lacks plentiful reasons for opposing "blanket" legislation.

Another League woman who came to attend the convention is Miss Linna Bressette, of Kansas, who was the state's first woman factory inspector, and afterward secretary of the Industrial Welfare Commission of Kansas. She is now a member of the staff of the Department of Social Action which has charge of the general industrial and civic work of the National Council of Catholic Women, and as Chicago is her headquarters she will transfer her League membership to that city. Mrs. William Gary Brown, who did so much to secure comfort for the women who attended the convention at Des Moines, and is planning a series of most unusual lectures, was in the office when Miss Bressette came, and gathered her in at once for the flourishing Uptown League—"uptown" in Chicago being really Rogers Park—of which Mrs. Brown is treasurer.

Dr. and Mrs. James Van Sickle, of Springfield (Massachusetts), stopped in at headquarters on their way by motor car to Dade City (Florida). Mrs. Van Sickle was formerly director of the Massachusetts League's ninth region and during her term of office, Dr. Van Sickle spoke up to say, he never had one chance to use the family telephone, to which complaint Mrs. Van Sickle flashed back the comment that Dr. Van Sickle, who has just resigned the position of Superintendent of Schools, is really so interested in the League that he did not mind the loss of the telephone at all, for it gave him more time to write pamphlets for the League.

The president of the Santa Fé (New Mexico) League, Mrs. John T. Murphy, paid more than one visit to headquarters during the week she spent in Washington in late September and early October. She was an alternate to the congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Rome and prolonged her stay in Europe for a number of months. Though not a delegate to the annual convention of the National Council of Catholic Women, Mrs. Murphy attended some of the interesting sessions. On her return to Santa Fé she will report to her League on Rome, and on everything else she has learned of women's work since she left home.

Mrs. M. E. Coffman, of Natchez (Mississippi), who was a recent visitor, believes that there are few women in her state who do not vote. She lives in Kingston school district, not really in the Mississippi city, and Kingston school district has a hundred square miles in it with twenty white children who are all taught in a consolidated central school. The negro children number about a thousand and six schools are provided for them. Mrs. Coffman says that it is largely due to the women voters of her state that the present governor was elected—or rather nominated which in that one-party state amounts to the same thing. He was formerly president of the state college for women and his resignation, Mrs. Coffman says, was due to his determination to keep the college out of politics. The story of the campaign is thrilling and if Mrs. Coffman's belief that ninety-five per cent. of the voters voted is founded on actual fact, Mississippi women voters have an easy task in the get-out-the-vote work for next year.

Miss Mary B. Anthony, first vice-president of the United League of Rhode Island, was called to Washington by business at just the time of the Rhode Island annual convention so that headquarters enjoyed a talk with her. Miss Anthony is a great believer in the cup of tea feature of all meetings and feels that one of the reasons why Rhode Island meetings are so successful is that one League unit or another is accustomed to provide a cafeteria luncheon at the general League meeting. Women are much more kindly disposed toward each other when they have a bit of cake to eat or a cup of tea to drink, Miss Anthony insists, and does not mind a bit that divers and sundry persons have said that she "always wants us to have a bite."

The School at Madison

THOUGH the temperature throughout the three-day meeting kept up a ninety-five degrees-plus record, it could not compete with the interest shown by the two hundred women whose enthusiasm registered 100 per cent. up to the last question asked on the last day.

Forty cities in the state were represented, with several registrants from outside Wisconsin. Many motored from a distance, some even camping out. The opening day was marked by an enlightening exposition of the University of Wisconsin, its place in our state life, the service it renders, can render and desires to render.

The national government, its party system and its defects and advantages, was clearly set forth by Professor F. L. Paxson, with some members of the class deploring the dead-centers in Congress as fatal to progress while others exulted because they believed them to be deterrents to unwise and hasty legislation.

At a meeting in the Assembly Chamber of the beautiful capitol representatives of various commissions explained their plans and the functions of their commissions in the state government. It was thrilling to many of us to be seated in the places of the law makers but it took us no time at all to feel very much at home—so much so that it seemed quite unfair not to be allowed to push the "yes" and "no" buttons and see the light of the resulting vote register on the chart on the balcony railing. The Railroad, Tax, Health, Highway, and Industrial Commission heads gave us most lucid and practical talks. Interest was breathless while we absorbed the most vital information.

Amusing things might be recounted. Mr. Gettle of the Tax Commission, after a careful and almost sad elucidation of that intricate problem, turned to us and said, "Ladies. I have had great pleasure in talking to you but, really, I must own that I am one of those who believe that your contribution to society should be of the heart, not of the head. Concern yourselves with things of the heart and do not worry over tax problems."

After the ripple of negation mixed with amusement had subsided, Mrs. Stuart, our president, thanked him graciously for his kindness in speaking to us, adding that women being the spenders of the nation it is inevitable that they should have considerable curiosity about, and interest in, the tax question.

Municipal affairs, proportional representation, and types of local government were gone into by Professor Ford MacGregor. The last meeting, with rational internationalism as its subject, was conducted by Professor Graham Stuart. Miss Emily Kneubuhl was in charge and to her and Mrs. W. Z. Stuart, state president, is due much of the credit for the very successful management which brought a unanimous request for such a school as an annual event.

MARY H. RADFORD.

Schools in Two States

THE list of schools of citizenship conducted in New York this year is a long one. Columbia University and Alfred University held summer schools. There was a school at Niagara Falls, October 17 and 18, and on the same days the Oneida County League and Hamilton College conducted one in Utica. The school of October 19 and 20 at Auburn was the result of co-operation between the Cayuga County League and the Women's Democratic Club with the Cayuga County Welfare Society a working partner. October 24 is the date for a school at Cornell and members of the University of Buffalo faculty will lecture at the Erie County school, October 24-26. October 26 is the date for a school at East Aurora, in which several neighboring towns co-operate. In November the Albany County League and the State College for Women will work together in a school and several other Leagues are considering dates for schools before the year ends.

The schedule of the Illinois League speckles the state generously with citizenship schools. Morgan County, which is just west of Sangamon County and the state capital, led off, August 20-24, with a school held in co-operation with the local Chautauqua. Next came Douglas County, due east of Morgan, September 12-14. September 25-27 the sixth and thirty-first state senatorial districts, which are both in Chicago, conducted a school at Loyola University. Grundy County, fourth county to the north of Douglas, took October 17-19 for its school dates. The Lake County League, in the northeastern corner of the state, is down for seven sessions on the afternoon of the second Thursday of each month from October to April. Wheaton College, west of Chicago in Du Page County, will co-operate with the county League in a school for which the exact date is not yet decided, and in addition to the great school at the University of Illinois—which is partly in the city of Champaign and partly in the city of Urbana—arranged for the days between October 30 and November 2, the DeKalb County League and the Northern Illinois State Normal School will work together in a school before the year ends.

At the university school there are to be three lectures and two round tables each day, and the round tables will deal with methods of selecting candidates, taxation, legislative methods, reform of judicial organization and procedure, and foreign affairs. Miss Julia Lathrop, president of the Illinois League, is to lecture on child labor and Mrs. Belle Goodman, who wrote the *Illinois Voters' Handbook*, will give a demonstration of how ballots must be marked.

Dolls Do Propaganda Work

WASHINGTON is curious to know about the Massachusetts League dolls. Isn't that proof positive of the mere woman attitude of most of us; whether a baby or a doll, we all begin to sit up and take notice?

The doll family came into being in 1920, when for the first time the new Massachusetts League of Women Voters went forth to convince the women of the state that it's not enough to be a voter, the voter must vote for something, and

understand why. The county fairs gave the opportunity, but how to attract attention, how to hold women long enough to make them realize that "a vote with an idea behind it is a cheer for tomorrow," was the puzzling problem.

"They bring their children," said the president.

"Children can't resist dolls."

"Dolls it is, and one for each of the standing committees of work."

"Dress them in symbolic costume."

Away flew the president, who was then Mrs. George Richmond Fearing, and back came the dolls, seven of them. There was "American Citizenship." She is still a noble figure and we put her in a cap and gown, which called forth some caustic comments. Some thought she had taken holy orders and some thought a college senior was a poor symbol of American citizenship. Her costume thus had real advertising value and she still wears it—such a fetching tassel over her ear!

"Child Welfare" is a darling, just the huskiest baby-boy doll that could be found, in rompers, of course, with an adorable sports hat which he is always losing.

An entrancing boy in blue smock and knickers, trundling a real wheelbarrow, in which fresh carrots and a redolent onion are placed, usually carries off the honors. If his vegetable doesn't seem attractive one day, he changes his stock the next. He is provocative, a real mischief. He is "Living Costs."

Seeing "Social Hygiene" as a health problem, then and now she wears the nurse's costume of spotless white with a neat red cross on her nurse's cap. She has a tender face.

"Women-in-Industry" is a vigorous doll in a neat bungalow apron. For fun she often has with her "Woman-in-the-Home"—a Bre'r Rabbit doll with a feather duster for a tool and a pink apron. Frankly, Bre'r Rabbit looks harassed.

"Unification-of-Laws" is very small, very wise and staid. His sad black robe is set off by a large red law book, and he wears his spectacles. You see Massachusetts had unified so many laws that this little lawyer didn't see much more business coming his way.

Lest someone might be stupid, each character has his own label, the name of the committee.

You have met the family which has just returned from a week's visit to the Eastern States Exposition at Springfield. Their chaperon, Mrs. Martha Helen Elliott, government efficiency chairman of the Massachusetts League, reports their power to attract and hold to be quite undimmed. While patient mothers stay with the eager children, their interest is aroused, and they listen eagerly to League ideals and citizenship information. Then they pass on with a new thought about the meaning and importance of their votes, with a pamphlet or two to read at home and very often a new and firm resolve to make good on every election day.

MARTHA E. D. WHITE.

Leagues and League Work

FOR obvious reasons the Montana League has not so many League units as many another state, and carrying on a campaign means greater travel than in Rhode Island, for example. Nevertheless the Montana League has been carrying on two successful campaigns this autumn, one under Mrs. E. K. Bowman, chairman of the state Committee on International Co-operation to Prevent War, and the other under Mrs. Dolly Dean Burgess, director of finances, the latter campaign to secure one hundred subscriptions to the WOMAN CITIZEN and one hundred dollars toward state expenses. For the international co-operation to prevent war campaign several hundred petitions for the World Court have gone out over the state for signatures, and this factor of the work for the court was made a feature at the League booth at the state fair at Helena, September 25-29. "Soap box" speakers gave five-minute talks every afternoon on education, and living costs and child welfare held prominent places in the program.

IT WAS at the request of the New York League and other women's organizations of the state that Miss Belle Sherwin, when the school of politics and government at Columbia was ended, filed a request with the secretary of the university that women be admitted to the law school. As soon as the fact became known, letters of commendation were showered on her and one of them is a striking commentary on present conditions. It came from a woman who is full professor in one of the largest colleges for women. Columbia University awarded her the Jacob Schiff Fellowship in political science—she is the only woman who has ever held it—and in 1921 made her a doctor of philosophy, but because of university regulations still barred her from all but one of the courses in international law. Her doctor's dissertation, which deals with international relations in a part of Europe—to be exact, the relations between England and France at the time of the Franco-Prussian War—is in the university's library but its author is not allowed to attend the very courses in which the book will be used. Leagues everywhere hope that Columbia will see its way to ending a situation so anomalous.

THE Leagues of Hartford and Fairfield Counties (Connecticut) held their conventions on the same day of September, the twenty-seventh. There are thirteen Leagues in Hartford County, and in Fairfield delegates came from fifteen towns. Hartford women assembled in the parlors of the Congregational Church in Enfield and Fairfield women at Weatogue Country Club in Stratford. The governor of the state, the Hon. Charles Templeton, told the Hartford County women about good citizenship as it exists in Connecticut, and Dr. Elizabeth Ingraham, assistant director of the state bureau of child hygiene, talked of infancy and maternity work. Fairfield County listened to Dr. Valeria Parker of the American Social Hygiene Association and to the Hon. George R. Sturges, attorney for the state board of education. Both conventions were successful as Connecticut conventions have a way of being.

BEFORE the Waukesha County (Wisconsin) League was two months old it went into the publishing business, putting out a double folder a little more than post-card size. This interesting bulletin goes to two thousand county women and the subscription price is twenty-five cents a year. The League reports that it was no trouble at all to secure sufficient advertising to finance the publication. Mrs. Charles Schuele, of Oconomowoc, and Miss Helen Moore, of Delafield, have the monthly in charge and have named it the *Arrow*.

THE market-master of Birmingham (Alabama) invited the Jefferson County League to hold the meeting at which Constitution Week was observed in the auditorium of the new municipal market building and the League accepted the invitation, asking not League members alone but every woman interested in the constitution and government to attend the meeting of September 25. Copies of the Preamble were supplied to the audience in order that everybody might recite it, there was a program of patriotic music and appropriate addresses, and many of the women present took advantage of the occasion to inspect the new building.

THE interesting program of the Worcester (Massachusetts) League for the year begins with a discussion of the national organization and its plans for work for the October meeting, and continues with the World Court as the subject of the November meeting. December will bring consideration of the methods of political conventions and of the election of a President, and the coal industry will be studied in January. International relations are set down for discussion next March. The April meeting has as yet no subject assigned it and the May meeting will be given over to election of officers and business of the League.

World News About Women

Bank Women Meet in Convention

By KEY CAMMACK

Assistant Secretary, the New York Trust Company

TWO years ago the Association of Bank Women was organized, with five members. Last month it held its first general convention, with forty-three out of the total membership of ninety-eight present. Many of the women came from distant states, for the membership covers the country from Maine to California and from North Dakota to Texas.

The convention was by no means held in a corner. On the contrary, it met in Haddon Hall, Atlantic City—September 24 to 27—simultaneously with the American Bankers Convention. The women had their own day sessions, their own banquet, and besides shared in the men's meetings. The men made return visits too. At the close of the banquet, the president of the American Bankers Association, Mr. J. H. Puelicher, made an impromptu appearance, offering congratulations and encouragement. Many bankers from distant parts of the country, notified from their own platform of the presence and purpose of the Bank Women's Convention, called at the committee room in Haddon Hall, and asked information about qualifications for membership—some because they had eligible women in their organizations, some because they proposed to have when they returned. From this and other signs it is conservative to predict that the membership will shortly be doubled. The Association, though young, is national in scope and spirit, and each week brings word of some hitherto unknown but eligible woman in the banking world.

The Association includes women executives from every rank of banking life—from managers of departments through sub-officialdom—assistant secretary, treasurer, director, vice-president, up to president. There are three such in our organization—rather rare specimens, we admit, but scientists build an entire extinct order from a single one. These specimens are of an order whose numbers and achievements have still to be written.

Miss Lucile Atcherson, our only woman diplomat, speaking at the banquet, stressed women's representation throughout the banking world, and said that the absence of restriction was particularly interesting in view of the "corners" allotted women in so many other fields. It is specially interesting too because of the recent entrance of women into banking life.

The objects of the Association are to make its members more valuable to the institutions with which they are associated; to uphold the standard and integrity of women's work in national banks, trust companies and savings banks; to achieve greater solidarity. The forty-five at the convention felt enthusiastically sure that the convention served each of the objects directly. One of its many valuable features was a regional clearing house, under the direction of Miss Jean A. Reid, manager of the woman's department, Bankers Trust Company, New York, at which each vice-president of the Association called on members of her district to speak. In this way banking activities from Nebraska to Tennessee, from Massachusetts to Missouri, were noted and compared.

The Association's president is Miss Virginia D. H. Furman, assistant secretary of the Irving Bank—Columbia Trust Company; its national vice-president, Mrs. William Laimbeer, assistant secretary of the United States Mortgage and Trust Company; its secretary, Miss Mina Bruère, assistant secretary of the Central Union Trust Company, and its treasurer, Miss Jean A. Reid, manager of the women's department of the Bankers Trust Company. All of these officers are from New York, but there are besides regional vice-presidents from different parts of the country. This ties the organization more closely than otherwise possible, and stimulates a vigorous simultaneous growth from coast to coast.

Children's Book Week

NATIONAL Children's Book Week —November 11-17—has also become Motion Picture Book Week. The National Committee for Better Films—affiliated with the National Board of Review—the Year-Round Bookselling Committee of the National Association of Book Publishers and the American Library Association are all co-operating to make this week stir the imaginations of children and parents to realize the possibilities in books and screened books.

And they are asking for the community's co-operation, too. The National Committee for Better Films (70 Fifth Avenue, New York) has published a list of better pictures which have a book source, giving the title, reels, author, title of source where different, characterization of picture and its star, and has especially marked those recommended for Children's Book Week. The Committee urges schools to refer pupils to the theatres showing appropriate pictures during the week, November 11-17. It has sent out four thousand letters to club presidents and Federation officials urging them to ask at least one of the exhibitors in their town to hold the week open for the exhibition of book-films. Twenty-eight hundred letters have gone out to school superintendents asking them to observe National Children's Book Week by arranging for the exhibition of book-films. Over seventeen thousand exhibitors have been asked to co-operate with Children's Book Week by showing book-films.

The Year-Round Bookselling Committee of the National Association of Book Publishers has sent out publicity suggesting ways of co-operating with schools and theatres. They recommend the use of posters, of pamphlets, of slides, and will gladly give directions for obtaining them, at 334 Fifth Avenue, New York.

For Better Motion Pictures

SPEAKING of motion pictures and particularly the better motion pictures, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, through their Motion Picture Division, is co-operating heartily with Arthur S. Kane, president of the Associated Exhibitors, Inc., to educate communities to the effective work which can be done by "Committees of Ten." The working plan of such committees is published in pamphlet form by Mr. Kane, and may be obtained by writing to Mrs. Dudley Van Holland, 37 Lombardy Place, Newark, New Jersey. These committees stand for the better pictures movement, and act as town censor; they see that coming attractions are posted, so that the family knows whether to go en masse or to leave the children at home. Their idea is to raise the standard and educate the community to it.

A Thirty Year Celebration

THE Tenth Triennial of the Council of Jewish Women is to be held in St. Louis, November 11-16. It will mark the completion of thirty years of service by this pioneer organization to the world of Jewish womanhood. Organized in 1893, the membership has grown to 50,000, with 203 sections in the United States and Canada. Jewish council organizations similar to those

of the Council of Jewish Women here in the United States have been established in Belgium, France, Holland, Italy, Poland, Latvia and Switzerland.

Mrs. Philip North Moore, president of the National Council of Women of the United States, will speak on "Woman's Contribution to World Cooperation." Mrs. Alexander Kohut, of New York, and Mrs. Nathaniel E. Harris, of Bradford, Pennsylvania, will report on the American-European Conference of Jewish Women, held in Vienna in May, 1923, which they attended. Other attractions are the Honorable Mrs. Ernest L. Franklin, of London—see page 4—and Mrs. Catt, who will speak on "War or Peace?"

Columbus Day

COLUMBUS DAY CONFERENCES, under the auspices of the National Sections of the Pan American International Women's Committee, were held in the capitals of the American Republics on October 12. All the conferences, through a common program, presented the contribution of women in certain fields to the progress of their respective countries. The United States section of the Pan American International Women's Committee held its celebration in the Pan American Union Building, Washington, D. C.

Women Nominated

RESPONSES to our letters asking for news about women nominated for fall elections have been coming in daily, though many states have no elections this fall—Wisconsin, for instance, and Delaware, Nebraska, Maine, Indiana, Tennessee and Illinois.

Pennsylvania nominated six women recorders of deeds, one city school director, one city and two county treasurers, three directors of the poor, one borough councilman, three clerks of courts, one prison inspector, one county auditor, one member of school board, and Mercer County reports a "prothonotary."

Maryland nominated four women for the House of Delegates—three Democrats and one Republican.

Illinois's "Only"

THE only woman upon the Attorney's Staff of the state of Illinois is Miss Marie O. Andresen, who has recently been appointed assistant state's attorney. Miss Andresen attended Northwestern University and the University of Illinois; was admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court of Illinois in 1922; in 1912 attracted considerable attention in American medical circles for her studies in cancer, chemical and pathological research. She served with the Red Cross during the war, and upon her return to this side entered public life. For three years she was in the state of Illinois Department of Labor and accomplished much for men, women and children engaged in industry in Illinois. Miss Andresen is an authority on state labor laws.

Dr. Gardiner Appointed

DR. ELIZABETH M. GARDINER has been appointed associate director of the division of maternity, infancy, and child hygiene of the New York State Department of Health. Dr. Gardiner resigned her position as director of the child welfare division of the Rhode Island State Department of Health to accept this new appointment.

Connecticut's Survey

CONNECTICUT has made a most comprehensive survey of various officeholders in the state, three hundred and forty-five being women.

Town health officers—three in number—fill the requirements of "discretion and learning in medical and sanitary science." Selectmen, whose chief task is making voters, number three. Town clerks are numerous and growing in strength all the time. Women assessors, however, are not so popular, only three holding the office in the state. In four towns women sit on the Board of Relief. Two women act as town treasurers, and seven function as tax collectors. Auditors, fourteen, which disproves the theory of woman's aversion to figures. One venturesome woman holds the office of constable. Three probate judges and forty-three justices of the peace were chalked up. And of course the largest group is that of women elected to school committees.

An Added Achievement

MISS BESSIE LOCKE, corresponding secretary of the National Kindergarten Association, has an additional achievement to add to our article on "What Women Have Done With the Vote," which appeared in the September 8 CITIZEN. In 1913, largely through the efforts of women, California passed a progressive kindergarten law which was later copied by Arizona, Nevada, Maine, Texas, Kansas, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Illinois, and New Mexico. The law permits the establishment of a kindergarten upon the request of parents or guardians of not less than twenty-five children living in the neighborhood ordinarily served by the school in connection with which the kindergarten is desired.

Another Organization

A No More War organization, which accepts our invitation to complete the list published in the July 30 *Citizen*, is "The Order of the Golden Rule," founded in Washington, D. C., in 1916. The order is for "children from six to sixty and over"; it has a membership of three thousand, and as its purpose, "a world of friends." It was founded by Mrs. Vance Cheney, who is its present president.

General Federation Notes

By LESSIE STRINGFELLOW READ

MEMBERSHIP in the International Court of Justice was advocated by the Missouri Federation of Women's Clubs at its recent state convention.

Twenty-one other resolutions were adopted, including:

A resolution to preserve the home of Mark Twain at Florida, Missouri; indorsing the work of the Anti-Narcotic League; calling on women of the state to make a study of taxation; indorsing a department of education in the President's Cabinet; asking Missouri women to study local conditions to the end that Missouri may educationally rank at the top among states; providing for efficient and informed women on every school board in the state.

PENNSYLVANIA club women last year helped to raise the educational standard of the state from twenty-first to third place. Sixty-five clubs in the state federation are doing junior work. Pennsylvania is a leading state in doing re-forestation work.

A CLUB presidents' council has been organized in Washington State and a first state meeting held in Spokane where club heads counselled together.

MRS. GEORGE McCORMICK, wife of the city editor of the *Marion Star*, Marion, Ohio, has been re-appointed press chairman for the Ohio Federation of Women's Clubs. Mrs. McCormick is an outstanding publicity woman in the Federation and Ohio shows excellent judgment in retaining trained services in its publicity work. No state press chairman who is trained in newspaper ways and who is doing good work should be allowed to leave office, so long as she is willing to serve. Experience and a wide acquaintance over the state are two valuable assets to publicity work, and with every change in publicity office there is a temporary loss in publicity. "Hand your press chairman down from administration to administration so long as she is efficient, and will serve," seems to be Ohio's motto. There could be no better in publicity building.

RUTH BRYAN OWEN, daughter of William Jennings Bryan and for the past two years president of the Miami (Florida) Woman's Club, is the author of "Sharazed," a five-reel feature film being distributed by the Society for Visual Education and recommended by Mrs. Thomas G. Winter for club or private exhibition.

"Sharazed," according to Mrs. Winter, is an Arabian Night's Tale, embodying the two qualities which Mrs. Owen believes essential to motion pictures—the artistic value of paintings

and the literary value of good reading matter. It is a unique contribution to the better films movement.

The scenes are laid in Florida, and more than one hundred of the most intellectual of Florida's winter colony of residents comprise the cast.

The film may be had from the Society of Visual Education, 806 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois; rental $20.00.

THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION is issuing a monthly magazine devoted to questions bearing directly upon public welfare, entitled *Hygeia.* It aims to put scientific facts before the general public, and in this the Association invites the cooperation of the health division of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

Political Parties

(*Continued from page* 12)

forward thrust was to be made, there would descend upon the legislators, under the able guidance of the "whip," a flood of postal cards, letters and telegrams sufficient to call to the attention of even the wettest of the wet the fact that there were among his constituents a considerable number of those vitally interested in prohibition.

Such tactics are common to all "pressure groups," although the skill of the lobbyists and the popular sentiment they can rally vary exceedingly. The very presentation of a cause to the legislature in itself guarantees that the issue will receive greater consideration than it otherwise would, and popular clamor through post card and telegram without question causes many a legislator to consider carefully the political consequences of his decision, and very often to yield to the side he deems to be supported by public opinion.

In actively campaigning, in swinging votes to or from particular candidates, the Anti-Saloon League has developed its technique beyond that of the usual "pressure group," although the Woman's Party did, and the American Federation of Labor to a slight extent does, pursue the same methods. Here and there, wherever there was the slightest chance of success, the strength of the Anti-Saloon League was thrown. It was not always possible to secure a wet and dry issue, but in all cases the candidate who was *least moist* received the assistance of the League. Thus, by lending its support to this party and to that, extracting concessions wherever possible, the League was finally able to change the complexion of our legislative bodies and eventually to secure the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment.

The older practice of confining the fight to one political party, and by a series of compromises finally writing a plank into the party platform, has been somewhat eclipsed by this newer method which fights on all fronts at once. And although this second method of presenting issues to the public does not preclude the use of the first—independent activity within a party organization—nevertheless it must be admitted that as a method of advancing issues which the major parties attempt to avoid, the "pressure groups" have been found to be very efficient and will probably be used more and more.

This, then, is the sum of the whole matter: independence within party councils, and independent voting will go a long way toward making the parties function once again, but as long as they refuse to do so it *is* possible to advance issues through the activities of "pressure groups."

If there are any of these latter organizations in whose principles the reader believes, the moral is, if she desires to make her influence doubly effective—to join one.

(For further reading: Merriam, "The American Party System.")

Washington

(*Continued from page* 8)

dent, dine with Secretary and Mrs. Hughes, have some meal with Secretary Davis, and another with Overseas Writers, the correspondents' association, besides a trip to Gettysburg as part of the Washington visit. He will be as enthusiastically received as was Woodrow Wilson when he arrived in London for his first European visit as President of the United States. There is just as much glamour about the head of Lloyd George to Americans as hovered about Woodrow Wilson at Paris, but a different glamour—that of the practical politician instead of the vision of hope.

There is considerable feeling here that if Mr. Lloyd George and Secretary Hughes can get together unmolested the combination might be fruitful for international relations. The President this week let it be known that as conditions are now in Europe, and with the present state of mind there, he would see little to be gained in the proposition for a world economic conference such as has been advocated by Senator Copeland of New York. In other words, the President would want to be assured of some likelihood of success before attempting a conclave. This is typical of the President. His government will be that of "safe reforms," movements that have had the sanction of thinking people for years, such, for instance, as civil service reform, and economy in government by means of the budget and government reorganization. He will be distinct in this from the Congressional reformers who want government ownership and control of monopolies, subsidies and price fixing.

Senator Magnus Johnson, the Farmer-Labor Senator elected recently from Minnesota, arrived this week on a short visit. He put up at the old National Hotel on Pennsylvania Avenue, the refuge of Labor leaders and allied groups. He and his wife declared they would find themselves a house in Washington where they could have enough ground to contain a woodpile and possibly a cow. They will have to spend some time searching for it if they expect to purchase it for anything like a reasonable sum. The model house erected by the Better Homes Association as an example of an economical and well-ordered home, has been visited by many people, but it has come somewhat as a shock to learn that this simple little house alone, supposed to be within the reach of any working man, cost $14,000 to build, with the simple furniture in proportion. Something inexpensive but beautiful at the capital is one of those phantoms which exist on paper and not in practice.

Even the psychology of the official family regarding government expenditures is a phenomenon. Every year the President implores rigid economy and cutting down expenses, and every year the Department heads ask for a few millions more than they had the year before. This year's tentative budget submitted to General Lord, Director of the Budget, comes to some millions more than that of last year. General Lord is holding private hearings with the Department and Bureau heads in solemn conference as to where they can get back to normal in their respective budgets, preparatory to submission to Congress.

And all the time Mrs. Coolidge is around town at the local milliners looking for a becoming brown hat. She disavows any swing toward the erection of a "Coolidge brown"—but she is after the hat, nevertheless. As a matter of fact, she has always worn brown; it especially suits her.

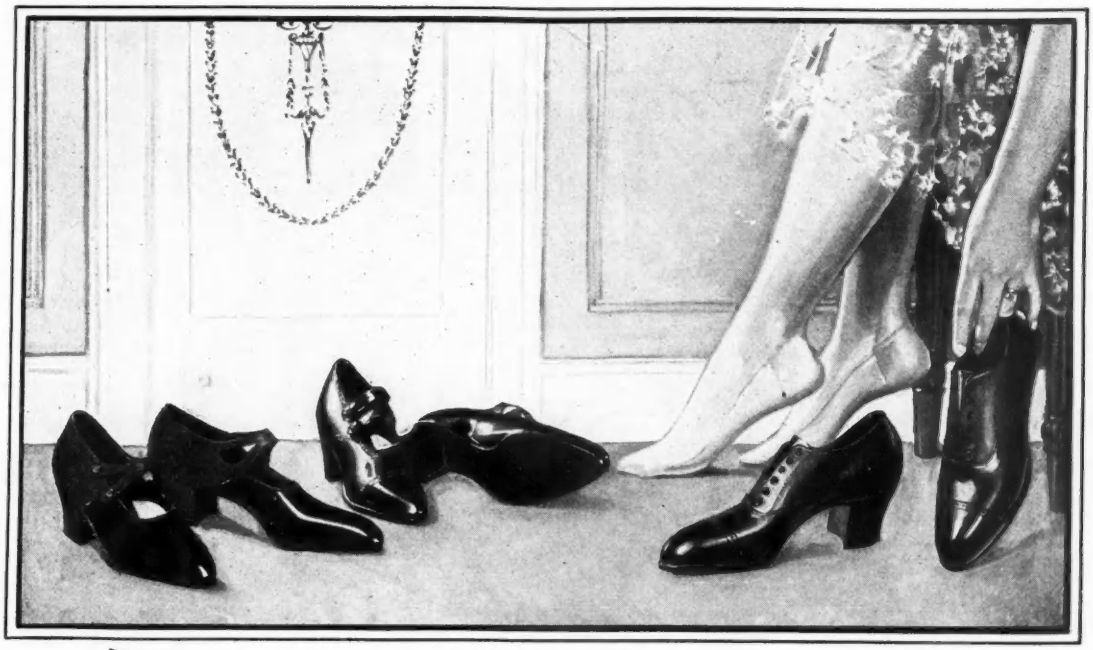
The Prize Contest

on

How to Get Out the Vote

was closed on October 15th as at first announced by THE WOMAN CITIZEN, *and the prizes will be awarded on papers which were submitted by that date. In announcing in the last issue of the* CITIZEN *that the time of the contest would be extended to November 1st, a rule of the Post Office Department was inadvertently infringed.*

In spite of the prize contest being now closed, the subject of "How to Get Out the Vote" is such an important one that the CITIZEN *hopes that the experience or plans of many other individuals and organizations will still be sent in.*



A Flexible Shoe for Your Flexible Foot

Cantilever Stores

Cut this out for reference

Akron—11 Orpheum Arcade
Albany—Hewett's Silk Shop, 18 N. Pearl St.
Allentown—907 Hamilton St.
Altoona—Bendheim's, 1302 Eleventh Ave.
Asheville—Pollock's
Atlanta—126 Peachtree Arcade
Atlantic City—2019 Boardwalk (Shelburne)
Baltimore—325 North Charles St.
Bangor—John Conners Shoe Co.
Berkeley—The Booterie
Binghamton—Parlor City Shoe Co.
Birmingham—219 North 19th St.
Boston—Newbury St. cor. Clarendon St.
Bridgeport—W. K. Mollan
Brooklyn—516 Fulton St. (Primrose Bldg.)
Buffalo—641 Main St.
Butte—Hubert Shoe Co.
Canton, O.—H. M. Horton Co.
Cedar Rapids—The Killian Co.
Charleston, S. C.—J. F. Condon & Sons
Charleston, W. Va.—John Lee Shoe Co.
Charlotte—226 North Tryon St.
Chicago—{30 E. Randolph St. (Room 502) / 1059 Leland (near Broadway)
Cincinnati—The McAlpin Co.
Cleveland—Graner-Powers, 1274 Euclid Ave.
Colorado Springs—Wulff Shoe Co.
Columbus, O.—104 E. Broad St. (at 3rd)
Dallas—Volk Bros. Co.
Dayton—The Rike-Kumler Co.
Denver—224 Foster Bldg.
Des Moines—W. L. White Shoe Co.
Detroit—41 E. Adams Ave.
Duluth—107 W. First St. (near 1st Ave. W.)
Elizabeth—Gigl's, 1053 Elizabeth Ave.
Elmira—C. W. O'Shea
Erie—Weschler Co., 910 State St
Evanston—North Shore Bootery
Fall River—D. F. Sullivan
Fargo—Hall-Allen Shoe Co.
Fort Wayne—Mathias App's Sons
Fort Worth—Washer Bros.
Grand Rapids—Herpolsheimer Co.
Greenville—Pollock's
Hagerstown—Bikle's Shoe Shop
Harrisburg—26 No. 3rd St. (Second floor)
Hartford—Trumbull & Church Sts.
Haverhill—McGregor's, 21 Washington Sq.
Holyoke—Thos. S. Childs, 275 High St.
Houston—205 Foster-Bank Commerce Bldg.
Huntington, W. Va.—McMahon-Diehl
Indianapolis—L. S. Ayres & Co.
Ithaca—Rothschild Bros.
Jacksonville—Golden's Bootery
Jersey City—Bennett's, 411 Central Ave.
Kalamazoo—The Bell Shoe House
Kansas City, Mo.—300 Altman Bldg.
Kingston—E. T. Stelle & Son
Knoxville—Spence Shoe Co.
Lancaster, Pa.—Boyd's, 5 E. King St.
Lawrence, Mass.—G. H. Woodman
Lewiston—Lamey-Wellehan, 110 Lisbon St.
Lexington, Ky.—Denton, Ross, Todd Co.
Lincoln—Mayer Bros. Co.
Long Beach, Calif.—Farmers' Bank Bldg.
Los Angeles—505 New Pantages Bldg.
Louisville—Boston Shoe Co.
Lowell—The Bon Marche
Lynchburg—Isbell-Bowman Co.

WALKING is a pleasure and shopping is a joy if your feet are comfortable and free to flex as Nature intends. It is surprising how much additional vigor and endurance you gain in shoes that are made with consideration for the true shape and natural flexibility of the foot.

Trim Cantilever Shoes, with their natural lines and flexible arches, give your feet a springy buoyancy that permits you to finish your daily tasks with greater vim and to participate in the pleasures of life.

The arch of the Cantilever Shoe hugs the undercurve of your foot giving gentle, restful support to the inner and weaker side of the arch. This enables your foot to carry the weight of the body easily—without strain. The fine network of muscles that are designed to hold the twenty-six small bones of the foot in an arched position, are allowed to exercise properly because the Cantilever flexible arch acts in harmony with the foot. As these muscles gain in strength through exercise, you will notice that your foot is acquiring a natural springiness that is just the opposite of the awkward, shoe-bound gait caused by rigid, unnatural footwear.

Cantilevers are being shown by many agencies in attractive new styles and colorings this Fall. They are delightful shoes to look at as well as to wear. Their trimly shaped toes allow your own toes to straighten out in comfortable relaxation. The heels of Cantilever Shoes are made in several smart styles, but always of moderate height so that you will suffer none of the internal injuries that doctors attribute to high heels.

Cantilever Shoes are sold by carefully selected shoe experts all over the United States. Except in New York and Chicago, only one dealer in a town sells Cantilever Shoes. Read the list of dealers at the left and right and if none of them is near you, write the manufacturers Morse & Burt, 8 Carlton Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., and they will send you the address of a nearby store as well as their most recent booklet which treats the shoe in its relation to the foot in a new and interesting light.

Cantilever Shoe

Endorsed by Women's Colleges, Women's Clubs, Public Health Authorities, Physicians, Osteopaths, Directors of Physical Education, Editors, Stage Celebrities and prominent women everywhere.

Madison—Family Shoe Store
Mansfield—Brownell Shoe Co.
Memphis—28 No. Second St.
Milwaukee—Brouwer Shoe Co.
Minneapolis—25 Eighth St. South
Mt. Vernon, N. Y.—A. J. Rice & Co.
Nashville—J. A. Meadors & Sons
Newark—897 Broad St. (2nd floor)
New Bedford—Olympia Shoe Shop
Newburgh—G. A. C. Van Beuren
New Castle, Pa.—229 E. Washington St.
New Haven—153 Court St. (2nd floor)
New Orleans—109 Baronne St. (Room 200)
Newport, R. I.—Sullivan's, 226 Thames St.
New Rochelle—Ware's
New York—14 W. 40th St. (opp. Public Library
Norfolk—Amev & Brownley
Oakland—205 Hen-shaw Bldg.
Oklahoma City—The Boot Shop
Omaha—1708 Howard St.
Pasadena—378 E. Colorado St.
Paterson—10 Park Ave. (at Erie Depot)
Peoria—Lehmann Bldg. (Room 203)
Philadelphia—1300 Walnut St.
Pittsburgh—The Rosenbaum Co.
Pittsfield—Wm. Fahey, 234 North St.
Plainfield—M. C. Van Arsdale
Portland, Me.—Palmer Shoe Co.
Portland, Ore.—353 Alder St.
Poughkeepsie—Louis Schonberger
Providence—The Boston Store
Reading—Sig. S. Schweriner
Richmond, Va.—Seymour Sycle
Roanoke—I. Bachrach Shoe Co.
Rochester—257 Main St. (3rd floor)
Rockford—D. J. Stewart & Co.
St. Louis—516 Arcade Bldg. (opp. P. O.)
St. Paul—43 E. 5th St. (Frederic Hotel)
Sacramento—208 Ochsner Bldg., K near 7th
Saginaw—Goeschel-Kuiper Co.
Salt Lake City—Walker Bros Co.
San Diego—The Marston Co.
San Francisco—Phelan Bldg. (Arcade)
Santa Barbara—Smith's Bootery
Savannah—Globe Shoe Co.
Schenectady—Patton & Hall
Scranton—Lewis & Reilly
Seattle—Baxter & Baxter
Shreveport—Phelps Shoe Co.
Sioux City—The Pelletier Co.
Sioux Falls—The Bee Hive
South Bend—Ellsworth Store
Spokane—The Crescent
Springfield, Mass.—Forbes & Wallace
Stamford—L. Spelke & Son
Syracuse—121 West Jefferson St.
Tacoma—255 So. 11th St. (Fidelity Trust Bldg
Toledo—LaSalle & Koch Co.
Topeka—The Pelletier Store
Trenton—H. M. Voorhees & Bro.
Troy—35 Third St. (2nd floor)
Tulsa—Lyon's Shoe Store
Utica—135 Genesee St. (2nd floor)
Washington—1319 F. Street
Waterbury—Howland-Hughes Co.
Wheeling—Geo. R. Taylor Co.
Wichita—Rorabaugh's
Williamsport—John B. Irvin
Worcester—J. C. MacInnes Co.
Yonkers—22 Main St.
Youngstown—B. McManus Co.

Agencies in 287 other cities

"Mary, Mary, Quite Contrary"

TWO issues ago we mentioned that Mrs. Fiske is the event of the new theatrical season. The fact still stands. Counting out a few plays of long run still running, "Mary, Mary Quite Contrary" is the one "be sure to see" play.

Not that it is weighty and important as a drama. It is the lightest of light comedies—a long way from the grave plays by which we know its author, St. John G. Ervine, who wrote "John Ferguson" and "Jane Clegg." The gayest of nonsense, with a perpetual spray of humor over human foibles, it gives Mrs. Fiske a chance for delightful light irony and fun-making, and audiences three acts of admiring chuckles.

The story is of *Mary Westlake*, an almost middle-aged actress, impetuous, incalculable, temperamental to the *n*th degree, with a passion for pulling the strings to make other people perform, but always with a twinkle in her eyes while she pulls. She descends on a peaceful rector's family "in the depths of the country," and turns it in a couple of days into a bedlam. She engages herself to the single men of the family in dizzy succession—the young dramatist, and the dramatist's elderly uncle, one-time provincial governor; keeps the rheumatic ex-governor out in a boat all night on the open sea; alternately helps and torments the young girl who happens to be in love with the dramatist, and ends by straightening everything out by her own kindly but intricate wiles.

There are plenty of amusing lines, a very fair cast and a most entertaining characterization of the Cockney business man who is *Mary Westlake's* manager. It is he who tells the girl, after she has harped on her modernness and her knowledge of life, that when she finds out she doesn't know a bit more about life than her grandmother, she will be a lot better off.

For the first time—by special arrangement with her own producer, who, as all the world knows, is her husband as well—Mrs. Fiske appears under Belasco's management; needless to say, the presentation is beautiful.

There, by the way, is an example of a married partnership for you—Harrison Grey Fiske and Minnie Maddern Fiske, theatrical manager and star, and married since Minnie Maddern was twenty-five. Sothern and Marlowe, Edith Wynne Matthison and Charles Rann Kennedy, Laurette Taylor and Hartley Manners—there are enough to indicate that this sort of thing works very well in the theatrical world.

People who saw Mrs. Fiske in *Becky Sharp, Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, in *Hedda Gabler* and in other Ibsen rôles, have values to remember that this airy little play can never give. But it is the characteristic Mrs. Fiske, in a performance of flawless artistry.

A Doctor Speaks

I HAVE been much interested in your symposium on careers for married women. I may not be eligible to be writing on this, being single, but my professional experience has shown me that the moneyless condition of most wives who remain at home, even when they have rich husbands, is the greatest cause of discontent, nerves and divorces.

Wives should have an allowance, as liberal as the husband's income or business can stand. A career enables her to get what she wants without begging for it or depending on the whims of her husband. Many men are downright niggardly with their wives while spending lavishly on themselves and their friends.

Many rich women have charge accounts, but no money. I have known some who could not get a spool of thread without going or sending miles to a particular store for it, even when they had a carriage or limousine to take them there. Such lines are doubly hard and humiliating to women who have had or made money before marriage. The husband of one of my patients fussed about giving her postage to write to her family, and she became estranged from her folks in time.

Carl Brandt is right! (August 11 CITIZEN). My mother trained four boys to do as much housework as I had to do; and all the handling of coal, ashes, kindling, water carrying, etc., and they made kind, generous husbands, for they knew what housework was, and the rearing of a family additional made them very considerate and helpful. Many men, untrained, wonder what "the wife does all day long."

SARAH M. SIEWERS, M. D.,
Massillon, Ohio.

THE William Penn High School of Philadelphia is the first high school, so far as we know, to use the WOMAN CITIZEN *in its classes in Social Science. Miss Mary Stewart, the teacher, writes: "The students get material from the* CITIZEN *hard to find elsewhere. Almost 100% of them subscribed."*

LA femme mariée peut-elle avoir une carrière? The words caught our eye in a September issue of the French paper, *Le Mouvement Feministe*, and we looked to see what the French think about the married woman's right to work. And lo and behold it was a translation from our own symposium!

"It is not alone in Europe," the article began, "that this question is being discussed, but also in the United States, where, as here, a thousand arguments, inspired by sentiment and by economic motives, are offered in opposition to the married woman's undeniable right to work if she wishes." . . . And then a compliment to the CITIZEN for opening a symposium on the subject, and several columns of quotations from our letters printed this past summer: Mr. and Mrs. Whitehouse, Ann Watkins, Mrs. Ogden Reid, Mr. Frederick, etc.

The article ended with an expression of regret that the pictures with which the CITIZEN had illustrated the feature could not be reproduced, since they offer such fine food for thought to the sentimental opponents of careers for married women.

While We Sleep

By GULIELMA F. ALSOP
College Physician at Barnard

A LITTLE over a year ago, the committee that was appointed in Washington, D. C., to investigate the cause of widespread malnutrition in the children of that city, gave lack of sleep as the main cause. A person may eat the most properly well-balanced diet in abundance and yet, without sufficient sleep, be severely undernourished and suffer all the ills of malnutrition.

In running over the health condition of about a thousand girls every autumn, I hear from girl after girl: "Oh, yes. I know I am underweight. I've tried everything. Yes, four glasses of milk, an egg for breakfast, and last winter I took six bottles of cod-liver oil—and nothing did me any good. I guess I'm just meant to be thin."

I find the student is easily tired out, always languid when she gets up in the morning, never feels rested from the time her city life in the fall begins till it ends in the spring. At the very last, she reluctantly admits she only sleeps about six or seven hours. She hasn't time for any more sleep than that. One night she studies. The next night she has a caller. The next night she goes to the theatre. And the next, perhaps she studies again. I tell her that she

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needs more sleep, but she says she hasn't half enough time anyhow, she can't bear to cut short her evenings.

I bide my time and wait my opportunity, which will surely come. Along about December, or maybe in February, the same girl comes back, circles under her eyes, listless, headache-y, ready for any remedy that will give her back the feeling of owning the world every morning when she gets up. Step by step, we go over her hygiene. Again we come to the same point—lack of sufficient sleep. This time I elaborate the effects of sleep a little more, feeling that now perhaps the words of wisdom will fall on more fertile soil.

During the day, the body uses constantly whatever of heat and energy it consumes in its food. In a thin person, there is usually just enough caloric energy in the food to carry the individual through the day's work. At night, if there is any surplus of food at all, it can be used for improving the quality of the body tissue and for storing purposes; in other words, for the making of fat. The heart, which never stops from birth to death, at night gets its only approximate rest, beating about eight beats a minute less, or, during a sound sleep of nine hours, 4,320 beats less. The blood itself which has been largely distributed during the day where the most nourishment was needed—in the muscles during exercise, about the stomach during digestion, in the brain during study—at night flushes the skin, so providing the skin with its maximum amount of nutrition. During sleep also the blood pressure falls and lessens the tension in the blood vessels. The eliminative processes of the body which rid the system of its most dangerous products, the wastes of tissue decomposition, proceed at their best during the night.

Besides these definite physiological changes, the body is unconscious and the brain and the nervous system are relaxed and at rest. Most of the latest researches on nerve fatigue report no visible, histologic changes in a tired nerve fiber to distinguish it from a fresh one, but all the changes of nerve fatigue have been shown to be in the nerve cell itself. A nerve cell contains many small dots of protein tissue in its midst, forming the one or more nuclei of the cell on which the vitality of the cell depends. These nuclei take a bright shining stain when fresh, but when fatigued, either stain not at all or very faintly, showing that the nuclear substance has been destroyed by the nerve work of the body. This is real nerve fatigue and means that the nervous system is actually worn out, used up, and would be unable to act with promptness and efficiency. During sleep, the cell nuclei are replaced and repaired.

So the definite benefits of sleep are nervous, circulatory, eliminative. Sleep affects our entire bodies. We are different creatures after a good night's sleep than before it. To be well slept is of supreme importance to health.

The subject of Sleep will be continued in the next issue.

Poland's Better Half

(*Continued from page* 11)

laws governing alcoholic beverages have been put into operation by the new government.

Another educational leader is Madame Dziubinska (Jubinska), who spent many years before the war founding and directing agricultural schools throughout Russian Poland, schools which not only taught improved methods of agriculture, but effectively combated the denationalizing and stupefying influence of Russian schools. This gifted woman became a member of the national education commission of Poland which, in the schools already founded by her, has already at hand the foundation of a national system of agricultural training. Still other educators among the women legislators of Poland are Madame Balicka, for years the head of a teacher's training school, and Madame Sokolnicka, well known in the schools of Posnania. From Pomerania on the Baltic came Madame Wilczakiewicz (Viltchakayvitch), a picturesque peasant figure and an eloquent speaker.

In Madame Moraczewska, founder of the Polish Women's League, and one of the first promoters of the Women's Legion, the country has one of the most experienced social workers in Europe. Education among the working classes has been her special care for years. Her name is a household word in industrial centers. Equally absorbed in the lot of the workers is Madame Kosmowska, who was one of the founders of the Peasant Union in former Russian Poland, and one of the editors of *Zarani* ("The Dawn"), an organ of the social movement through the medium of which she established a unique social agency for peasants and workers. Through this agency Madame Kosmowska carried on personal work of almost unbelievable dimensions, so far-reaching did it eventually become, distributing libraries, sending out nurses and teachers, furnishing farm machinery, agricultural instructors, and herself answering a weekly average of over three hundred letters from peasants, touching on economic and social questions.

Madame Kosmowska's adventures during the war would make a thrilling volume. She was a bold organizer of resistance to the Russian power in rural districts, agitating against the mobilization of Poles in the Muscovite armies, publishing and circulating secret patriotic journals, and taking an active part in smuggling Poles across the Russian boundaries to enlist them in the Polish legions. So bold did she become, in fact, that finally in April, 1915, she was caught, jailed, and after having been imprisoned for many weeks, in August was carried off to Moscow. At that time she was sick almost to death. The first Russian revolution liberated her, but she remained in Russia and at once re-commenced her social work by organizing an educational association among Polish refugees. This association grew in time to direct some five thousand units scattered all over the old Empire, wherever Polish refugees were to be found. Madame Kosmowska is Secretary of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Diet, a member of the Constitutional Commission, and an active promoter of agricultural reforms.

These are the women chosen to sit among the national legislators of the Polish Republic. They are women of whom any country might be proud, a band of earnest, ardent workers and thinkers whose little group stands out all the more vividly and sharply defined because of the glowing background behind them—the vast background made by Poland's army of silent homekeeping wives and mothers and workers.

Figures Are Friendly

(*Continued from page* 13)

kept. "I won't take the account," she reported to the headmistress. The man never knew, but when he left the business world, the headmistress remembered and the account was turned over to Miss Moore.

New ventures provide her with one of the chief delights of her business. She has one boys' school which was started by two or three persons on a very slender margin. The school has been brilliantly successful and the accountant has had all the fun of watching the business grow. There are other clients who have gone through their first years in business with debts or very tiny credit balances, but who today are doing well and whom Miss Moore feels that she has watched along the way to success.

She has one general comment to make on the whole situation with regard to women in the business world in England. "Women are winning their way," she says. "They are forging ahead. But in England at least they will not generally gain positions of responsibility and authority to which they are entitled, until parents accept the fact that a business training is a right for their daughters as well as for their sons and buy into concerns or plan with the same care as they do for their sons for the entrance of their daughters into firms where they have a real opportunity for advancement."

Heart-to-Heart

MAKING PROGRESS

THE drive to treble the subscription list and hence the influence of the CITIZEN is gathering momentum. Florida was the first state League of Women Voters to receive the $100 prize for subscriptions. The CITIZEN office was as pleased as the Florida League headquarters must have been when on the morning of the last of the thirty days a telegram from Mrs. O'Hara, the state League president, announced that the twenty-one subscriptions necessary to complete the winning quota had been mailed just in time to count for the prize. The Florida League has already started to win a second $100. Other state leagues are en route. Montana has made a good beginning under the chairmanship of Mrs. Dolly Dean Burgess. The officers of the Vermont League in the series of conferences which they are holding all over the state, with the help of National League officials, are taking a display of the CITIZEN with them.

From individuals, also, subscriptions are coming in groups and even more welcome than the subscriptions is the testimony that the CITIZEN is meeting a real need. Mrs. Katherine P. Seyfer of Arkansas City, Kansas, sends four subscriptions and writes: "I find that the WOMAN CITIZEN gives the information I desire as no other publication does." Mrs. W. D. Sorrenville of La Verne, California, writes: "I have been a subscriber to the CITIZEN for three years. I wish to express my appreciation for such a valuable periodical, and to show my gratitude I am sending three subscriptions."

If every reader of the CITIZEN would follow the example of these two friends the future of the CITIZEN would be assured. There is surely no community where two or three women cannot be found who would like the CITIZEN if it were shown to them.

And while driving for subscriptions don't forget the advertisers who are helping to make the CITIZEN possible now. Have you sent for Altman's fall catalogue? Have you tried Cantilever shoes? Have you worn a Franklin Simon gown?—to mention only three well-known names which are advertised in this issue. Have you seen Adele Gray's fall models? (By the way, notice the one Mrs. Catt wears.) These are among the most reliable firms in the country and they believe in the good taste and buying power of women of intelligence enough to advertise to them. With 35,000 subscribers the advertising in the CITIZEN can be more than doubled because CITIZEN readers know the value of co-operating with the business men and women who are serving them.

The WOMAN CITIZEN *has a particularly attractive offer of cash commissions and bonuses for new subscriptions in some numbers. If you are not familiar with the terms, please write for particulars.*

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STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of *The Woman Citizen*, published fortnightly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1923.

County of New York } ss.
State of New York }

Before me, a notary public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Mrs. Raymond Brown, who having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of *The Woman Citizen*, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor and business manager are:

Name and Post Office Address:

Publisher: The Woman Citizen Corporation, 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y.

Editor: Virginia Roderick, 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y.

Business Manager: Mrs. Raymond Brown, 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y.

2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock):

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GERTRUDE FOSTER BROWN.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 21st day of September, 1923.

(Seal) EDWARD GOLDEN.

(My commission expires March 30, 1924.)

The Bookshelf

By M. A.

THE phrase "light fiction" usually means something frivolous, airy, merry, amusing without demanding too much mental effort on the part of its readers. Booth Tarkington's "*Fascinating Stranger*" is almost a perfect example. It does contain one short story which is excellent satire, but even this is built with so carefully careless a touch that its deeper meanings need not disturb you. For the rest, the book tells of those children and colored folk who have made Tarkington belovedly famous. The stories are specially recommended as read-aloud accompaniments to darning. They will render it less nearly profane.

There is another kind of fiction which might be classed as "light," because in spite of its thickness, it has no real weight. Charles Norris's "*Bread*" is that kind of a story. The book is receiving more than its share of discussion because it purports to debate business versus marriage, and calls itself the "novel of the woman in business." It is the story of a woman who loved business, deserted it for a marriage which failed, returned to her job, and then was deprived by her author of the success her talents would have won, and turned into a bitter propagandist for "woman's place is in the home." This is the more curious in that she had never known a home she considered worth staying in.

"*The Exile of the Lariat*" is Honoré Willsie's story of a Wyoming paleontologist and how he was coerced into the governor's chair. Mrs. Willsie paints a convincing frontier country, and her analysis of women's place in the politics of that earliest of suffrage states is absorbing. She has a flair for arresting situations and compelling scenes. Her people are more real than her writing at times allows them to be. In spite of a too frequent carelessness, the story looms through, too big to be buried under any faults of writing.

Wallace Irwin is so linked with that most ingenuous of Japanese schoolboys, Hashimuri Togo, that one's face erects a stage-set of preliminary grins on opening his book. But "*Lew Tyler's Wives*" has nothing to do with comedy. It is the story of a clever, gregarious scapegrace before and after his reformation, which follows the death of his baby and the numbed departure of his first wife. He marries again after he has leashed his easy

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The Fascinating Stranger: Doubleday Page, 1923. $2.00.

Bread: E. P. Dutton, 1923. $2.00.

The Exile of the Lariat: Stokes, 1923. $2.00.

Lew Tyler's Wives: Putnam, 1923. $2.00.

vices, and this second chapter, with its incidents compounded from the first, gives the book its title. That it seems to be easier to fashion a convincing sinner than angel, is probably responsible for the transformation of live Lew into stiff putty. The first part of the book is Jessie's story, with Lew singing, loving, and cheating as her vivid foil. The second part is Virginia's, with the accompaniment of a Lew washed and combed to a silent reformed-character. He comes to life only when his wife is so preoccupied with childbirth that she can't follow him around to keep him refined. The book is honest and well written, with only occasional lapses into the facile commonplace.

Your Investments

"Rights"

By Eleanor Kerr

WHEN a corporation desires to raise more capital, there are several ways in which it can go about doing so. It may issue bonds, getting a bond house to underwrite their sale to the public. In other words, the bond house buys the entire issue at an agreed price and offers it at a somewhat higher price to the general public.

The company may instead finance itself through an additional stock issue. This may be underwritten in the same general way as a bond issue, but a frequently used method is to do this through the issuance of warrants or "rights" to the existing stockholders which entitle them to subscribe to the new stock at a fixed price and in proportion to the number of shares they already hold. In the case of large corporations these "rights" are formal papers similar in appearance to a stock certificate.

Often these "rights" are valuable whether or not the stockholder is intending to make a further investment in the company. As a rule, the "rights" are issued with three ideas in mind, as far as the directors are concerned: the desirability of new capital, a wish to enable the stockholder to share in the company's success, and sometimes an inclination to increase the capitalization rather more rapidly than the earnings warrant. The first two are usually the principal reasons where a high-grade company is concerned.

If the first reason only is considered, the new stock is usually offered to subscribers at a price quite close to that at which the old stock is selling on the market. When the second reason predominates, the opportunity is given for subscription at a price attractively lower than the market, while in the third case, the stock is apt to be offered far below the current quotation.

The stockholder has several courses of action open to him. He may accept the subscription and take more stock; or he may sell his "rights" in the open market for cash; while as a third option he may sell the stock short (that is, without owning it) to the amount to which his "rights" entitle him. In this way, when the time comes to make delivery, he can either exercise the "rights" to make good his contract, or buy in the stock in the open market—whichever is cheaper.

While the last is the method often taken by those in close touch with financial affairs, since it enables them to make the best bargain, the greatest number of investors probably choose the second method, unless they happen to have money waiting for investment, in which latter case they might subscribe outright. In deciding the stockholder would probably be influenced by the consideration of whether or not he wanted additional holdings in the company, in proportion to his other investments.

The value of "rights" is, of course, dependent on the market value of the stock, business conditions, etc., but it is not exactly the difference between the market price and the price at which the warrant gives the right to purchase the stock. This is because the additional amount of stock, although it represents more capital in the company, also represents a division of the enterprise into a greater number of shares and so tends to make each share worth a little less. Therefore if the market price of the stock is about 90 and the right is given to stockholders to subscribe at 75, the "rights" would probably be worth somewhere around 10 to 12.

Of course, the value of the "right" expires on the subscription date, a fact which those unfamiliar with business sometimes forget, to their own loss.

A READER questions the figures of commissions in "Your Investments" in the September 22 issue of the Citizen. On the New York Stock Exchange, the regular rate is $1.50 commission for a $1,000 bond, exclusive of Liberty Bonds, and 15 cents for a share of stock of $100 par value. The $1.25 quoted in the article would be a fair average of commissions throughout the country, since these figures vary greatly. The 50 cents quoted as stock commissions was an error in typing; it should have read 15 cents.

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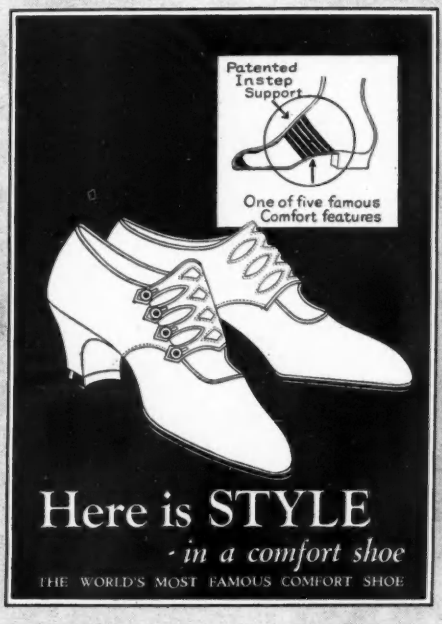

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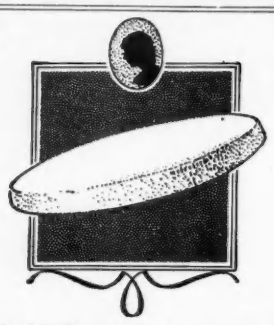

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Take Broadway Subway to 29th Street

OUR OWN DINGBATS

WELL, it looks as if we would have to find some way to buy a Ford car. ◆ ◆ ◆ You see, last time, we Dingbats used Henry Ford's name in connection with a rumor that people are getting pigeon-toed from motor-car driving. ◆ ◆ ◆ We were told, with pity, that the Ford is the one car not driven by means of the foot. ◆ ◆ ◆ While we were still undecided whether to grovel or to make a boast of our lordly ignorance, we repeated the incident to another pigeon-toed one, and were told that stepping on the gas isn't the only thing you do to a car, and that brakes and gears on a Ford call for lots of footwork, while on other makes—and so on and so on. ◆ ◆ ◆ The trouble is—all our informants pretend they learned about Fords long ago, and we can't go peering into the working arrangements of all the cars we meet, so we have begun saving our lunch money. ◆ ◆ ◆ There's no other way. ◆ ◆ ◆ We are awfully glad we didn't find the little story about Rastus we are going to tell you while those letters from husbands of working wives were running. We might have been misunderstood. ◆ ◆ ◆ Rastus was asked if he was a married man. "Nossah, boss," he answered, "Ah earns mah own living." ◆ ◆ ◆ We had an awful shock this week. ◆ ◆ ◆ We found, right in our own neighborhood, a very fine woman who reads the Citizen and who would not register. ◆ ◆ ◆ We tried every manner of persuasion on her—even threats of the civic goblins that would get her, but she persisted. ◆ ◆ ◆ Shall we give up the magazine? ◆ ◆ ◆ No—let's do this: Let every one who registered or did whatever is necessary in her own state write this lady a missionary letter in the Dingbat's care. ◆ ◆ ◆ It will surely move her to find she is the only slacker in the whole subscription list! ◆ ◆ ◆ Too bad about Dick Whittington's cat, isn't it? After all these hundreds of years they now admit he never had a cat, or at any rate not until about two hundred years after he died. ◆ ◆ ◆ And he never had any poverty, either. ◆ ◆ ◆ Just the same he will have both, we predict, to the end of time. ◆ ◆ ◆ Cat stories have nine lives too. ◆ ◆ ◆ It is a great world in which comfort comes by the calendar instead of the thermometer. ◆ ◆ ◆ We are now approaching the magic date on which apartment houses and offices must have heat, in accordance with law. ◆ ◆ ◆ But unfortunately, we cannot be warmed retroactively. ◆ ◆ ◆ In those utopias Mr. Wells invents every few years things are better ordered. ◆ ◆ ◆ One doen't have to buy hats there, either. ◆ ◆ ◆ There has been a great deal of talk here lately about French menus on American ships, and how hard it is on the digestion to have to eat by faith and guess. ◆ ◆ ◆ Some chefs' society has gravely come to the defense with an explanation that most good dishes are conceived and born in French and can not be translated. ◆ ◆ ◆ We think that is going a bit too far, though we believe in anything that will force an American to learn another language.

The Woman Citizen

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News Notes of the Fortnight

The Coming Conference

OVERSHADOWING everything else in the fortnight's news is the agreement on the part of the Allies and the United States to investigate Germany's ability to pay, and the events in Germany that preceded. Since Mrs. Stokes reported the news as it broke at Washington (page 8) Poincaré in a Sunday speech and in a formal communication to England has added further restrictions. He bars cutting the total reparations figure, fixed in May, 1921, and any questioning of the occupation of the Ruhr, and accepts the conference only on the understanding that the experts shall be under the Reparations Commission. The United States government accepts the reservations with equanimity, but Great Britain considers the success of the investigation is imperiled and has reluctantly accepted the French terms.

New troubles for Germany began with a breaking off of diplomatic relations between monarchist Bavaria and red Saxony. At the same time came a defiance of Berlin by the Saxon premier, Dr. Zeigner, over a revolutionary document which General Muller, in charge of the Reichswehr in Dresden, ordered should be disavowed. When the Saxon premier failed to act, the whole matter was handed over to the central government. Berlin sent an ultimatum demanding the immediate retirement of Dr. Zeigner's radical government. Zeigner defied it, but the order of dismissal for the entire Cabinet, which followed, was peaceably obeyed.

Meantime, Bavaria has also become, for the moment at any rate, a separate state. Berlin ordered the withdrawal of General von Lossow, commander of the Bavarian division of the Reichswehr. Dr. Von Kahr, military dictator, was in turn defiant, restored von Lossow, and kidnapped twelve thousand of the Federal troops, many of whom accepted Bavarian allegiance. Berlin has made a formal request for their restoration to the jurisdiction of Dr. Gessler, Minister of Defense.

Very Briefly

THE UNITED STATES and Brazil have agreed to accord each other most-favored nation treatment in matters affecting the customs—excepting the treatment of Cuba and of the Panama Canal Zone by the United States.

At the recent convention of the American Legion there was sharp division over the soldier bonus, and an Anti-Bonus League was formed, with Lieut. Commander William C. Van Antwerp of San Francisco as chairman. Its motto is, "For the disabled, everything—for the able-bodied, nothing." There was also hot discussion of the Klan, ending in a resolution that disapproved the Klan, though not by name.

Former Governor Lowden of Illinois was sounded as to his willingness to accept the post of ambassador to Great Britain, but since he did not wish to leave the country, the post was not formally offered to him. The naming of former Senator Kellogg was a general surprise, though it is said that President Harding had contemplated his appointment. There is some talk of opposition on the part of radical senators.

The Nobel prize for medicine has been awarded to Dr. F. G. Banting and Dr. J. J. R. McLeod, of the University of Toronto, for the discovery of insulin, the substance used in treating diabetes. Between 25,000 and 30,000 diabetic patients are now said to be under treatment.

Restoration of Theodore Roosevelt's birthplace, at 28 East Twentieth Street, New York, has been completed by the Women's Roosevelt Memorial Association, and the house was opened as a permanent memorial on the former President's sixty-fifth anniversary.

The third split in Germany was the Separatist revolution in the Rhineland, which began in the Belgian occupied territory on October 21, with the seizure of Aix-la-Chapelle, under the leadership of Leo Deckers. In the following two or three days several other towns and cities were seized, and considerable fighting went on. There was little popular support for the movement, and it seemed about to collapse when it gained definite French support. By the end of the week it was announced that the Rhineland Republic would be openly recognized, but for some reason recognition has been postponed.

Naturally, there is much discussion of the official French attitude toward the Separatist movement. Poincaré denies French responsibility. Pierrepont Noyes, our former Rhineland Commissioner, who was on the Rhine during the Separatist rebellion of a few years ago, considers it another development of the French desire for German territory west of the Rhine which manifested itself at the Peace Conference and has its roots far back in history. At this writing the success of the movement is still not assured.

Negotiations meantime continue between the German industrialists and the French in the Ruhr—negotiations by no means simple and easy. A contract between the French and the Krupps seems about to be signed, and if agreement is reached with Stinnes too, the alarming conditions of unemployment will be relieved.

The Twelve-Mile Limit

A COMMITTEE of the Imperial Conference, in session in London, has decided to accept in principle Secretary Hughes' proposal for a twelve-mile limit in the search for contraband liquor on ships. This does not include the extension of the limit for any other purpose, for example fisheries; the whole object is to further the American Government's efforts to enforce the prohibition law. In return, the United States is to allow legitimate alcohol stores intended for use on the eastern trip of British ships to come into port under seal. Of course this does not settle the matter, as details remain to be arranged and a treaty to be drawn; but this is much further than there was any sign of getting when the proposal was first made.

Governor Walton Loses

GOVERNOR WALTON of Oklahoma appears to have lost his fight against the Legislature, which he believes to be Klan-controlled. The impeachment proceedings brought against him are not yet finished, but there is small prospect for the Governor's acquittal. Fourteen charges, rather technical and formal, many of them, have been lodged against him, and a Senate resolution suspending him from duty

while the impeachment is in progress has been sustained. The Governor obtained a temporary injunction prohibiting the Lieutenant Governor from administering the Governor's office, but this was nullified by the Supreme Court in a decision prohibiting the Governor —and also the District Judge, Tom G. Chambers—from interfering.

An incident of the Legislature was the forcible ejection of a House member who charged on the floor that the House was dominated by the Grand Dragon of the Oklahoma Klan, which Governor Walton says proves he was right in predicting that the General Assembly would be a "mob assembly." So far, no anti-Klan law has been passed.

The Klan has been having a giant meeting in Dallas, Texas, and it is likely that Texas will be the setting for the next big Klan fight. Or perhaps one should say the Senate, instead of Texas. The right of Earle B. Mayfield (called the Ku Klux senator from Texas) to his seat, will be challenged shortly after Congress opens, and evidence will be offered to show election machinery was captured in important counties by the Klan.

Coal Wholesalers Blamed

THE COAL COMMISSION, in its final report, makes clear one of the causes of the high cost of coal. It says there are too many wholesalers and that they get too much money. It charges extravagance and waste in the handling of coal by the wholesalers—sale and resale before the coal reaches the retailer — while the profit of the wholesaler was shown to have risen two hundred per cent from pre-war margins. Comparatively, the report exonerates the retailer from responsibility for the high cost of coal.

It was on the basis of these findings and others, now made public, that the Commission recommended that the Government should regulate distribution.

The Philippine Question

RELATIONS between Governor General Wood and the Filipino leaders must have been further strained by Secretary Weeks' message of endorsement. The Weeks statement said the controversy is a legal one, and that Governor Wood has in no way exceeded or misused his powers.

At the opening session of the Filipino Legislature, a resolution was adopted approving the action of the Independence Commission last July demanding General Wood's recall. In this Legislature, as a result of the recent election, the opponents of General Wood comprise about a two-thirds majority.

While General Wood is in Mindanao investigating Moro troubles which threaten an outbreak, four appointive members of the Legislature—his appointees—have resigned on the ground that they cannot endorse his policies. The Independence Commission has for some time been trying to secure the resignation of appointive members and counts this to its credit.

Discussion in the American press is on two points: Is the policy ordained from Washington too repressive—does it in practice go to offset the promise made under the Jones Act that Filipino independence would be furthered? And is the administration of General Wood a failure in that it is tactless and arbitrary in carrying out the policies of Washington? A good many papers say yes on both points.

In Boothbay Harbor, Maine, there is an old barn rejuvenated. Bright-colored flowers riot at its feet, silver birches stand sentinel at a respectful distance, and within its walls are the studio and summer residence of Cora S. Brooks (our cover artist). It is here Miss Brooks raises the flowers which, portrayed on canvas, have won her honors at the Plastic Club of Philadelphia and the National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors, as well as admission to most of the large exhibitions. Miss Brooks studied at the Philadelphia School of Design for Women—Philadelphia being her home—and later under Elliott Daingerfield and Henry B. Snell. The Pennsylvania State College has one of her pieces in its permanent collection.

In deference to the birches, we feel that we should add that occasionally Miss Brooks does landscapes.

Wheat Cooperative?

NOT long ago, in response to delegations from the wheat areas, President Coolidge sent Government representatives into the Northwest. Among them were Governor Lowden of Illinois, and two members of the War Finance Corporation, which has within the past few years loaned several hundred million dollars to various co-operative organizations. At Chicago the Government group held a meeting which was attended by leaders in co-operative movements, and a plan was discussed to organize the wheat growers into a huge commodity marketing association, similar to those formed among cotton and tobacco growers. It is reported that the representatives of the Government gave assurance that if such an organization were satisfactorily formed, the Government would furnish credit.

"Release by Christmas"

MUSSOLINI, it is reported, will celebrate the first Fascist anniversary by offering amnesty to the opponents of Fascism now confined in Italian prisons. This from the autocratic head of an autocratic movement. Thirty-two political prisoners are still held in prison in the United States, five years after the war—prisoners of opinion in a country supposed to specialize in freedom of speech. It is true that only a fifth of the original number are now left behind the bars, and that most of the long-term men are free. But the victory is not complete. An Amnesty League, bent on making a concentration of public opinon in favor of release by Christmas, has been organized in Chicago, and is arranging for a strong appeal by letter and card to Washington.

The Pacific Man

RECENT excavations near Santa Barbara, California, have disclosed remains of paleolithic men who, in the belief of the Smithsonian Institute discoverer, lived 25,000 years ago. The Santa Barbara man will date back at least as far as the Neanderthal man who roamed Europe in paleolithic times, and the famous Heidelberg man. A long, crushing jawbone, a powerful flat top, a very thick skull and bovine teeth mark our ancient Pacific ancestor. He bids fair to upset the accepted theory that primitive man first came to North America from Asia, via the Bering Strait, only 10,000 years ago.

Gov. Pinchot on Prohibition

LAST week, Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania followed his attack on Federal prohibition enforcement with a letter to Secretary Mellon, renewing the charge. He declared that Federal enforcement had broken down in Pennsylvania, and laid the blame on defects in the Federal permit system. He asked that the permits of any alcohol plants violating the law should be suspended or cancelled, and that the state police should at all times have access to plants holding a Federal liquor permit.

Secretary Mellon has just answered with a wholesale denial of the charges.

"Save America"

"SAVE AMERICA," the book prepared for the Woman's National Committee for Law Enforcement, by Elizabeth Tilton, has been started on its fine campaign. An account of it by Alice Stone Blackwell will appear in a later number.—*October 30, 1923.*

Pennsylvania's Eight

Her Women Legislators Met the Test

By Harriet L. Hubbs

STANDING midway, so to speak, between the 1923 and 1925 sessions of the Pennsylvania State Legislatures, and recalling the genuine success of women legislators in the late session, the women voters of the Keystone State are wondering even now how many of their number will be in the membership of the next session. In the 1923 session there were eight women legislators. The probabilities are that there will be at least as many in the next Legislature, and if the Democratic women are as successful in proportion to their numbers as are the Republican women, then the number may be increased, for in the last session the eight women legislators were Republicans.

It was all in harmony with the new order of political affairs in Pennsylvania that eight women were elected last fall. Up to the time of the 1923 Legislature, state politics and therefore state legislation was largely dominated by the late United States Senator Boies Penrose. With his death on New Year's Eve of 1921, there was the genesis of the new order which, as all the world knows, resulted in the election of Gifford Pinchot as Governor of Pennsylvania. His election, as also the election of the eight women legislators, was a rare tribute to the efficiency of women in Pennsylvania's politics, for it is now conceded that but for the balance of power exerted by women in the Republican gubernatorial primaries of last year, Mr. Pinchot would not have won the bare majority which finally put him in the Governor's chair. Hence, when the eight women appeared at Harrisburg and took their seats in the State House of Representatives (for no woman was elected to the State Senate) they epitomized by their presence not only the winning of the franchise for women but also the entrance of women into public office in Pennsylvania—a state which for decades had been ruled with an iron hand by the political dynasty founded years ago by Simon Cameron and carried on by his successors, Quay and Penrose.

This was a remarkable change in the politics of Pennsylvania, but strange to say these eight women legislators seemed to fit into the new picture quite harmoniously. They were not looked upon as queer and mysterious creatures; they were accepted naturally as representatives of their several districts, and their subsequent careers as active legislators sustained in large measure this first impression. In fact, two of the women legislators, Miss Helen Grimes and Miss Alice M. Bentley, were called to the Speaker's chair to take charge of the House on one or two occasions. In this capacity they acquitted themselves well and opened up the prospect of a woman speaker at some not too distant date.

Each of the women was a distinct personality. They stood out, not ostentatiously but efficiently, in a membership of 208. They lent color and a new direction to the membership. In other days when the Republican organization controlled the great majority of men unquestioningly, it seemed to the observer that most of the men had been cast in the same mold; only here and there did a man stand out.

Three of these new legislators came from Philadelphia, Mrs. Martha G. Speiser, Mrs. Lillie H. Pitts and Mrs. Rosa S. de Young. One came from Pittsburgh, Miss Helen Grimes. The others came from various counties in the state —Miss Martha G. Thomas from Chester County; Miss Sarah M. Gallaher from Cambria County; Miss Gertrude MacKinney from Butler County; and Miss Alice M. Bentley from Crawford County.

In most cases the women tackled legislation in somewhat the same manner as men would, hence their votes were not always a unit; that is to say, these eight women did not form, however small, a woman's bloc. The one occasion in which they united on a debatable measure was when they all opposed a bill which would virtually have eliminated women as jurors. In this connection it was always true that the women seriously applied the principle of equality. As citizens equal with the men, they felt that women should share responsibilities equally with men.

Most of these women were at their desks every day of the session, attended every meeting of their committees and studied each bill in the flood of legislation most carefully. In this respect, it was the unanimous opinion that Miss Martha G. Thomas was a shining example. The Chester County woman did not believe in approaching legislation solely from a woman's point of view; her idea is that best results are always obtained by men and women working together.

Miss Thomas sponsored a bill that led to the appointment of a Children's Code Commission which is to bring up to date the chaotic mass of legislation dealing with children, some of which dates back to the close of the eighteenth century. Another of her measures made it possible for the state of Pennsylvania to accept without question the provisions of the Sheppard-Towner Maternity Act. Miss Thomas was also signally successful in working in the House for the passage of the bill calling for a state-wide vote in the gen-

© *Keystone Photo Co.*

Pennsylvania's women legislators. Upper row (left to right): Mrs. Martha G. Speiser, Miss Helen Grimes, Mrs. Rosa S. de Young. Lower row: Miss Sarah M. Gallaher, Miss Alice M. Bentley, Mrs. Lillie H. Pitts, Miss Martha G. Thomas and Miss Gertrude MacKinney.

eral election of next year on the question of a Constitutional Convention. This bill, as a matter of fact, was one of the most difficult to get through the Legislature and was faced with all sorts of open and covert opposition of an organized kind. However, it was passed and signed by Governor Pinchot. The passage of this bill is generally regarded as the greatest piece of general legislative work in which women were interested in the history of the Pennsylvania Legislature. It was the chief item on the legislative program of the Pennsylvania League of Women Voters.

Finally, not to attempt too detailed an enumeration of her activities, it should be pointed out as an evidence of the breadth of vision of Miss Thomas that she was the first woman to speak in support of a bill. The bill in question would make women equally liable with men to imprisonment for nonpayment of taxes. Up to the time of the passage of this bill women in this respect in Pennsylvania had been classed with minors and persons of unsound mind.

Miss Gertrude MacKinney of Butler County was another active woman legislator. She is Western Vice-President of the State Federation of Pennsylvania Women, and never hesitated to take the floor and speak on the various questions which arose. Miss MacKinney introduced a bill which would have established a Minimum Wage Board, but the measure was reported negatively by the House Committee on Labor and Industry. She was one of the speakers in the great debate which marked the passage in the House of Governor Pinchot's Law Enforcement Bill. Incidentally, the passage of this bill was only the prelude to the whirlwind of interest in the question of Law Enforcement which has been stirred up all over the country by the Pennsylvania Governor. The eight women legislators divided five to three in favor of the Governor's bill. The five who voted aye for the passage of this rather drastic measure were Miss Bentley, Miss Gallaher, Miss MacKinney, Miss Thomas and Mrs. Pitts. The three who opposed the bill were Mrs. de Young, Miss Grimes and Mrs. Speiser. It is noteworthy that the three so-called wet votes came from the cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. All of the women from the rural districts voted dry and to their number was added the vote of Mrs. Pitts of Philadelphia, who represented a dry city district.

Mrs. Speiser of Philadelphia is the wife of one of the assistant district attorneys of that city. Quite naturally, Mrs. Speiser was interested in the subject of prison welfare and introduced a number of bills, two of which became laws, aiming at the amelioration of conditions in county jails. This is particularly interesting for the reason that since that time a great deal of attention has been paid by state, county and city officials to the general subject of improving present arrangements.

Another Philadelphia member, Mrs. de Young, the wife of a lawyer, who during the Legislature was appointed an assistant to United States Attorney George W. Coles, had rather a habit of promoting the success of child welfare measures in which Dr. Ellen C. Potter, Secretary of Public Welfare in

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Governors, Lloyd George and Foreign Notes Set the Capital Buzzing

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Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

October 26, 1923.

LLOYD GEORGE luck is proverbial among politicians with wide acquaintance. He no sooner set foot upon Washington soil than the American Secretary of State made known a course of correspondence between himself and the British Government bringing about what looks like the first fruition of any proposition for United States co-operation in the solution of the great European economic tangle; namely, the tentative acceptance of the invitation of the British Government to become a party to an economic conference of all the allied nations in an attempt to determine Germany's financial ability with respect to paying reparations. Lloyd George luck, they say, and assume that he will take the credit for it, and if he does not, that a lot of people will give him the credit, so where is the difference in the luck?

Whether the British made haste with the note to the American Secretary of State to prove that it was sent independently of any sentiment Lloyd George might arouse over here, or whether his presence here would have promoted it any way, no one seems to know at this early stage. The fact remains that from the news of the greatest maze in Europe, caused by the Separatist movement in the Rhineland, we are precipitated into the most hopeful stage in the proposition for a general economic conference with help for Germany's problems as the objective.

What France would do was the key to the whole situation, and her acceptance, even with a limiting condition that the investigating experts shall be named by the Reparations Commission, has brought general satisfaction. For it is now frankly said that it has been the unwillingness of France to enter such a conference that has prevented any headway being made after the statement of Secretary Hughes last December at New Haven, in which he made known the open-mindedness of the American Government toward an invitation to participate in such a conference.

Your correspondent has rewritten this letter over night, so fast does the wheel turn here. The presence of Lloyd George himself is enough to turn the capital on end, and the added excitement of a concrete move toward Europe has so congested the place that few know just what they are doing, and will not until Mr. Lloyd George moves on to Richmond and the political whirl settles for a little contemplation. In the meantime, word comes from the White House that the new Ambassador to London has been named in the person of former Senator Frank B. Kel-

logg, of Minnesota. But we are getting along too fast.

Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Secretary, was so heartened by the first public statements of President Coolidge to the effect that the United States had not altered its position and still stood ready to help Europe as soon as the invitation came that he addressed a note to Secretary Hughes asking our help. To this Secretary Hughes replied further specifying the American position but in the main reverting to his whole stand last December, when he proposed what is now known as the Hughes plan of a commission of economic experts upon which the United States would be represented to examine disinterestedly into Germany's actual financial condition. But the new note, announced today, made several reservations, namely, that the United States must hold in abeyance any such participation for further consideration in the event of French refusal to participate; and that the whole matter of Germany's reparations must be dissociated from the question of the war debts owed to the United States by the Allied governments, nor will any cancellation of these debts be considered.

The New Ambassador

Now about Mr. Kellogg. The last time your correspondent saw him he was trudging along in the snow and slush, walking from the Capitol to the White House end of town—a long, long walk, by the way—with Senator Medill McCormick, both of them too deeply engrossed in the discussion of foreign relations to mind the sleet or cutting wind. *Senator* Kellogg, as he was then, was a small wiry man with a quick step, slightly bent over and nervous in his movement. He is an older-looking man than Colonel Harvey, with long snow-white hair and an open, intense face. He distinguished himself in the Senate by being one of the first to formulate reservations to the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations Covenant, adding many followers to the "mild reservationist" strength. As the fight progressed, however, so many blocs and cliques arose with this and that twist to their particular reservations that Senator Kellogg and his little group were lost in the shuffle, and he was adrift, only to be found later among those more openly against the Treaty than he was at first disposed to be. It has been commonly said of him, since his recent defeat in Minnesota by the Farmer-Labor Senatorial candidate, Dr. Shipstead, that he would not haunt the corridors of the White House as a lame duck begging for another post.

But events of the last few hours will weigh heavily upon the American Ambassador at London. If Colonel Harvey left a clean desk, it has rapidly filled. And if Mr. Lloyd George came over here, as he said, without a mission, he has rapidly acquired one. Particularly now in view of the economic conference development, there is not a public official, politician or tea-gathering citizen who is not excited over his visit. After dinner over the coffee, those who know just how, why, and when the title of "Dame" was conferred upon Mrs. Lloyd George are in great demand. As for the men, they are staying much longer at the table in that delightful after-glow, wondering whether or not Mr. Lloyd George will pitch us into the League, will awaken our isolationist sleepers, and finally will return to England, as did Theodore Roosevelt to the United States, a popular hero returned to the hearts of his countrymen and again elevated to highest office. For the former British Prime Minister has openly said in this country that he favors the participation of the United States in an economic commission to determine a reparation amount, and he has combined this political daring with a spread of his genial personality in thick, buttered slices. He has that rare thing within him which makes a man call another "Old Fellow." President Harding had it. Theodore Roosevelt had it. And all the college women in Washington are on their tip-toes at the prospect of his looking in on Friday afternoon at tea-time when they entertain Dame Margaret and Miss Megan Lloyd George.

Mr. Lloyd George, after his official entertaining at the White House, is to be given a large dinner by the Overseas Writers, an association of writing men who were abroad and while there were the recipients of unusual public courtesies. In a sense, this is a return function, as well as a personal compliment. Chief Justice Taft will be there as well as members of the Cabinet and prominent men from all over the country. The lobster pots of the Hotel Hamilton have been scoured for a fortnight in preparation, and it is now well known that the banquet will have to stand on its own feet without any liquor.

Drinking Is Going Out

It seems anomalous even to consider such a statement as news. Unfortunately it is news that so large and important a gathering should be entirely on the prohibition basis. Not long ago members of the Supreme Court of the United States had to refuse to attend a function because it became known that it would be an old-time affair. Your correspondent has been writing for some time that it is coming to be realized here that petty poaching upon prohibition is no longer considered good form. There has been so much illicit liquor around that dinner guests have been asked not only to partake of the one or two cocktails with which they were accustomed to begin the meal, but of five or six of them, followed by a miscellaneous assortment of everything that contained a large quantity of alcohol. The effect has been nauseating and many have quit. When Washington quits entirely and public officials stop declaring themselves for prohibition while they still smell of liquor, there will be some chance of making headway throughout the country.

So far there has been little personal responsibility.

Prohibition Programs

Governor Pinchot when he was here this week attending the short session of the Governors' conference at the White House, stirred up the capital considerably. Those against Prohibition were irritated and announced that he was trying to ride to the nominating convention upon the shoulders of white ribbon women, and that his attack upon the Federal Government for not taking proper measures for an efficient enforcement of the Volstead Act was due in great measure to his aspiration for the Presidency. In any event Governor Pinchot had concrete recommendations to offer with his criticisms. The speech which President Coolidge made to the Governors contained little that had to do with the specific difficulties now faced throughout the country. President Coolidge called attention to the fact that the states shared the responsibility with the Federal Government and that the Prohibition Amendment through the enforcement act gave them the power to enact their own measures for carrying it out with federal assistance. He furthermore recalled the duty of citizens to observe the letter of the Constitution. It sounded, as some said, all very well for Fourth of July and it was so received by those who were looking for help in the problem as it now shapes itself.

However, following this speech the federal authorities announced a new enforcement program contemplating considerable expansion. If Governor Pinchot did nothing more than stir up the matter he accomplished something. The new program is to double the strength of the Prohibition Coast Guard and to place a Prohibition Agent in every brewery. It is calculated that it will cost twenty million dollars and will entail the addition to the service of a score of speed boats and other coast runners to battle with the rum ships.

Governor Pinchot's recommendations were that the Government cease to work upon the fringes of the problem while ignoring the centers of manufacture and illicit distribution. He deprecated the placing of all the responsibility upon the states or even thinking that they efficiently could do their share if the Federal Government allowed the liquor source to be so prolific. The Federal Government must cut off the domestic supply, he said. For instance, specifi-

cally, it could be done by limiting and attaching conditions to federal permits for the manufacture, transportation, storage and use of alcoholic beverages. He offered to assist in framing such changes and said that permits should be revoked when any violation of the law was detected. Moreover, that state and national enforcement officers should have access to all parts of a producing plant, day or night, and that shipment of products should be made only at specified times and after inspection and stamping at the plant. This would take care of the flood of illicit liquor in bond. Smuggling would be another problem. It is believed that a larger amount of liquor is distributed illegally from domestic plants than is received from over a border. The next step is for the calling of state conferences which many of the Governors at the White House conference pledged themselves to convene. If the Federal Government perfects the tentative program for the enlargement of the enforcement service, it will probably mean that an estimate to cover it will be submitted to President Coolidge and, if approved by him, will be sent to Congress with his recommendation for an appropriation.

President Coolidge in his speech to the Governors made it plain that he wanted politics out of the Prohibition question; that its enforcement in no way should be a political matter. As an outstanding issue all over the United States, a matter far more pertinent and personal to every voter than the World Court, the League of Nations, the Mon-

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At the Helm of the Theatre Guild

By Mildred Adams

A TINY office, crowded and temporary, desultory conversation interrupted by an unusually vivacious telephone, uneasy silences of waiting, then a quick step up the long stairs, and Theresa Helburn, executive director of the Theatre Guild, extended a smiling handclasp. "Won't you come into my own office?"

She led the way down a wide-barred fire escape, past half open windows that disclosed masculine heads vigorously subjected to make-up, heads that turned with a smile flashing at her step. On a landing she whispered cryptically, "Inside, you turn to the left up two steps, then to the left again." She opened the heavy door, and thick, warm blackness rushed out to swallow us. There was the silence of a great dark space, a disembodied voice speaking words that brought no meaning, two stumbling steps up, another door, and then the surprising electric light of a yellow-curtained box. This was the center of the Theatre Guild, that venture in co-operative play-giving and play-going which is receiving the sincere praise of imitation from groups all over the country.

Miss Helburn laid her hat on the desk and smoothed the short black hair which frames her square face. Saving humor lies in eyes and mobile mouth.

"You're looking at my posters," she glanced at the high gay frieze, whereon the "Theatre Guild presents" everything they have done from "John Ferguson" to "The Devil's Disciple," now fascinating a matinée audience outside her own door. "They help me keep track of time. The seasons move by the plays we produce rather than by months and there are times when I'd get hopelessly lost except for dates on posters.

"That isn't as absurd as it sounds. The Guild is growing so fast that if you live with it waking and sleeping, as most of us do, you lose touch with things outside. It is only four years old. After

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Theresa Helburn

the war a group of the old Washington Square Players, actors, artists, producers, banded together to start a co-operative art theater, pledged to good plays, well cast, well produced, well attended. Control of plays, decisions as to policies, all the thousand details of running a theater, were to be decided by a board of managers, chosen to represent the various angles of play producing. They were to form a sort of group mind, which would be richer and more experienced than any single mind. That is still the managing plan of the Guild. They found, however, that they must have a single responsible person to put their decisions into action, so they created the position of executive director.

"The first three aims of the Guild, good plays, well produced, well acted, depend for their success on co-operation within the organization. Sometimes we accomplish them, and sometimes," she smiled ruefully, "we don't. The fourth, good attendance, demands the co-operation of the public. Of course you know that one of the expensive things in play-producing is the dull period of 'nursing a show' till the public definitely accepts it or as definitely rejects it. It takes a lot of money to tide over that time, and the Guild had very little. So they evolved the idea of subscribing members. These aren't patrons, but season ticket holders who buy seats in advance for the Guild productions of an entire season. We reward them for their interest in our work by certain reductions and privileges, and the success of the scheme from their standpoint is indicated by the fact that our hundred and thirty-five first subscribers of 1919 increased to six thousand in 1922, and are on the way to eight thousand this season. From our standpoint, this plan gives a sure, intelligent, and interested audience on hand from the very first night, able to adequately praise or condemn our plays.

"We are growing in territory as well as size of audience. Plays like 'John Ferguson,' 'Liliom,' 'He Who Gets Slapped,' in fact the majority of plays after their first six weeks here in the Garrick, move uptown to larger theaters. Many of them are later leased to other managements to take out on the road.

"This season we are trying a new and exciting experiment in road plays." Her eyes sparkled at the thought. "You see we feel that the Guild has national as well as local significance. We have succeeded in convincing the purely commercial managers that the public likes good plays well acted so much that they will make them successful. Now we want to carry the same idea to the rest of the country. We are sending a repertoire company on the road, under the management of J. M. Gaites, to play a week in each town, giving three plays within the week. Anyone who knows the difficulties of repertoire, even in a

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"Practical Politics"

By Schuyler C. Wallace

"GOVERNMENT is force. Politics is a battle for supremacy. Parties are the armies." So said a distinguished Senator from Kansas some years ago. That there is a large element of truth in his statement the intricate organization and highly developed tactics of both the major parties would seem to indicate. In no other country are the parties so well integrated. In no other country is the work so assiduously carried on. Precinct, district, city, county, state and nation are but units in an organization which operates with almost military precision. And drill goes on week in and week out. Always alert, the parties are like armies sleeping under arms.

A foreigner might exclaim: "What a wonderful country, in which people are discussing affairs of state all the year round!" But the work of the political organization is not the discussion of public affairs: it is recruiting.

A Leader in the Making

How little part political argument plays in this is astounding. Although the methods of Tammany Hall cannot be used by the professional politician, without modification outside of New York City, yet adaptations of Tammany's tactics are everywhere used. It is not irrelevant, therefore, to pause to examine the Wigwam's methods. Nowhere can a franker or more vivid statement of them be found than in the words of George Washington Plunkitt,* forty years a Tammany leader. His description of the method by which he got his start and the tactics by which he held his district are sufficiently interesting in themselves to excuse extensive quotation. He says:

"I had a cousin, a young man who didn't take any particular interest in politics. I went to him and said: 'Tommy, I'm going to be a politician and need a following; can I count on you?' He said: 'Sure, George.' That's how I started in the business. . . . I soon branched out. Two young men in the flat next to mine were school friends. I went to them, just as I went to Tommy and they agreed to stand by me. . . . And so it went on like a snowball rollin' down a hill. I worked the flathouse that I lived in from the basement to the top floor, and I got about a dozen young men to follow me. Then I tackled the next house and so on down the block and around the corner. Before long I had sixty men back of me, and formed the George Washington Plunkitt Association.

"You ought to have seen how I was courted and petted then by the leaders of the rival organizations. I had *marketable goods* and there was bids for them from all sides, and I was a risin' man in politics."

The relation of politics to shoes and jobs; the reasons why the Direct Primary is not beloved of bosses, and the moral for the woman voter—are Dr. Wallace's theme in the third Columbia University article.

In the next number he will discuss the nomination of the President, and what the individual voter can do to influence the nomination. Outlines of the course which these articles parallel may be obtained by writing to the WOMAN CITIZEN.

The striking fact brought out by the quotation is the total absence of political discussion in the gathering of a following, and in holding his district Plunkitt seemed to have had even less use for the advocacy of principles.

"For instance, here's how I gather in the young men. I hear of a young feller that's proud of his voice, thinks he can sing fine. I ask him to come around to Washington Hall and join our glee club. He comes and sings, and he's a follower of Plunkitt for life. Another young feller gains a reputation as a baseball player in a vacant lot. I bring him into our baseball club. That fixes him. You'll find him working for my ticket at the polls next election day. Then there's the feller that likes rowin' on the river, the young feller that makes a name as a waltzer on his block, the young feller that's handy with his dukes—I rope them all in by giving them opportunities to show themselves off. *I don't trouble them with political arguments. I just study human nature and act accordin'.*"

Social work, recreational and philanthropic—this is the cement that holds together such political organizations. Political clubs are the only clubs for the masses, and around them centers all the affection the college boy has for his fraternity or the well-to-do for their luxuriously furnished lounging places. But the political club is more than a recreational center. It is an employment agency, through which the deserving may obtain jobs. And as Plunkitt sees it, that is a very important part of the politician's work. "When the voters elect a man leader," he says, "they make a sort of contract with him. They say, although it ain't written out: 'We've put you here to look out for our interests. You want to see that this district gets all the jobs that's comin' to it. Be faithful to us, and we'll be faithful to you.'" But the district club is more than that. It is, perhaps, the greatest philanthropic center in the average city. To some extent this is a thing of the past, in cities that have very efficient charitable associations, but not so the country over. Favors are still sought and obtained at political headquarters.

The question immediately arises why men who so far as their actions indicate are not particularly interested in matters of public policy, should devote so much time to the maintenance of political organizations. The answer to this can likewise be found in the philosophisings of Plunkitt. There exist in politics many "opportunities" for those who are seeking personal gain, and these "opportunities," legitimate and illegitimate, are the explanation. The existence of approximately two and a half million political offices, with a pay-roll attached thereto of over $3,000,000,000 a year, is in itself a considerable attraction. And when one remembers that about three-fourths of the states, even a larger percentage of the counties, and all but three hundred of the cities do not even have the protection of a civil service law on the statute books, it becomes apparent that these offices are in large measure "rewards for the faithful."

"Rake-Offs"

In the purchase of supplies there is also an "opportunity" for a rake-off, and in the placing of contracts for public purposes. Political influence is not a disadvantage to the contracting firm that bids for work in connection with semi-public projects. The contractor who can expedite the obtaining of permits, who can secure the waiving of technical rules of construction, has a slight advantage over the firm which can offer no such inducement; which may, indeed, bring with it the enmity of "the powers at city hall" and all the obstructions that enmity may mean.

Tax manipulation is both possible and profitable. Appreciation will often

*Riordan, "Plunkitt of Tammany Hall"

be shown by a large property holder for a favor of this character. The custody of public money likewise affords those motivated by self-interest an excellent opportunity for self-entrancement. A considerable difference may very well exist between the interest the state receives for its funds and the interest the money actually earns, and nobody be the wiser. Perhaps the greatest "opportunity," however, consists of simply "being on the inside." Let Plunkitt explain: "My party's in power in the city and it's going to undertake a lot of public improvements. Well, I'm tipped off, say, that they're going to lay out a new park at a certain place. I go to that place and I buy up all the land I can in the neighborhood. Then the board of this or that makes its plan public, and there is a rush to get my land, for which nobody cared in particular before.

"Ain't it perfectly honest to charge a good price and make a profit on my investment and foresight?"

The protection of the underworld and opportunities for extorting bribes might also be cited, but they probably do not constitute a very important element in the situation.

"Opportunities" are not confined to the field of administration alone. Perhaps the most scientifically constructed bills that pass through our legislatures are the appropriation bills carrying "pork"; scientifically constructed, from the point of view of satisfying the desires of the largest number of legislators. With these may be placed the bills carrying grants of one kind or another, franchises or concessions for this or that. A slight patronage in the way of clerkships also exists, as does the possibility of bribery. Little emphasis, however, need be placed on these.

Even in the judiciary, "opportunities"

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A New Political Workshop

A LITTLE PANORAMA of women's clubhouses has been shown in these pages during the past year or so—several national headquarters, city clubs, a juvenile establishment, business clubs for girls, and house after house built or bought by the women of some club in the General Federation. They have amply demonstrated that women are quite as capable of financing a building project and managing a club business as any men anywhere. Now for the first time we are showing a state League of Women Voters' clubhouse, established on the same basis. To Pennsylvania goes the distinction, and Pennsylvania paint brushes are busy finishing up the job in time for the state convention which meets in Philadelphia, November 14 to 17.

The house, purchased by the state organization, is a spacious mansion at 1725 Spruce Street; just around the corner from Rittenhouse Square, famed in story and history as the heart of the old Philadelphia residence section. Its purchase is a natural development of the fact that throughout the late session of the Pennsylvania Legislature, the headquarters of the Pennsylvania League of Women Voters was housed in the home of Mrs. Lyman D. Gilbert on the river front at Harrisburg. This stimulated the desire to have a permanent home.

After a considerable period of trying negotiations, arrangements were completed to make the purchase for somewhat in excess of $50,000. Alterations and improvements, which are quite extensive, will bring the cost to upward of $60,000. The settlement for the purchase and the expenses for the remodeling are being financed by an issue of six per cent bonds which are having comparatively easy sale—at once a testimonial to the value of the house and to the stability of the League.

The future home of the Pennsylvania State League of Women voters

Two special features of the new League House are a tea room and a splendid auditorium, which will seat about two hundred. The tea room will of course help to meet the running expenses of the house, while the auditorium, in addition to providing a meeting place for League meetings, will also supply some revenue in that it may be rented out on occasions to organizations of various kinds. Plans are under way also to establish a thrift shop in the basement, which would afford a third source of revenue for the house and League.

The house is four stories in height and contains ample space. It will provide headquarters not only for the state organization, but for the Philadelphia League as well. Besides, there will be four sleeping rooms, which are already rented. These rooms are to be named and furnished in honor of four women who were leaders in one field or another in the Woman Suffrage campaign—Susan B. Anthony, Anna Howard Shaw, Carrie Chapman Catt and Mary Garrett.

In addition to the tea room, the ground floor will provide a lounge for the convenience and comfort of League members. It is also planned to rent this room for private uses, such as card parties, teas and luncheons.

The auditorium will be supplied with a new grand piano through the interest and industry of Miss Anne Livingston and Miss Elizabeth Hood Latta, two Philadelphia musicians of note who are raising a fund for this purpose.

From basement to garret the house is being remodeled. It will have a new heating system, new electric fixtures and new plumbing, while throughout it is being newly papered and painted.

Besides offering in a social sense a meeting place for members and officers of the League, the new League house will also permit of greater efficiency in the dispatch of the business associated with a State League Headquarters. As a matter of fact, a considerable departure in State League work may be made in that the more extensive mechanical equipment will permit the state office to do work for county organizations, thereby saving the funds of both county and state.

Naturally, this project originated with the women in the League and is being carried through at every point by the women of the League. At first blush, it seemed like a tremendous undertaking, but even such tasks as these do not daunt women who have gone through the strenuous suffrage fights or who have cut their way through the tangles of legislative halls.

Feminism and Flowers

A Business Woman of Austria

By Marjorie Shuler

GARDENING is woman's business, says Frau Yella Hertzka, and she should know, since for ten years she has been running an eminently successful school for women gardeners and has graduate students managing good businesses of their own throughout central Europe. Certainly there could be few more fascinating places in all the world in which to work than in Frau Hertzka's rose garden out at Dobling, one of the suburbs of Vienna, Austria. But that is not what makes gardening such a good field for women, in Frau Hertzka's opinion, but rather the fact that it is a trade which in her estimation a woman can continue fairly easily after marriage.

Frau Hertzka came to her own venture by way of the idea that gardeners are the most contented people in the world. Just look at gardeners, she said to herself: they are paid less than almost anyone else, but they seem to be more satisfied than almost any one else. She herself was married, and married to the kind of a husband who believes that his wife has a right to try to do things which interest her. So there were no objections in the way when she decided to enter the state horticultural school. That is there were no objections from her husband. But there were plenty from the school. No woman ever had attended the classes. That was objection enough in the opinion of the director of the school. But the vice secretary of state was more amenable and presently Yella Hertzka was enrolled along with all the sixteen- to nineteen- year-old boys who were attending the school.

Smile-Power

Now to really appreciate the story you have to know that Yella Hertzka is a feminist. I don't know any more feministic feminist in all Europe. She heads the feminist movement in Austria. She heads the peace movement in Austria. She is the founder and director of the Frauenklub of Vienna, one of the most strongly feministic organizations in Europe. But Yella Hertzka has soft dark eyes and a smile which would charm a mandarin. And she has a gentle voice which would wheedle the Sphinx into speech if she wanted the Sphinx to speak—which she certainly does not, for who can tell what the Sphinx might say about the feminists of ancient Egypt? Well, Yella Hertzka looked and smiled, and smiled and talked her way through the three-year course in one year and then came graduation. The director could not refuse her a diploma but he did refuse her a place in the class picture. Very well, said those boys who had been watching

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Frau Yella Hertzka, of Vienna

her look and smile, and smile and talk, if Frau Hertzka isn't in the picture, there won't be a picture. So the Herr Direktor had to give in. Which proves that feminists are not always such objectionable creatures as they are represented to be and that the quality of getting your own way with a smile is a pretty useful one for a woman in business to have.

Then Frau Hertzka went off to complete her education in a German school and returned to start a combination horticultural and household school at her own home at Dobling. The household school has been dropped, but the horticultural school still flourishes. There is plenty of land for gardens around Frau Hertzka's own home and some of the classrooms are on the basement floor of her house. A basement floor in Austria does not mean what a basement floor in the United States does, you understand. It means a wonderful place of scrubbed flagstones with windows which give out into a tangle of rosebushes and sweet-scented lilacs. It means being close to the big kitchen with its shining copper pans where the most delectable odors come out to mingle with the heavy fragrance of the flowers and to let you know that luncheon is going to be something especially nice today. Frau Hertzka has her own office with a big desk in a tiny room on this floor. The hothouses stretch back of the house and on every side are the flower beds, great masses of flowering plants and vegetables and blossoms in one delightful mass.

The girls do all the digging and manage the heating plant for the hothouse, only one man being employed on the place. There is a fruit garden and an old peasant garden with all the shrubs and plants which would be grown on a little country place. Each kitchen garden is a model of every kind of vegetable in the quantity which would be used by the average family. But beauty is always to the fore and the pupils learn how to cultivate poppies among the artichokes and phlox around the edges of the romaine and spinach.

There must be plenty of growing plants and flowers because the florists make heavy levies on the gardens. One day it will be 250,000 sweetpeas to be cut and the next it will be the heavy-headed roses by the hundred dozens. This is a part of the practice work of the pupils. For her examination each girl will plant and care for one entire bed, perhaps a plot of 5,000 cyclamen plants, or a mass of sweetpeas, or rows of cucumbers. But there is one garden which is most carefully tended of all and from which no blossom is ever cut save for the guests of the hostess and that is Frau Hertzka's own rose garden. It is enclosed by walls of growing green, tiny trees each one of which has been planted in the happiest time of some year. The rosebuds are flanked by tiny graveled walks and at one side is a fairy ring. Perhaps you never saw fairies, but once inside the circle of fir trees with nothing of the near landscape in view, only some distant mountains and a church steeple, standing there on the grass-grown stepping-stones—see if little sprites do not dance out before your eyes.

At School in a Garden

The school does gardening on a large scale to order. It has laid out twelve landscape gardens and during the war it laid out two thousand allotment gardens.

The ordinary course for pupils is two years, and three girls who finished that course last year have established themselves in business and have made successes even during these twelve months when a stricken Austria has little money to spend for the luxuries and joys of living. One of these now owns

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Editorially Speaking

Don't Fail to Vote on Election Day

ON Tuesday, November 6th, the American people have the privilege of going to the polls and exercising the most precious right a human being can have, the right of self-government. No matter how little is accomplished by a vote, or how ineffectual its exercise seems, it is a privilege which no self-respecting man or woman should neglect to use.

This is called an " off year " politically. The elections are largely local and the issues do not arouse nation-wide interest and enthusiasm. Probably two-thirds of the eligible voters will not take the trouble to vote. Much publicity and prodding are necessary to get a big proportion of eligible voters to the polls. Much of the blame for this lies at the door of partisanship. Where there is general, candid, free discussion of candidates and issues, based not on partisanship but on their merits, people are readier to express an opinion at the polls, but that is rare. " My county is always Republican; their candidates are sure to win. Why should I bother to vote? " is a frequent thought and is responsible for many slackers on election day, or, " The Democratic organization always puts it over; my vote won't count."

The healthiest political situation exists where two parties are fairly evenly balanced and where each is on its merits and is bidding for votes, and that condition is exceptional. But no matter what the situation is in your town, no matter how confused the issues, no matter how little your vote seems to count, go to the polls. Get a sample ballot beforehand, and study both tickets. Prepare yourself as for an important examination and exercise your best judgment; not only that, but get all your neighbors to go to the polls. Help get out the vote! These men you are electing are your public servants, spending great sums of money taken from your pockets, managing important affairs of your children, responsible, in a degree, for the comfort, health and prosperity of your home, or the reverse. Choose them with the greatest care; hold them responsible for results, and let them know that you are interested in what they are doing. Only so will local government become thrifty, intelligent and effective.—G. F. B.

Are Women Disappointed in Politics?

I AM asked continually whether I am satisfied with woman suffrage now that it is achieved. Yes, I am, because I see what I expected to see. I had learned before 1920 that there is no short-cut to the millennium. I knew that women would be disappointed with politics, and they are. I have heard of no woman who is disappointed enough to want to go back with the paupers, insane and criminals who compose the disfranchised classes. They are disappointed nevertheless, frankly, outspokenly disappointed. They are disappointed first of all because they miss the exaltation, the thrill of expectancy, the vision which stimulated them in the suffrage campaign. They find none of these appeals to their aspiration in the party of their choice. They expected to help speed up the evolution of progress, when they would be able to support their ideals with their votes. They discover that in each of the dominant parties there is a right and a left. A strong " my party right or wrong " group, known as the old guard, which largely controls the administration of the party, composes the right. A smaller, much divided group, calling itself progressive, makes up the left, and these two balance each other so neatly that the outstanding result is a timid conservatism. When two timid stand-pat parties counter each other the outcome is a stand-pat nation.

Women have been born to their parties as have men. They are divided between them as are men, but they whisper their disappointment across the " deadman's line " between.

The second cause of disappointment has arisen from the frequent lectures women get on the subject of party loyalty. They never needed lectures on loyalty in the suffrage campaign. They are not used to it, but political leaders have been afflicted with a mild hysteria induced by the fear of political independence. " Governments function through parties," they declared, and said it over and over until women repeated it in their lectures to other women. There has been more talk about party loyalty since 1920 than in the fifty preceding years. The thing that startled and bewildered the women was that any party leader was thrown into conniptions whenever any woman threatened to bolt a candidate. " Conniptions " may be a word not in the dictionary, but it is what the politicians had. At last women and men have understood each other on this subject and women are sobered but not reconciled. One well-known party leader, in the thick of party politics for the last thirty years, offers an example. He was descanting on party loyalty to some women who were protesting against a nomination. He grew more and more excited and eloquent as he went on, and showed clearly that party loyalty in his estimate was omitted from the Ten Commandments by some unfortunate mistake. But, exclaimed a woman, how can a woman vote for a man she wholly disapproves? Ah, he exclaims, that is different. We all vote against candidates we don't approve. We frequently defeat a candidate on our own ticket—that isn't party disloyalty, but telling of it is. Always defend a candidate of the party publicly but vote against him if you want to. Having established the fact that the ethics of men voters permits them to campaign for a candidate but gives them liberty to scratch him in the polling booth, and the ethics of women compels them to announce their repudiation of the candidate from the housetops, a new *status quo* has been reached, and there the matter of party loyalty stands at this date.

The third cause of disappointment is that women have not been taken into the party councils on equal terms. Some women think they have, but other women know they haven't. Technical equality of position has here and there been achieved and much heralded through the press, but in fact, when there is a political problem, the old leaders hold a caucus somewhere and thus manage to have their way despite the women.

A fourth disappointment is the unwillingness to give women even a small share of the political positions which would enable them to score advantage to their ideals. Some women are mystified by this fact, but not any old-time suffragist. The reason is that men are reconciled on the whole to women voters, but not to women in politics. When a party nominates a woman for an important post, it is clear she gets the cut of many a male voter who may be busy preaching party loyalty. Occasionally, women find a way out. When the women of the country wanted Grace Abbott as successor to Julia Lathrop as chief of the Children's Bureau, they were frustrated by the Illinois senator who re-

garded this proposal as patronage. But after a considerable lapse of time a woman bethought herself that Miss Abbott was born in Nebraska, even though she had long been a citizen of Illinois. The Nebraska delegation enjoyed the joke and Miss Abbott is in the place where the women wanted her.

Yet, back of women's disappointment is an encouraging amount of determination to remove the causes of their disappointment. "Oh," says many a woman, "if I could only get a good old-time suffrage thrill in politics it would be so different." Women want a party or parties they can cheerfully live for and resignedly die for, and they have not found them. But who knows if their prayers may not be answered some surprising day. When and if they are many a man will rejoice, for while they are not saying so much about it as the women are, they in truth are just as depressed by a stand-pat nation as are any of the women. The new women voters have been unfortunately caught in one of the ever-recurring slumps in idealism. Men and women of vision know there is a better time coming.—CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

Hope?

THE approach of the fourth anniversary of Armistice Day sees a new ray of hope on the international situation. Not perhaps a very bright one, since the acceptance by France of the British proposal originally made by Mr. Hughes last winter is hedged about with bristling reservations. Yet much of this may be for immediate political effect, and in any case the fact that the powers are doing something, that France is willing to sit in at all, and that at last the United States makes a return to Europe—all this is ground for hope. Since the Hughes plan was first made public it has seemed the one sane and logical next step—to find out, as a common sense starting point, what Germany *could* pay. It implied neither surrender of justice nor condonation of anything that had brought about the situation. It was merely the practical thing if the object was to get reparations and not to destroy but to build up and restore the shattered structure of European economic life. France, terrified, patience exhausted, fired with new ambitions, would not consent. Her greatest absorption was with security rather than with reparations. Now the withdrawal of German passive resistance, the threatened break-up of Germany, has brought a new test of French policy in the eyes of the world. The moment was opportune to bring to bear the weight of other nations' opinion for a reconsideration of the situation.

One can only hope that the experts will move quickly. Events in Germany are not waiting on long-deferred conferences, and it is momentarily a question whether there will be any Germany to pay reparations.—V. R.

Homes Needed

THE hearings before the New York State Housing Commission reveal a condition of acute public danger. Senator Copeland, former Health Commissioner, testified that the present congestion of New York put the city at the mercy of an epidemic. Doctors testified that there are large districts where practically all children are six or seven pounds under normal weight, owing to unsanitary conditions, and underfeeding, due to the absorption of too large a part of the parents' income for exorbitant rents. From the mass of evidence presented, a few main facts stand out clearly:

The building of low-priced and moderate-priced apartments has practically ceased, because it pays only a small profit, while other lines of investment pay a much larger per cent, and everybody with money to invest naturally wants to place it where it will bring in the largest possible returns. Population is growing, and old tenements are constantly wearing out and are not being replaced. Hence the pressure of demand is severe and ever increasing upon the low-priced and moderate-priced apartments that were put up before such building ceased. Consequently the owners of these are able to charge constantly soaring prices, and they almost all do it. Many of them also refuse to make even the most necessary repairs. People of small or moderate means are being squeezed tighter and tighter, and there is no relief in sight. This state of things, though not so acute everywhere as in New York City, prevails to a large extent throughout the nation, since everywhere like causes have produced like effects.

The great majority of our population is made up of persons of small or moderate means. Moderate priced housing, therefore, is a necessity. Since private enterprise has ceased to furnish it, we must have recourse to municipal housing. Scores of cities in Europe had done so, and made a success of it, even before the war. The alternative is ever-increasing misery, disease and degradation.

Things have been allowed to drift too long already. Women should make a vigorous effort for a change of policy.

Human beings can analyze the light of stars millions of miles away, and tell just what their chemical composition is. We can send our voices from continent to continent, and cross the sea in submarines, and fly around the world in airplanes. Is it not extraordinary that we have not yet been able to provide ourselves with decent housing? We have invented deadly gases that can destroy an enemy city in a twinkling, but we have not yet found a way to provide the people of our own cities with wholesome air.

When women have an equal say in the conduct of human affairs, not only theoretically but practically, the great prizes will go not to inventions for making money or causing destruction, but to those for advancing human welfare.—A. S. B.

The Jewish Women's Convention

ANOTHER great gathering of women is about to take place, and it is safe to predict that it, like all the rest, will go on record for international co-operation. This is the tenth triennial convention of the Council of Jewish Women, to be held in St. Louis November 11-16, and its program shows an organization interested not only in furthering its own racial interests but in the great concerns of all the world—education, co-operation, peace. The roster of great Jewish women begins away back with Miriam and Deborah, when our Anglo-Saxon ancestors were savages. (Choosing at random, we have named a prophetess and a judge.) Today, any review of the ranks of professional women will show a worthy percentage of Jewish women, able, efficient, public-spirited, in law and medicine, in political and civic posts. The Council of Jewish Women, a member of the Women's Legislative Committee, has been active in all the causes for which organized women have been working, and has sound constructive influence. It will be interesting to see what form its affirmation of belief in world co-operation takes.

A "Dirty Habit"

FOR years it has become increasingly common to see a girl or a woman open her handbag or vanity case in public, and studying her face in the generous sized mirror contained in it, apply powder and rouge, lip-stick and eyebrow pencil quite as unconcernedly as if she were making her toilet in the privacy of her own room. Some way we haven't liked it, not because we disapprove of make-up (which we do when it is inexpertly used, as it is in most cases), nor because of over-developed fastidiousness. In fact, it would have been difficult for us to define the repulsion, but a short sentence in Mrs. Wharton's "A Son at the Front" gave us unmitigated joy, it so completely described our feelings. She speaks of "the dirty habit of making up in public"; a simple phrase, but isn't it expressive?

What the American Woman Thinks

Women in Civil Service

By Helen H. Gardener

U. S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONER

This is the second article-editorial on the Civil Service that Commissioner Gardener has written especially for the WOMAN CITIZEN. *We are proud to have her and certain of our readers' appreciation of this fresh and valuable material.*

UNTIL recently it has not been possible for me to answer certain questions asked many times and from many quarters for the simple reason that at no one place in the government activities were such facts to be found. It was all a guess—your guess was as good as mine. For example: How many women are in the government service? How many men? What is their relative status as to salaries? What chance have the women for promotion?

These and many similar questions have been shot at me from all over the country ever since I have been United States Civil Service Commissioner. Some of them I can now answer for the first time.

First, you must realize that Uncle Sam has two classes of civil service employees—one called the field branch, comprising the Federal offices and establishments scattered throughout the country, and the other the departmental branch, comprising, generally speaking, the Government activities in the District of Columbia. The present compilation has been made up to July, 1923. At that date there were, in the District of Columbia, 66,290 men and women doing *your* work in Washington. You will understand that this is exclusive of the Army, Navy and Marine Corps, as will be all of the facts herein given. Of this number 27,469 are women, and 38,821 are men. You will see, therefore, that there are only 11,352 more men than women government employees in Washington. When you realize how short a time women have been employed by the Government that seems to me not a bad showing for women.

Outside of the District of Columbia, in the field, the showing is naturally not so great, since the railway mail service, postal carriers, forest rangers, agricultural employees, engineering enterprises, etc., have not yet taken on women to any great extent, and in some of these activities, due to the rough and heavy types of work coupled with the physical dangers, it is not likely that women will be largely employed for some time to come, if ever. In the field we find the total number of employees to be 482,241, of whom 54,052 are women and 428,189 are men. This, of course, pulls the average down to a low level, making 81,521 women in the entire government service as against 467,010 men —nearly six times as many men as women. But you will be interested to know that out of the 31,935 postmasters (in 1920) 11,208 were women, and during the last and present administrations thirteen women have been appointed to first-class offices where the salaries range from $3,300 to $6,000.

Not so bad, again, when it is remembered that the examinations for these offices are based very largely upon business experience, which means length of time one has been in a business where he has had the management of numbers

of men and of finances of a size commensurate with that required by the post office under consideration. Comparatively few women can stand this test. Then comes in, also, the general reputation for success, for tact, for proven ability to meet the public and a number of other qualifications *besides* educational ones, in all of which an applicant must be proven to be one of the best three of all who competed in the examination. No great number of women, so far, in any given community, have had the opportunity or experience to prove up in such a contest. That so large a number (comparatively) have done so with success and have been appointed is, I think, quite remarkable and very encouraging to women. They have won, often in spite of stiff competition of well-established and popular business men of their communities and in spite of the still lively, age-long prejudice against acknowledging that women have either the ability or the right to hold such positions and to direct the activities of their male employees.

In one town in Iowa recently nearly every business man who was interviewed regarding *all* of the applicants, among whom there was a woman, said, "It is a man's job," or "It would be a joke to appoint a woman in a town of this size." It was not nearly so large a town, by the way, as several where women are and have been successful postmasters for years.

It is interesting in this connection to observe the mental attitude of men in different parts of the country in their scornful and contemptuous, instinctive and habitual treatment of the "fair play" proposition, of which all American men boast, when it comes to applying this same principle to women. It is simply non-existent in their minds —for women. Again, in another part of the country the men interviewed analyze the business experience, education, character, and general possibilities of the various candidates with no apparent sex prejudice, which seems to me to show real progress.

What Civil Service Can and What It Cannot Do

There is a pretty general misunderstanding of what civil service can do. It can test out—in a group of applicants —the relative fitness for a job. It cannot necessarily place you in that job. It cannot determine your pay. It cannot keep you in the job after you get it unless you "make good," which means a good deal more than simply doing the things that some chief sets you to do. You have got to show the *spirit* of cooperation to the satisfaction of your chief.

The government business is a very serious matter. Upon it depends the welfare of all of us. Our health, prosperity, safety, and our very lives depend upon the employees whose salaries you pay in your taxes.

The politician who tries to unload upon the government payroll the "lame the halt and the blind" of his own party or his own household is a menace to us all, whether he is of your party or of the opposition.

The sympathy appeal is calculated to rend the heart, it is true, but it should not control the judgment. Sympathy for misfortune or for lack of ability is natural and commendable in any one, but if government positions are to be given out on the basis of sympathy, whether political or personal, then we should seek out the most unfortunate, helpless, or decrepit persons to be found and give to them the positions upon which the welfare of the nation depends. It would be far safer and cheaper to pension them outright.

The hardest work that has come to me as Commissioner has been facing the many "hard luck" appeals for work made by those who were not competent to undertake the jobs applied for, but which, with the valor of ignorance, they think they ought to have.

The Higher Positions

Do women hold many of the higher positions?

No, not a great many.

Why? Considering the number of men employed, there are not many men holding high positions, and those who are, do not to any startling extent abdicate in favor of those who are out. The "After you, Alphonse!" attitude of mind does not obtain in men toward other men, so how can we expect that men, whose age-long mental attitude toward women has been one of scornful unbelief as to their ability to handle the larger affairs, will suddenly display an attitude not only of co-operation but of abdication?

Again, many women fear to take the real responsibilities and many who think that they want to do so are the very ones who are unfit through lack of tact or other personal qualities. There are so many reasons and, so far as I can see, it is only time and eternal vigilance on the part of women, an honest effort to be properly equipped for the advance, and in it all and through it all keeping a saving sense of humor and a sweet temper, that are going to win in time.

The progress is tremendous so far and the outlook is not so dark as some of us sometimes think. There is no question about the key positions being held by men. There is no question that many of these men resent women in what they feel is their province. Women make good, and as a rule honest, auditors and accountants, but they are not acceptable in these positions to some of the unit heads of the government. One reason is that the pay is good and another reason is that men hate terribly to deal with women on the financial side, especially where their own inadequacy is likely to prove startling. Man has been so used to being looked up to by trusting eyes. He shrinks from being looked *at* by understanding ones. Also, men who wish to cheat the government in their tax returns or their estate tax manipulations, do not care to deal with women auditors. Not very many men care to share their dark side with a clear-headed woman. She is too likely to ask disconcerting questions where he might hope to find a more "brotherly" feeling of sympathy among men. For this and several other reasons, I think the Treasury Department will find, in the long run, that a few women auditors and accountants in key positions will prove of great value and the time is coming when it will demand them.

A Woman's Plea

The editorial that follows is, indeed, "what American women think"—not one woman, but many. It is a little "sermon," prepared by the Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War of the National League of Women Voters, in the hope that it may be addressed by a woman to women on Armistice Sunday, November 11, in pulpits all over the country. Its use in this way has been approved by the Federal Council of Churches.

THIS year Armistice Day falls upon the Lord's Day, and in churches throughout the country women are pleading as Christians for a Christian world. Five years ago today the war-torn world rejoiced at the coming of peace. The hopes of millions of men and women ran high for a world peace, permanent and just.

We celebrate that day, but with confessions of failure and of sin. We have not achieved that peace, nor realized that justice. Deep hatreds and fears abide. Nations today still compete in preparing for war. Not only is war a bitter fruit of the tree of violence and hate, but also a root which strikes deep down into the soil of a competitive and unfriendly world.

In this world-problem and world-task none are more deeply concerned than women. It is we who supremely suffer and mourn when wars rage and sudden death destroys our youth.

But we are not without hope. Despite daily visions of disaster there is a Power that can save us and the world.

"Repent and believe" was the good news brought by our Lord to men of old. But repentance must be for that whole system—a system to which we have contributed—that historic system of aggressive nationality and economic rivalry, which inevitably hurled one nation against another in a conflict for power, and which, if unrestrained, will hurl nations into war again.

We are urged to consider today the immediate practical step which America can take in helping to bring righteousness and peace.

Justice demands that no nation declare in the name of patriotism that in any dispute it shall be at once the judge, the party to action, and the executioner to carry out the sentence.

All over our land today as our pastors are preaching, men and women are thinking on the proposal of our late President that America become a member of the World Court of Justice. The great women's organizations of our country have endorsed this proposal and are earnestly promoting it, and today we are called to a new service for peace and justice.

As women in our own homes we have striven to be impartial, kind and constructive; so in the national world we ask that to each nation be given its rights, that the weak be protected against the strong and especially that in place of selfish greed and savage resort to brute force, there be a spirit of mutual good-will, each considering the rights and needs of all. A warless world can be based only on impartial justice.

Women believe that the ethics of the home should have universal sway. For this reason we welcome the proposal of our late President that America become a member of the World Court of Justice, and thus take its part as a nation in extending Christian ethics to the great family of nations.

This day has been named World Court Sunday, not only in order that today we may think about the World Court and what it may mean for the world, but also in order that today each of us shall act in the practical way now needful to help make the World Court a real power in the world.

Before this day closes, will not every woman in this church—and every man too—write a personal letter to President Coolidge and to our United States Senators? The letters need not be long, but they must earnestly plead that America should become a member of the World Court. The Senators and the President can decide aright for the people of the United States only when we, the people, let them know in no uncertain voice what we want. This is our duty today.

We know that the World Court and America's membership in it will not alone end war. But we also know that the Court and each nation's membership in it are steps to bring peace and justice to a hungry, weary, warring world. Will you have faith in His Name and help bring to all nations that more abundant life for which He gave His Own? Will you do your part? Will you pray? Will you act?

1918-1923

FIVE years ago . . . .
A frenzy of wild joy—prayer or shouting, as our mood was:
Joy not only that our side had conquered
But that the end of war had come.
The world would be rebuilt
And its foundation would be brotherhood.

And now . . . .?
Chaos, hunger, civil strife,
Oppression of one nation by another
In the name of legal right.
Hate rampant, jealous fear

And for a final touch the news that our own land
Secure, aloof, untouched,
Now leads the world in manufacture of the deadly gas
That makes war triple hell.

It must not come again!
But what will stop it?

What if the women of the world
Should stand united against war
Not in sentiment alone but in the will to act . . . .

Would that not be enough?

C. A.

The Woman Voter

(This full-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.)

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Report on European Women

On October 22 President Coolidge received a delegation made up of members of the informal woman-to-woman commission which the convention at Des Moines appointed to visit countries of Europe, and accepted from Mrs. Park, as chairman, a summary of the following report:

The National League of Women Voters believes that to all thinking men and women peace must be a fundamental issue because it is clear that with the new methods of warfare civilization cannot survive unless means are found to prevent war. The members of the League realize that peace must be worked for rationally, since injudicious efforts for peace may actually breed war. They also realize that enduring peace cannot be expected until a means is found of settling international disputes by peaceful methods and of lessening possible causes of friction before they reach the stage of active dispute.

With these convictions in mind, the National League of Women Voters at its convention last April requested some of its delegates to the congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance at Rome to talk with representative women of other countries in order to get a better understanding of the effect of the Great War on the status of women and of women's ideas about the prevention of future war. Bankers, military men, economists, legislators, and social workers had brought back the results of study of European conditions but no committee of women to talk to women had been sent and the League believed that since women in their capacity as women, with women's traditional training, have a definite point of view on many questions of government, a mission of women to women might discover opinions and attitudes of a kind special to women which would be of value in developing rational means of preventing future war.

The commission had an exceptional opportunity of meeting women from most of the countries of Europe and from South America, Australasia, Africa, and Asia at the congress in Rome, at which women of forty-three countries agreed on a program that affirmed the duty of all women to work for reconciliation among nations and for the substitution of judicial methods for force in the settlement of international disputes. Several incidents during the congress, as well as the resolutions which it adopted, showed the underlying unity of purpose of women and their realization of a fundamental common interest in the maintenance of peace.

After the congress, the members of the commission separated and visited England, Austria, Germany, France, Belgium, Jugo-Slavia, Hungary, Italy, and Switzerland. An informal questionnaire was used and interviews with women in these countries were directed to the end of learning the attitude of women in organized groups toward peace, and what the women of each nation are doing to co-operate with other women for the advancement of peace, as well as the details of the political and industrial position of women at the present time. Most of the women consulted were, in the nature of the case, those active in political, social, or philanthropic work. Members of several European parliaments were among them and women of various professional and commercial connections. It was possible also to visit homes in many countries and to talk with women whose background is purely social.

As a result of its inquiry, the commission now makes its report in two sections:

SECTION I
Status of Women in Europe

Politically and economically the war opened many new fields to women in Europe and while post-war conditions robbed them of much of the advance they had made, they are still holding a substantial proportion of their gain. This is especially true of women in the industrial and so-called lower classes.

The fixed-income class has been the greatest sufferer from the war. Many of the women of the so-called upper middle class, who before the war had leisure to devote to civic and philanthropic work, are now obliged to do the work which they formerly employed servants to do and have no time for activities outside their homes. This fact in some countries has made it inevitable that while women of this class have gone in greater numbers into wage-earning, they have lessened their work for the woman movement.

The franchise has been granted to women in all the countries of Northern and Central Europe. In Jugo-Slavia the women of Croatia and of Slovenia were given in 1921 the right to vote in community and town elections. In Switzerland woman suffrage has not yet been obtained beyond the right to vote on religious questions in a few cantons, but in Geneva men and women teachers receive the same pay, and the legal profession, as in Germany, Belgium, Austria, Spain, and Portugal, is open to women.

Members of the commission attended sessions of parliament in five countries which count women among their lawmakers. In Germany about thirty per cent of the members of party committees are women. Under the system of proportional representation in elections, women make up about fifteen per cent of the members of the Prussian diet and a smaller proportion of the Saxon diet and Bavarian parliament and the federal parliaments of Austria, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, and Finland. Three women sit in the English House of Commons; eleven have been elected to the Danish *Folketing* and eight to the *Landsting*; Kristiania has sent one woman member to the Norwegian Parliament and five alternates have been elected; in Sweden, 481 women are members of local councils, four women members of the second chamber of the parliament, one, a member of the first chamber; several women are serving on the committees or the staff of the League of Nations, and many women hold offices in city or town councils.

It is apparent in some countries that the still rigid caste system tends to retard the progress of the woman movement, but even in those countries the status of women is appreciably

improved and in spite of some retrogression in the unsettled conditions of the present, there is no doubt that the general gains of European women are marked and permanent.

SECTION II

Women's View on Peace

The commission reports that it found women in all the countries visited bound, as are men, by conditions which bear upon affairs in their own country. In many places their outlook is affected by the tremendous nationalistic spirit of the present moment so that there is little place for constructive organization or sentiment regarding machinery for peace. It is noticeable, however, that women generally have a greater dislike of war than have the men of their group, although the difference is one of degree rather than of kind.

It is true, also, that women supply the larger number of enthusiasts for peace and a smaller proportion of outright militarists. Seeing war in terms of sons, women everywhere have a certain common ground in their desire for peace. More than men, they dread war for its known effect on their special interests, the home and the children. European women feel that war has lowered moral standards and made it hard to train children in ethical ideals.

Women very largely believe that in time of peace we should prepare for peace, since it is too late to do so when quarrels have started. Women are not much given to talking about what should be done to settle existing difficulties, such as the Ruhr and Fiume afford, but are more concerned with bringing about conditions to make future friction less likely.

The definite ideal of law as a substitute for war is most apparent in England. In other countries there is a great longing among women for an assurance of peace but in the more perturbed countries women are wringing their hands in dread, seeing peace as far off. The suggestion that the next generation be taught to abhor war was frequently made by women who have no hope of peace as a blessing of their own generation.

As a result of many intimate talks with women in European countries, the commission is profoundly impressed with the necessity of cultivating a spirit of international understanding and sympathy. No movement for peace can hope for success without this basis. The commission believes that every opportunity to bring about such understanding should be encouraged to the utmost.

The commission is also convinced that it is of vital importance to develop the channels by which disputes between nations may be settled by process of law. Even though under existing conditions there seems little hope that any major controversies will be submitted to legal settlement, there are a host of lesser disputes, any one of which is capable of becoming a cause for war, which may be submitted. The chief hope for peace is that if lesser matters can be justly settled by judicial means the awakening public opinion of the world will compel the settlement of more vital questions in the same way. For these reasons the commission recommends:

First: That all opportunities for co-operation with other nations in efforts for world betterment be welcomed.

Second: That individuals and organizations of all kinds take advantage of opportunities for international intercourse in meetings for common purposes.

Third: That children and young persons be trained to understand the importance of peace as an essential basis for civilization.

Fourth: That the United States enter the Permanent Court of International Justice on the terms proposed to the Senate by President Harding, because the World Court is the best existing application of the principle of law as opposed to force in the settlement of international disputes.

The members of the commission, all of whom signed the report, are, in addition to Mrs. Park, Mary Foulke Morrisson (Mrs. James Morrisson, of Chicago), Mabeth Hurd Paige (Mrs. James Paige, member of the Minnesota legislature), Cornelia Bryce Pinchot (Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, of Pennsylvania), and Ann Webster (Mrs. George Webster, of New Mexico). Miss Adèle Clark, president of the Virginia League, and Mrs. John Jay O'Connor, child welfare chairman, accompanied the delegation to the White House.

News From Kansas

JUST at the close of our legislature, which adjourned about the time of the Des Moines convention, three bills out of sixteen of our Children's Code were passed. They were Senate Bill 59 admitting blind babies to the School for the Blind, Senate Bill 206 amending the Compulsory Educational Law and House Bill 268 requiring the separation of dependent and delinquent children in the county detention homes.

We regret our inability to secure more legislation last year, but we hope through our bulletin and other educational efforts to bring about a better understanding of our legislative needs by the time the legislature convenes in 1925. "Much depends upon our preparedness in the thorough understanding of our needs."

The development of our bulletin, *Progress*, and its steady improvement is a source of pride to us, and as a means of spreading the news, the value to the League cannot be estimated. Through it we frequently receive memberships from remote corners of the state accompanied by appreciative letters, stating they have devoured every word from cover to cover. These expressions from women who are to a great extent isolated from the activities of women in general, to my mind are the "silent voice," or the attest of the turning of the worm, as it were, so far as public sentiment is concerned.

Perhaps the most important piece of work done by our Kansas League has been the attainment of the goal in our financial campaign. At this point I wish to acknowledge the splendid services of Mrs. Winfield Smith, national field organizer, whose experience and tact were a very great help to us.

The League has kept open house at three state-wide gatherings, where literature was freely distributed, and different articles sold. Hutchinson had a booth at the State Fair where a reliable cleaner was sold, and provided speakers for each of the three days. Topeka had a rest tent where they also sold the same cleaner, distributed literature and engaged in an informal talk-fest. Their register shows a large number of visitors.

Wichita at this time has a very attractive booth at their annual International Wheat Show. They have a consignment of beautiful Indian bead work and Indian blankets, and are also selling the same cleaner, of which the League hopes to secure the exclusive right in the state. The state League in the two latter places co-operated with the local Leagues.

Pratt raised her quota in one evening, putting on a lawn fête, or a play festival, as it was called, which was a great success and pronounced very beautiful.

Not being able to boast of any one great thing during this time, we are hoping that by the assembling of our small efforts in this narration, we may be helpful to other Leagues.

MRS. W. H. THOMPSON, *President Kansas League.*

The Congressional Committee

THE Women's Joint Congressional Committee held its first autumn meeting at League headquarters, October 15, with Mrs. Maud Wood Park, chairman, presiding. When the meeting began only sixteen national organizations of women were represented in the committee but the admission of the National Committee for a Department of Education before the meeting ended raised the list of member organizations to seventeen. The Washington representative of the new member is Mrs. F. P. Bagley, with Miss Marian Parkhurst as alternate.

It is a rule of the committee that when five or more member organizations endorse a measure, or a principle of legislation, a sub-committee made up of the representatives of the endorsing organizations is thereby automatically formed to work for the measure. The new sub-committees of this autumn are

one on the World Court and one on a uniform marriage and divorce law.

The annual meeting of the committee has been set for November 19 at which time there will be consideration of a suggestion made at the October meeting, that a committee be appointed to study the working of laws the Women's Joint Congressional Committee or its sub-committees have endorsed and to report on the findings.

The representatives who attended the October meeting were Mrs. Frances Fenton Bernard and Mrs. Raymond B. Morgan, American Association of University Women; Miss Lida Hafford, General Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. Glen Levin Swiggett, National Council of Women; Mrs. Arthur Watkins, National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations; Mrs. Florence Kelley, National Consumers' League; Miss Mary Stewart, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs; Mrs. H. F. Baker, National Service Star Legion; Mrs. Ellis Yost, W. C. T. U.; Miss Ethel Smith, National Women's Trade Union League; Miss Elizabeth Eastman, Young Women's Christian Association; Miss Charl Williams, National Education Association; Miss Selma Borchardt, National Federation of Teachers; Miss Lita Bain, American Home Economics Association, and Mrs. Park, Mrs. John Jay O'Connor, and Mrs. Walter DuBois Brookings, National League of Women Voters.

Rhode Island's Convention

THE *Woman Voter* has never received a more complete report of any state convention than that sent by the United League of Rhode Island. It came in a stout manila envelope and included every possible document bearing on the event, publications, mimeographed reports and addresses, newspaper clippings, and sundry other things to make the picture of a very busy League's work complete.

There was in the envelope, for example, a blotter issued by the Cranston *News* with a picture of a League group on the front; a buff single-fold leaflet with "Old Quarters for New Quarters" on the outside and on the inside a verse explaining that the League's old quarters have been outgrown and urging all League members to give a "few 'old quarters' just to make the new ones grand"; several copies of the printed ballot for the election of five League officers and sixteen other directors, October 2—the whole ticket was elected—and a list of the work covered by the secretary's annual report, under the following heads: meetings and speakers; schools and classes; administration; drives and campaigns; organization; publications; special committees; social activities; list of conventions to which delegates were sent; points of co-operation, and legacies received.

The president's address is brief and to the point, a call to further work and a recapitulation of League beliefs, not a mere summary of the year's work. The treasurer's report shows many expenditures, almost as many sources of income and a satisfactory balance on the credit side of the account.

The program of the convention is given in a well-arranged eight-page leaflet. The first morning of the convention, October 1, was called "Exhibits" and was given over to round tables of standing committees. Mrs. Ann Webster, speaking and answering questions on the model injunction and abatement law, represented the national Committee on Social Hygiene, of which she is chairman.

The afternoon of the first day was the first general session, with the Hon. William S. Flynn, governor of Rhode Island, Mrs. DeNormandie, Mrs. Cheesman, Mrs. Charles J. Steedman, Republican national committeewoman for the state, Mrs. Robert E. Newton, Democratic national committeewoman for the state, and Mrs. George Crooker, chairman of the convention committe, as speakers. A four o'clock conference was directed by Mrs. Henry A. Whitmarsh, chairman of the Committee on International Co-operation to Prevent War. The speakers were Miss Josephine Schain, of New York, and Miss Alice Hunt, second vice-president of the United League.

Mayors of Rhode Island cities were the guests of honor at the evening mass meeting with Joseph H. Gainer, mayor of Providence, as spokesman. Mrs. Charles Tiffany, chairman of the Manhattan Borough (New York) League, talked on the direct primary and J. Henry Scattergood, director of the Friends' Service Committee, on the Ruhr situation and the deadlock in Europe.

Tuesday morning, October 2, was a business session. In the afternoon, with Miss Alice W. Hunt, second vice-president, in the chair, Mrs. Mina Van Winkle, director of the Woman's Bureau of the Washington Police Department, talked of the policewoman as a community asset and Mrs. Ann Webster outlined world problems for women. The social event of the convention was the banquet on Tuesday evening with Mrs. DeNormandie presiding and Miss Ludington and Dr. W. A. Neilson, president of Smith College, chief speakers.

The convention proper ended with this meeting and the next day was devoted to a regional conference with reports from Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont on legislative achievements, from Massachusetts on schools of politics, from Rhode Island on the unit plan of organization, and from Connecticut on financial organization, with a discussion led by Miss Ludington on financial organization, national, state and local, coming after the reports.

Miss Josephine Schain, substitute for Miss Ruth Morgan, who was unable to attend, headed the discussion of round table organization which opened the afternoon session, and Miss Marguerite Owen, secretary of the Department of Organization of the National League, followed with a discussion of plans for the efficient citizenship campaign. Regional guests were entertained at a reception in the evening and the many newspaper clippings sent by Miss Mary Gallahan, secretary of the United League, make it clear that both convention and conference were successful in every particular.

Daily Registration Asked

REGISTRATION of Massachusetts voters has undoubtedly received a great impetus as the result of the successful efforts of the Springfield League to secure continuous registration for voters in that city, except for the interval before elections, primary and final, during which, in conformity with the state laws, no registrations are received. The state law now requires that the Board of Registrars shall hold such day and evening sessions as are required by the town or city ordinance, and other sessions deemed necessary, stipulating that at least one session must be held prior to the dates before elections when all registration must cease. Registration of voters therefore takes place at stated periods duly advertised, unavailable or inconvenient for many citizens.

The Springfield League showed that only about 50 per cent of the eligible citizens of the city are registered, and gave important evidence that "seasonal" registration in fact disenfranchises many citizens. The results of the survey of actual conditions showed that registration had cost the city in salaries $6642. Stating their belief that "such a sum is sufficient to pay for daily registration in place of the various sessions which it has been customary to hold from time to time (who knows when?)" the League maintained that their plan would best "serve public convenience and the responsibility of registering would rest where it belongs—directly upon the citizen—whereas it is now divided between the Board of Registrars and the citizen."

The plan itself is extremely simple, so simple that it might not occur except to women, who have long been familiar with making one thing answer the purpose of two.

In a letter to the City Council, the chairman of the Registration Committee of the League, Mrs. Embury P. Clark, proposed:

"Since the city clerk is a member and clerk of the Board of Registrars, receiving a salary of $550, would it not be a feasible plan for the city government to order the Board of Registrars to receive registration of voters in the office of the

city clerk until such time as it may be deemed practicable to organize the board on a permanent daily service basis?

"This would probably make it necessary for the Board of Registrars to appoint an assistant registrar to serve full time. The appointment of their chief clerk suggests itself because she is already familiar with all the clerical details of the work and is employed by the year. Another reason for the suggestion is that the clerical work of the department of registration is done in rooms adjoining the offices of the city clerk.

"A plan such as this would insure there being one person (the city clerk or the full-time assistant registrar) on duty all the time and thus give to the public the maximum service to which the sum expended entitles it. In the opinion of the committee anything less than daily opportunity to register is not a maximum service."

The Springfield press has been enthusiastic for the League, regarding this victory as "the first great achievement of the League of Women Voters," referring of course to the Springfield branch.

An editorial writer said, "Nobody would think of employing such a system (infrequent registration sessions) with respect to the registering of dogs, or the taking out of marriage licenses, or licenses to fish and hunt, or the many other formalities that must be complied with before persons are privileged to do certain things." A citizen "may register his automobile at any time, but he cannot, with the same convenience, come himself to be registered in order that he may participate in the nomination and election of candidates to administer the government under which he lives."

Commending in high terms the plan of the League the writer urged the City Council "to replace an antiquated and cumbersome system with one better adapted to meet present-day conditions."

What the Springfield League has accomplished undoubtedly points the way to extended registration. Their plan is adaptable to most towns and cities. Their leadership should be followed.—MARTHA E. D. WHITE.

At Washington Headquarters

THE president's desk at national headquarters has a new decoration which is the work of Miss Adèle Clark, president of the Virginia League, painter, teacher, secretary of the state commission on simplification of state government, and many other things besides. Miss Clark's decoration is made of a glass globe about the size of an aquarium for three gold fish, and inside it is a collection of Virginia flora. There are several partridge berry plants with red berries, an upspringing "sheep's tongue," a "pippissewa"—Miss Clark says that is its Indian name and that the little plant belongs to the wintergreen family—and beneath all these, seven varieties of Virginia ferns on a bed of Virginia moss. After a supply of water had been poured over the moss, Miss Clark carefully fitted a round piece of glass into the opening of the globe and puttied it down with green putty. Green putty is the finishing touch of the decoration which Miss Clark says will stay fresh and green, and as to berries, red, for many months.

MRS. IDA HUSTED HARPER, who expects to spend the winter in Washington, made a red-letter October day for headquarters staff by coming in to call. Mrs. Harper speaks lightly of her twenty years of work in bringing out *The History of Woman Suffrage*—the last eighteen years entirely alone at the task—and says that it is a relief to her to have finished the new *Life of Susan B. Anthony* because she had dwelt too many years on the past. Hereafter Mrs. Harper expects to concern herself with the present and the future and she will return to her old profession, journalism. Every day, she says, the world grows more and more interesting and she feels sorry for the women of the early woman movement because they were not born a generation later when life moves faster and minds are swifter in decisions and life in general is thrilling to a degree they never dreamed of.

Leagues and League Work

THE Chester County (Pennsylvania) League has applied for a copyright on a clever device to stimulate the primary vote. It is a circular tag of cardboard with a red rim on which are printed the words "Auspices of League of Women Voters." The small circle left inside the red rim is covered with a white flap bearing the question, "Will your parents vote at the primaries?" When this flap is torn off the triumphant answer, "Yes they will" appears. The Chester League distributed more than 100,000 of these tags, 25,000 in Chester County, 70,000 in Alleghany County, and the rest in Berks, Blair, Erie, Huntington, and Lebanon. Mrs. Joseph G. Scattergood, the Chester County League's chairman of the Committee on Schools, had charge of the work of distribution and left nothing to guess work. A list of teachers and the number of pupils in each school was obtained and packages of tags sent out varied in contents from 35 to 2,000. With Mrs. Horace A. Pyle, Mrs. Scattergood called on the county superintendent of schools, who gladly helped, adding to the note which the League sent to every teacher his own endorsement of the plan and his request that teachers co-operate. The Chester County League believes that the tag can be adapted for use in general elections as well as in the primaries, but claims the right, as first to make use of the device, to be sole producer and salesman of it. Mrs. Charles Lea, chairman of the League, is the inventor of the tag.

ASSISTANT Attorney General Mabel Willebrandt has spoken in high praise of the court visiting plan of Mrs. Ann Webster, chairman of the Committee on Social Hygiene. Mrs. Webster has asked Leagues everywhere to appoint committees to attend sessions of courts where cases affecting women and children are tried, to the end that they may learn whether women sex offenders are discriminated against, and whether the laws in general are justly applied. Mrs. Webster has suggested that women who are not familiar with court procedure be appointed to the committees, women who will see with fresh eyes and with minds unaccustomed to existing practices. The reports of such women will do more, it is believed, than any amount of formal protest by workers thoroughly used to courts and their ways. Mrs. Webster spoke for the National League at the convention of the Vermont League, October 13, touring the state with Mrs. Conner, Mrs. DeNormandie, and Mrs. Winfield Smith.

EXTRACT from a letter from Mrs. Webster: "I have always thought of Vermont as being famous for two things—maple sugar and hospitality. They're both here. We are rushing about doing two performances a day and eating and sleeping when it is convenient. Yesterday we breakfasted at 6:00 and took a train at Bennington. We were scheduled to arrive at Bristol at 12:55 and to go on at 1:45. About eleven o'clock we began to think of that six o'clock breakfast and to wonder when we should find time and food again, when the train stopped at Rutland and in rushed Mrs. Samuel Frank, treasurer of the State League, bringing huge quantities of chicken salad, hot coffee, hot rolls, sandwiches, etc., and saying apologetically she was so sorry she could not really bring us something to eat."

MISS ETELKA ROCKENBACH, fourth vice-president of the Indiana League, has been appointed a member of the State Board of Education. She has been for some time vice-chairman of the Republican State Committee.

Through a printing error in the last issue, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton's name was omitted from the list of guests at Commissioner Gardener's farewell dinner in honor of Mrs. Cunningham.

World News About Women

In Appreciation

"TO Carrie Chapman Catt, in grateful recognition of her steadfast efforts to secure the enfranchisement of the women of the world," is the inscription on a medal presented to Mrs. Catt October 26 at a meeting of the New York City Federation of Women's Clubs. Mrs. Catt is the second woman to receive this honor—one of the highest which the women of this country can give—the first being Lady Ralph Paget, an Englishwoman of American birth, who performed unusual war services.

The medal is provided for by a board formed several years ago by the late Mrs. William Tod Helmuth. Membership on the board is for life and its task is to single out women who have achieved "beyond the call of duty."

Mrs. Belle de Rivera, chairman of the board, presented the medal. Others who united in selecting Mrs. Catt are: Mrs. Eugene J. Grant, Mrs. Clinton B. Smith, Mrs. William Einstein, Mrs. Clarence Burns, Mrs. Cornelia Zabriskie, Mrs. John H. Griesel, and Miss Mary Garrett Hay.

The Labor Conference

MME. BETZY KJELSBERG, full government delegate for Norway; Mme. Julie Arenhold, factory inspector and civil engineer from Denmark; Mme. Letellier, departmental inspector of labor, from France; Mme. Margherita Sarfatti from Italy, and Miss Margaret Bondfield, the new chairman of the English Trades Union Congress, all technical advisors, are the women who attended the fifth annual session of the International Labor Conference of the League of Nations. The Conference opened on October 22 at Geneva. "General Principles for the Organization of Factory Inspection" was the subject discussed.

Housing—Here and Abroad

MRS. EDITH ELMER WOOD, a national authority on housing conditions in our own and other countries, is back from a careful survey of housing in English, French, Dutch, Belgian and Italian cities. With the guidance of visiting nurses or rent collectors or other competent persons, she made a point of seeing the worst as well as the best and newest accommodations for the working classes in every city she visited. And "I can assure my fellow countrymen," she says in her forthcoming book, *Housing Progress in Western Europe* (Dutton), "that I have nowhere seen houses even remotely comparable to the ten thousand old-law tenements of lower Manhattan built before 1879, or any layout as bad as that of the North End of Boston." Mrs. Wood's book will picture the latest developments in the way of model municipal cottages and tenements. For another comment in the subject of housing see Miss Blackwell's editorial on page 15.

The Fourth Assembly

IN the September 22 CITIZEN we published the names of women members of the First, Second and Third Assembly of the League of Nations. A complete list of those attending the Fourth Assembly is now given.

AUSTRALIA: Miss Jessie S. W. Webb, M. A., Substitute.

BRITISH EMPIRE: Dame Edith Lyttelton, A., Substitute.

DENMARK: Mlle. Henni Forchhammer, Expert; Mlle. S. Honnens, Assistant Secretary.

NORWAY: Mlle. Kristine Elisabeth Bonnevie, Substitute.

NETHERLANDS: Mme. C. A. Kluyver, Secretary.

RUMANIA: Mlle. Hélène Vacaresco, Substitute.

SWEDEN: Mme. Anna Bugge-Wicksell, Substitute.

Pennsylvania's Convention

IN 1919 in Philadelphia the Pennsylvania League of Women Voters came into existence. In 1923 on November 14, 15, 16, 17 it will meet again in Philadelphia—the first time since its inception—at its Fourth Annual Convention. This Convention, coming as it does between the 1923 session of the state legislature and the 1924 state elections, will be a notable one in the annals of the League. Three special phases of constructive service will be discussed: First, the question of the Constitutional Convention; second, the question of a revision of the county tax and assessment laws; third, the question of the World Court. Governor Pinchot, former Governor Sproul, Mrs. Solon Jacobs, first vice-president of the National League; Job E. Hedges, of New York, and United States Senator Oscar W. Underwood, of Alabama, will speak. November 17, the last day, will be devoted to a conference on political problems.

"Next Steps"

THE National Consumers' League is about to open its twenty-fifth year. It will start off with a two-day annual meeting, to be held November 8-9 in New York City (at the Allerton House, 57th Street). The program centers on the theme of "Next Steps"—in the Shadow of the Adverse Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, referring of course to the federal child labor laws and the minimum wage law of the District of Columbia. At the evening sessions, open to the public, the speakers will be Professor John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin; Dr. John A. Ryan of the National Catholic Welfare Council, and Jeannette Rankin, "the Lady from Montana," first congresswoman and introducer of the now famous Sheppard-Towner law.

Chinese Women Meet

OCTOBER 18 to 27 were the dates for the first national convention of Chinese women. It was to attend the First National Convention in China of the Y. W. C. A., that delegates from twelve leading cities and ninety-two schools and colleges were brought together at Hangchow. The Y. W. in China, according to their publicity, is more and more being managed and directed by Chinese women. They hold the posts of responsibility in the organization, and Chinese men and women contribute heavily to the support of the local work.

A Loss to India

WHILE confirmation has not been received, a newspaper report has come to our notice of the death of Miss Hansa Manubhai N. Mehta. Miss Mehta, as readers of the June 2 CITIZEN know, had been visiting our colleges studying the curricula to take back suggestions to India for a woman's college there. She was on her way home, and was stopping for a few days in Yokohama when the tragedy of the earthquake took place.

Mississippi's First

MRS. NELLIE NUGENT SOMERVILLE, recently elected to the House of Representatives in Mississippi, has had such an interesting history that it is well worth relating.

To begin with, Mrs. Somerville has made a special study of government, its history and development, and its practical working side—taxation particularly has interested her. She is, therefore, well grounded in the duties of a legislator. All of her life she has been active in civic, philanthropic and progressive movements. She was the first president of the Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association; chairman of the first committee to present the question of suffrage to the Mississippi legislature; chairman of the committee which first broached the subject of women

school trustees to the legislature; she secured the introduction of a bill granting equal guardianship for children; was first to urge the legislature to provide a woman physician to care for women patients in the state insane hospital; was an active worker in the Southern Conference on Woman and Child Labor.

On June 26 she announced her candidacy and the election took place August 7. There were five candidates, and only the ballots containing votes for three of the five were counted. Her campaign was quietly conducted by friends and neighbors who asked for "one vote out of three" and then loaned their cars to see that they got it. Mrs. Somerville's prescription for getting out the vote is "get the use of a Ford car for every one hundred voters. Forty will take themselves to the polls, twelve trips and a little crowding in a Ford will bring the other sixty."

General Federation Notes

By Lessie Stringfellow Read

A STUDY program on International Relations, prepared by Mrs. Thomas G. Winter, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and acting chairman of the Department of International Relations in the General Federation, in collaboration with other members, may be secured without charge by club women and others interested, from General Federation Headquarters, 1734 N Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Winter was authorized by the executive committee of the board of directors to serve as temporary chairman of International Relations after the election to the chairmanship of Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird, of Boston, and her immediate resignation from that office, owing to her inability for personal reasons to undertake so extensive a piece of work. Mrs. Winter succeeds the first chairman of International Relations, Mrs. Horace Mann Towner, who was obliged to resign as chairman of the department on account of the appointment of her husband as Governor of Porto Rico.

Mrs. Bird remains a member of the department, serving with Mrs. Elmer Leatherwood of Salt Lake City, Mrs. Charles Stockton of Ridgewood, New Jersey, as vice-chairmen. Mrs. Robert J. Burdette of Pasadena, California, foreign correspondent for the General Federation; Mrs. Lee Joseph of Texas, director in the General Federation for that state; Mrs. E. J. Flanigan of Arizona, and Mrs. D. T. S. Denison of New York, past General Federation president, are other members of the Department.

Mrs. Winter, in her campaign to promote permanent peace, hopes to have International Relations made a nationwide study and urges immediate use of the outline offered.

IN promoting the work of the newly created General Federation committee on Vocational Home Economics, Mrs. J. C. Gawler, Yakima, Washington, national chairman, says that the most important girls in the United States are those from fourteen to eighteen years of age. She urges state federations and individual clubs to work along the following lines:

Use influence in getting departments of vocational home economics established in schools.

Visit schools in each community in an effort to understand the home-making program of each, and make comparisons of work done in other states.

Report need of and help set up evening and part-time home economics classes in the schools where none exist.

Use influence to make vocational work popular with women and girls of the community; set forth opportunities in day, evening or part-time classes; influence mothers to realize the value of a course of home economics for every high-school girl.

Work for state appropriations and for the passage of educational bills such as the Fess amendment to the Smith-Hughes act.

Appoint a qualified club woman to speak authoritatively on vocational home economics at club and other meetings.

Encourage homemakers to take the teacher-training course.

The Index to the last volume of the WOMAN CITIZEN is now ready. Copies will be sent to libraries. Clubs and individual subscribers may obtain a copy by sending to the subscription Department, the WOMAN CITIZEN, 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

The Bookshelf

For Children's Week

By M. A.

"*THE Tale of the Enchanted Bunnies,*" by Ruth Sawyer: Because all children love bunnies, this fascinating story teller has collected legends, folk tales, and fairy whispers about them from all over the world, and has made them into a really beautiful book. It is hinted that the full color drawings which make it a picture book as well as a reading book come from the same skillful hands.

"*Dr. Doolittle's Post-Office,*" by Hugh Lofting: For all children who know him, this addition to the Dr. Doolittle series needs no recommendation. For those who don't, it will prove a

"The most stimulating and informative affairs in New York City life"

FPA

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FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

"A democracy which undertakes to control its own foreign relations ought to know something about the subject"—ELIHU ROOT

National Headquarters: 9 East 45th Street — **NEW YORK CITY**

merry introduction and a quaint delight. He knows the language of the animals, and helps them conduct their affairs in more than capable fashion.

"*Action Poems and Plays for Children*," by Nora Archibald Smith: Tableaux with pantomime, shadow pictures, poems for the fun of their poetry, all these for children of various ages who love to get up plays. They are simple in their demands on the "property man," and the silhouettes which Anne Merriman Smith has made will help both as model and inspiration.

"*Rootabaga Pigeons*," by Carl Sandburg: Parents who know only the sometimes harsh poetry of Mr. Sandburg will find a mine of unexpected joy in this second book of children's stories. They show a keen imagination, a fertility of thought which promises much, and then more than fulfills its promises.

"*Jo, the Little Machinist*," by Johanna Spyri: A new book by the author of "Heidi" is always a treat. There should be one in each Christmas stocking, as regularly as the orange goes into the toe. It is written with a clarity of style, a simplicity, and a depth of feeling which make it an event in the field of sometimes perfunctory children's books.

"*Little Lucia and Her Puppy*," by Mabel L. Robinson: As soon as a child can follow a continuous narrative, read this one aloud. That is, provided you can get through with it without bursting into joyous laughter. Anyone who ever had a beloved and troublesome puppy will treasure it. Anyone who hasn't had that fun will be hurrying for the nearest kennel before she finishes the book. It is written by the teacher of juvenile story writing at Columbia University.

"*Robin Hood and His Merry Outlaws*," by J. Walker McSpadden: Reprint of a particularly delightful retelling of these famous stories. The author has kept the very spirit and color of the ancient poems, and has succeeded in conveying a sense of vivid life.

"*Winona's Dreams Come True*," by Margaret Widdemer: The end of girlhood and the beginning of real grown-up-ness for Miss Widdemer's favorite heroine. The Winona series is excellent for girls of the Scout age. High and happy spirits mingle with a fine idealism and a code of useful service.

The Tale of the Enchanted Bunnies: Harper & Bros., 1923. $2.50.

Dr. Doolittle's Post-office: Stokes, 1923. $2.50.

Action Poems and Plays for Children: Crowell, 1923. $2.00.

Rootabaga Pigeons: Harcourt Brace, 1923. $2.00.

Jo, the Little Machinist: Crowell, 1923. $.75.

Little Lucia and Her Puppy: Dutton, 1923. $1.50.

Robin Hood and His Merry Outlaws: Crowell, 1923. $2.50.

Winona's Dreams Come True: Lippincott, 1923. $1.75.

Theatre Guild

(*Continued from page* 10)

resident theater, will realize the economic problems that confront such an enterprise on the road. The three plays we have selected are 'He Who Gets Slapped,' 'Peer Gynt,' and 'The Devil's Disciple.' It is going to be hard work, both from the acting and the managing end, but it is distinctly interesting to everyone who is watching the possibilities of repertoire companies.

"The other new thing we are doing is building a theater for our very own. You remember that we had a bond-selling campaign, and raised over $500,000. We hope to have the building completed by next year. It will contain laboratories for experiments in color and light, workshops for building models and props, and facilities for training student actors. It will give us more room and an opportunity for further expansion. After that? Who knows? It will go on growing.

"Myself?" She looked surprised. "No, I don't mind, only the Guild is so much more interesting to talk about. I came to them in 1920 as a play-reader. Shortly afterward, certain changes were made in the organization, and although I knew the theater only from a playwright's standpoint, I found myself acting as manager. Later they asked me to continue, under the title of executive director.

"The job is varied and fascinating. At the present time I'm chiefly concerned with new contracts with the stage hands." She smiled with serious whimsy. "If the cost of labor keeps on going up, it's going to change the whole technique of the theater. Tomorrow we start casting again, and as I seem to have the sense of divination, or whatever it is, which casting requires, I have been doing it since we gave 'Heartbreak House.'

"Yes, it is unusual work for a woman. I don't think of any others in exactly analogous positions.

"There are a few women now who are doing straight directing. Although there isn't any fundamental reason why women shouldn't succeed at that, there are plenty of reasons why few of them do. Very stiff prejudices still exist against them. Some actors are inclined to resent them. Stage hands, always conservative, object to a 'woman boss.' Temperamentally, it means accepting the stress and strain of conflicting artists, frenzies, hysterics, and ecstasies, impersonally and as part of the game. And even if a woman is sure she can overcome all those obstacles, the best way to get into directing is by first becoming an accepted actress or playwright."

Miss Helburn speaks with the authority of varied experience. Graduating from Bryn Mawr, where she had written, acted, and managed campus productions, she kept an intense interest in everything pertaining to the theater. She studied at Harvard and Paris, taught for a while, wrote two plays which achieved that goal of all playwrights, a Broadway production, and then joined the Guild staff. Here her creative ability, already demonstrated, found no direct outlet, and she submerged it in executive work. Perhaps diverted is more nearly accurate than submerged, for she is surely creating with actors and stagehands, tempers and temperaments, box-office and public, just as surely as she did when her materials were words.

In making out your Christmas lists this year, think over your friends for whom the WOMAN CITIZEN *would make the nicest sort of a Christmas gift. Twenty-four times a year they would be reminded of the giver. Three Christmas subscriptions will be sent for $5.00.*

Sleep, the Restorer

BY GULIELMA F. ALSOP

College Physician at Barnard

IN talking with some of my most successful business women patients, I have discovered several hygienic tricks or habits to which they resort to keep them full of energy. One woman never goes to bed later than nine o'clock during the week, in order to do her work with joy. She allows herself one night out of a week for diversion. Another comes home from teaching at four o' clock, undresses, bathes and takes a nap before dinner. Then she is fresh for her evening of work or recreation. Another makes up for arrears in sleep by a Sunday afternoon hibernation, sleeping from two till six or seven. Yet another has trained herself to sleep in the subways, waking up automatically at her own station.

These last are make-shift substitutes for real sleep at night. For several reasons we sleep better at night than in day-time, and so gain more refreshment.

The body does not fall asleep suddenly. It begins to get ready for the final loss of consciousness over a considerable period. At first the tear glands of the eyes fall asleep, refusing to flush the eyes with any more tears. The eyes grow dry and sticky, and we rub them to waken the sleepy glands. Next, a muscular lassitude begins to overpower us. We think we can hardly walk upstairs to bed, and we wish we could just lie still all night where we are. The last thing that happens to our semi-asleep bodies is some such sound as the watchman's stick on the pavement or the distant chiming of a clock. Then the consciousness lets go.

Most people on going to bed fall into

the deepest profundity of sleep. This deep slumber lasts about three hours, during which time the greatest refreshment and relaxation of the system takes place. After the first three hours of sleep, the degree of unconsciousness becomes lighter, so that everyone wakens more easily about two o'clock than at twelve. Toward morning many people slide far down the hill of sleep again, proverbially the young.

Sleep, besides being a time of physical recuperation, is also a much more subtle and perhaps a much more valuable thing. It is a time of psychical rejuvenation. Whatever happens to the spirit of man when it is asleep; whether its consciousness has been cut just in two, so that for the instant the sleeper is not possessed of a human spirit; whether the sleeping spirit lies dormant; whether a more mystic change takes place, and the soul is dipped in some great universal ocean of life, as a swimmer dips into the sea, this at least we know: when this spirit awakens, it is a different creature from when it went to bed. What was unsolved in the evening is now plain and clear. What was impossible is now easy. Some wonderful lightening of responsibilities has taken place, some equally marvelous augmenting of power. The ancients, Leonardo da Vinci especially, had a theory of inspired sleep, by which they accounted for that mystic refreshment of the spirit.

Science has not yet explained this miracle, but it has given us some hints of how the refreshment of the spirit during sleep takes place. Coué, Freud, Jung, all the researchers into the subconscious, tell of a submerged personality that is more important than the conscious being. In this subconscious realm dwell many faculties—imagination, reverie, worship, memory, etc.—quite as important as the faculties of will and direction, which dwell in the conscious realm. The psychologists insist that the cultivation of these subliminal attributes of the ego is as necessary for character development as the education of the will and reason. On the verge of sleep, for the moment semi-conscious, the personality drifts from one of these levels of existence to the other.

Further than this we have not yet been able to penetrate, though the believers in dream symbolism offer some doubtful theories of the deeper results of the activities of the unconscious. At least, the scientists have led us far enough to reinforce our automatic knowledge of the change in our spirits that takes place during sleep. This has been embodied in the saying, "sleep on it," before making up one's mind on an important decision.

The needs of the system for sleep vary. Babies need to sleep practically all the twenty-four hours, to permit of their excessive growth and development. Young people need an enormous amount of sleep, older ones less. By the time we are twenty, we know how much sleep we personally need for well-being. Upon our individual willingness to take this amount of sleep, depends our well-nourishment, our sense of vitality and joy, our nervous poise. A well-slept person is a vital individual, full of energy and power, neither cranky nor despondent nor melancholy.

If you see, or hear, anything funny in connection with this election; if you know any funny incidents in connection with other elections—tell us. Don't use more than five hundred words to do it, and you may use far fewer.

For every anecdote that we (with such help as we may call in) consider funny enough to print, we will pay a dollar. Come on—make us laugh!

Washington

(*Continued from page* 10)

roe Doctrine, or even the tariff, it is hardly likely that it will be out of politics for the next fifty years, or until Prohibition is recognized the world over as a necessary basis of the highest civilization.

Political leaders here have been congregated at the White House in close conference with President Coolidge most of the week discussing financial plans for the next campaign.

These conferences, which, it has been understood, have virtually laid the foundation for the coming Presidential campaign, have been attended, in addition to the President, by John T. Adams, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, Fred W. Upham, Treasurer, William C. Sproul, former Governor of Pennsylvania, E. T. Stotesbury, of Philadelphia, William R. Wrigley, Chicago, James H. Stanley, Denver, Frank W. Stearns, Boston, close friend and political adviser of the President, James E. Davidson, National Committeeman from Michigan, also C. H. Huston, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the National Committee. This is an interesting ensemble. Former Governor Sproul could tell the President and Mr. Adams all about the Pinchot situation and strength in Pennsylvania; Committeeman Davidson of Michigan could enlighten the conference as to the recent political maneuvers of Henry Ford; Messrs. Wrigley and Stotesbury have been credited with holding considerable currency which might be devoted to Republican interests. Mr. Stearns first and last has had the personal interests of President Coolidge in mind. And finally, Mr. Huston has to find some way to make up the deficit from the last Republican campaign and work up a new fund for the coming struggle.

Consequently, cities and Chambers of Commerce who are hopeful of obtaining the next nominating convention, must show large and generous certified checks to the Chairman and Treasurer of the Committee, as well as prove that they have adequate convention facilities, before consideration will be given. The city furnishing the largest check, other things being equal, probably will obtain the convention.

For some weeks past, it has been assumed that Chicago was the preferred place. Lately, however, so much reminiscing has been done about conditions at Chicago during the memorable convention of 1920 that Chicago has taken second place. The last convention was held under difficult circumstances. The thermometer outdid itself for June; the city was dusty, dirty and torrid with a crowd of struggling conventionites who were forced to take everything in the way of food and rooming at exorbitant prices. The hotel greed has [illegible] one thing which has made Committeemen hesitant about revisiting Chicago so soon. Denver has been spoken of with tentative approval. Democratic politicians are intimating that the Democratic nominating convention may be held in New York right under the nose of Tammany Hall, which will be a departure, for the Democratic Party in national affairs has always tried to keep Tammany Hall localized in the minds of the constituency outside of New York State. The Republican National Committee will meet in Washington in December to choose the place for the convention.

Besides the seriousness of this conclave over the ways and means of the campaign, the President lately has been presented with two bears and a tub of ice cream from the National Association of Ice Cream Manufacturers. From Lloyd George to bears; from ice cream to the World Court, from Chief Justices to motion-picture men, all in one swallow. What a life!

It is known that the President was considerably impressed with one of the delegations this week, which was favorably commented upon around the capital, and that was the visit of the commission of the National League of Women Voters who presented to President Coolidge the result of the study made by the members who went to Europe last summer for first-hand investigation and to report on the European situation. Mrs. Maud Wood Park led the delegation and urged that the United States join the Permanent Court of International Justice on the terms

proposed to the Senate by President Harding, declaring that the court is the "best existing application of the principle of law as opposed to force in the settlement of international disputes."

But the event of the fortnight in some people's minds has been the auction of the effects of Thomas Nelson Page in his former house on New Hampshire Avenue, by order of the heirs. By a coincidence this home, which was the residence of one of our foremost ambassadors to Italy, was used as the Italian Embassy in Washington, and since then again lived in by Mr. Page. It was filled with his books and art objects collected from all over the world. In three days the large house was emptied from the great copper kettles which hung in rows in the kitchen to the relics in the attic including such memorabilia as autograph copies of Mark Twain's works inscribed "Let us save the tomorrows for work," and inscribed works of Theodore Roosevelt; gifts from Mrs. Roosevelt to Mrs. Page, originals of gifts copied and given by Mr. Page to Woodrow Wilson. It was a memorable event and official and social Washington was thoroughly represented including Mary Roberts Rinehart, who coveted the Italian antiques and carried off some choice things. But one would have had to be the auctioneer himself to be hard enough to see a home stripped of things collected during a lifetime, without regret.

We can see what it must mean to some of the British patriots when great estates are broken up and sent broadcast in lieu of American dollars, for we had something of the same feeling in watching this estate dispersed. However, as we once heard an auctioneer remark, "Lots of people sell their hair for cash."

Moments With Our Readers

Decidedly!

I READ the WOMAN CITIZEN this summer in the intervals of driving a header box in the wheat fields to help my husband during a shortage of help, and wondered, as I looked out over the golden foreground of waving wheat—to the background of blue distance and snow-capped Cascade Mountains—whether that put me in the 50-50 class. —S. M. S., Coulee City, Wash.

A Voice from New York

MRS. CATT might have coupled our senior New York senator's anxiety to have the people have a direct voice on constitutional amendments with his views on primary nominations. Some way I have a feeling that the people are not going to have an effective voice in nominations again for some years in New York and that the senior senator will be the "because" of it.—G. M. F., Keuka Park, N. Y.

See Page 4

I AM particularly interested in the first page of group pictures that you have in the WOMAN CITIZEN. They are such wonderful photographs and such beautiful work for the illustrations. I love a face like the one in the last one, from Poland. It is so strong—a face like that suggests a nation builder.—G. R. H., Laramie, Wyo.

Husbands Approved

CONGRATULATIONS on being quoted in the *Literary Digest* of September 22nd on What Women Have Done with the Vote. That is a worthwhile recognition, though I really think your symposium on the Woman with a Career vs. Marriage was better. Of course, that wasn't so new a subject. In fact, the *Literary Digest* conducted some such inquiry last year, after Hutchinson's "This Freedom" came out, but you went them one better when you interviewed the husbands as well. Nobody else appeared to think of that.—A. B. S., Seattle, Wash.

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Have YOU *helped assure the future of the* CITIZEN *yet by doubling your subscription or better?*

Pennsylvania's Eight

(*Continued from page* 8)

Governor Pinchot's cabinet, was deeply interested. Frequently, one of the first women legislators conferred back of the rail with the first woman cabinet official over pending legislation—offering a striking contrast, let us say, to a liquor lobbyist or a special interest lobbyist, whispering into the ear of a man nearby.

Miss Gallaher, who is the owner of a private school in Ebensburg, naturally paid a great deal of attention to legislation affecting the public schools, a subject which was of prime concern throughout the whole session. Miss Gallaher now and then stirred up the legislators with erudite suggestions as to their enunciation and vocabulary.

Miss Bentley took a keen interest in a bill sponsored by representatives of the Pennsylvania Teachers Association with the object of securing tenure of office for public school teachers. The bill, however, failed of passage largely because of the local alliances between a majority of the House and the school directors and also because the bill did not have the unanimous support of the teachers and their friends.

One of the new members, Miss Grimes, was always at home in her delegation and quickly acquired the legislative knack of getting things done in a way which usually is only the result of long experience. She sponsored a bill which created a Planning Commission in second-class counties to provide means of planning in an orderly way all the public improvements for the county.

In Pennsylvania a married man may mortgage his real estate without the consent of his wife, although a married woman does not have this privilege. Mrs. Pitts introduced a bill which would have made it unlawful for any married person to mortgage his or her property without the consent of the spouse, but this measure failed to be approved.

Of course, the presence of women in the seats of the legislators was reflected in the personnel of the employees and women served as clerks and secretaries of committees and in other capacities in the legislative machinery. It is always one of the objects of a legislator to get his friends placed on the legislative clerical payroll, but Miss MacKinney upset this tradition by introducing a resolution which proposed that the number of House employees be materially reduced.

One of the interesting things about the women was that there was a great deal of concern as to how they were going to vote on important measures. Even in those cases where certain of the women could not have been elected but for Republican organization support, the leaders in the organization were always agitated. If this means anything it is that women have more natural independence of thought than have men elected by Republican organization support in Pennsylvania, and this condition is one of the many factors which since the enfranchisement of women is contributing to greater efficiency in government and arousing a wider interest in intelligent voting and clean politics.

"Practical Politics"

(*Continued from page* 12)

abound. Receiverships carrying with them emoluments of one hundred thousand dollars a year have not been unknown. And the fees collected through refereeships are impossible of computation.

This by no means exhausts the "opportunities" which exist for the practical politician. The list is almost inexhaustible. The fact that these "opportunities" exist does not mean, let it be said, that all or even a majority of men in politics are there for that reason; but it does mean that there have been and will continue to be attracted to the game those who find the "opportunities" their chief incentive. This in turn means that tactics entirely irrelevant to questions of public policy will continually be resorted to

in order to obtain a following, and that those who possess these "*marketable goods*" will continue to sell them to the highest bidder.

What can be done about it? It is obvious that wherever possible, the "opportunities" should be lessened. If civil service reform lessens patronage — and it does — civil service reform should be adopted. If a budget system eliminates "pork" — and it helps — it should be adopted. If the short ballot lessens political obligations in the sinister sense of that term — and it will — it should be adopted. (More of this later.) It must be admitted, however, that in the last analysis men, not laws, rule the country, and that only by inducing a superior type of individual — interested in principles rather than "opportunities"—to participate in political activity can any great improvement be made. It should further be remarked that this is a never-ending task, and not until there has been aroused in those who are disinterested a sense of public spirit equal to the self-interest of the professional can we expect to change materially the present situation.

Until then, the best that can be hoped is to keep a check on the self-interest of the professional politician, eliminating wherever possible the most obnoxious. How can even this be done? What mechanism can eliminate even the worst of those in politics or lessen their influence? Thirty-nine states have answered, "The Direct Primary!"

The direct primary is an election held among party members for the purpose of selecting candidates. The names of those desiring to become the nominee are placed upon the primary ballot by means of petitions signed by a number of party members. A petition is usually required to prevent the ballot from being cluttered with those who command no following in the party. The names so presented are submitted to the members of the party on primary day. The aspirants receiving the greater number of votes become the candidates of the party.

This, in broad outline, is the system in the majority of the direct primary states. It was introduced because of the tide of resentment that rose against the old convention system. Undemocratic, boss-controlled, and corrupt was the verdict of experience upon the nominating convention. The new system was installed to cure those evils. What is the verdict of experience upon it? A review of contemporary conditions indicates that *in a measure* the direct primary has accomplished its objects. Corruption, while not extinct, nevertheless is much diminished. Although the boss is not altogether an unknown figure at present, he is by no means as dominant as he once was. His fiat is no longer law. It may be true, and often is, that his advice is followed, yet his recommendations are themselves modified by the realization that they will be subjected to the approval of the rank and file of the party. In one sense the direct primary has transformed him into a leader. Where indiscretion has ruled and the organization has set up *very poor candidates*, the mechanism of the direct primary has made possible to a degree never before conceived the entry of independents, who have more than once captured the nominations.

If the new plan has these accomplishments to its credit, why has it been partially repealed in New York, why has it everywhere been under fire? Naturally, of course, for the very reason that it has limited the power of the "practical politician." But various charges have been made against it by these and other agencies. First, it is said that the primary introduces a plethora of candidates. An analysis of primary ballots, however, shows that *rarely* have more than three aspirants arisen within any party for any major nomination.

Second, it is said that nominations are gained by pluralities instead of majorities. By and large, this, too, is false, although specific instances may be found to the contrary. It is just as likely to be true that the president of the United States will be elected by a plurality as it is that the nominee for any important state office will be so chosen at the primary. Such an attack is an attack upon our system of elections in general and should not be confined to the primary.

Third, it is said that it has produced party discord and made for party disintegration. This really means that the dominant clique within the party finds it more difficult to boss the party than before, *an excellent reason for maintaining the primary.*

Fourth, it is said that the men chosen under the direct primary are inferior to those chosen under the convention system. Wilson, Cummins, Lowden, Johnson, Sproul, Pinchot and La Follette, all chosen under the direct primary, seem to give the lie to this.

Fifth, it is said that it has not aroused popular interest. It must be admitted a majority of the rank and file of the

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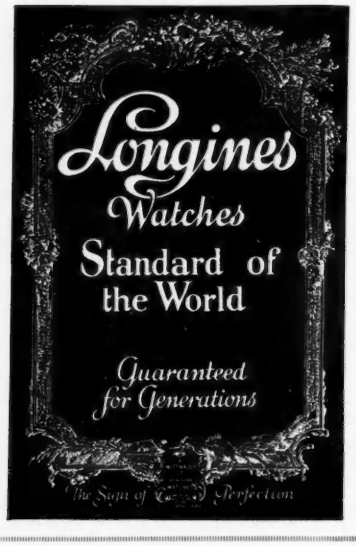
voters do not participate even under the direct primary. Figures for the entire country are not available. In New York, however—and the situation is probably the same elsewhere—even in years when interest in things political ebbed lowest, the number voting was twenty per cent larger than the number that participated under the convention system; while in other years there has been an increase of over one hundred per cent.

Sixth, it is said that the direct primary is more expensive to aspirants for office. Statistics upon the point are not available, but why it is cheaper to convert the same number of voters when they vote indirectly through the convention system than when they vote directly at the polls is difficult to see. These are the major charges and as regards them the case can certainly be dismissed for want of evidence.

Technical problems still exist as to which is the best type of primary. The chief problem, however, in connection with nominations is no longer how to perfect the machinery, but how to interest the better class voter, how to bring the disinterested, the public-spirited to active participation in politics.

Each individual reader can do her part in solving this problem by herself participating in party councils, and by interesting those of her acquaintance in like activity. The professional politician, like the poor, we will have always with us. The most obnoxious, however, can be eliminated in the primaries at any time the disinterested party voter cares enough. The remedy, gentle reader, lies in your hands.



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Heart-to-Heart

WATCH YOUR STATE

THE October 20th issue of the WOMAN CITIZEN was an edition of 15,000 and was practically sold out before it left the press. That is an increase of 2,000 over the issue of September 22nd. All the friends and co-workers who have helped will rejoice with us at the mounting subscription list. This is only a beginning of what is needed, but it is an auspicious start.

Six state Leagues—California, Massachusetts, Michigan, Montana, Nevada and Minnesota—are trying for the $100 prize this month, and Florida has her second drive under way. Look at the following list of paid-in-advance subscriptions which came the first ten days of the month and see how your state compares with the others.

New Paid-in-Advance Subscriptions Received October 1 to 10, by States

Alabama	4	New Hampshire	4
Arkansas	1	N. Carolina	2
Calif.	21	N. Dakota	1
Colo.	2	Ohio	11
Conn.	21	Penn.	30
New York	38	R. Island	1
Delaware	1	S. Dakota	1
Dist. of Col	3	S. Carolina	1
Florida	17	Texas	3
Georgia	5	Vermont	5
Idaho	1	Virginia	3
Kansas	5	W. Virginia	4
Illinois	13	Washington	3
Montana	8	Wisconsin	20
Nebraska	3	Wyoming	1
New Jersey	80	Iowa	11
Louisiana	1	Indiana	3
Maine	2	Maryland	10
Mass.	16	Kentucky	2
Minn.	6	Kansas	1
Mississippi	5	Missouri	5

Our immediate goal is to double our circulation. Think how easy that would be if each subscriber should send in only one new subscription! In reality, those who have answered, have sent from two to four new ones. A thousand thanks to each one of them.

Advertising in a small magazine like the WOMAN CITIZEN has one great advantage over that buried in the hundreds of pages of the huge monthlies. It stands out, and it makes an impression.

A recent letter from a subscriber illustrates the point. In a postscript she wrote, "I have been trying the Arch Preserver Shoes just because they are now advertising in the CITIZEN."

Another indication came in this true story: In June, a CITIZEN reader had a son graduating from Princeton University. To honor the occasion, she wanted to give him the most beautiful watch that could be found. The choice inevitably fell upon Longines because of their advertising in the WOMAN CITIZEN. When the watch was presented, the father wistfully remarked that he himself had never had anything so lovely. The remark was noted, and in September, on the thirtieth anniversary of their wedding, a second watch was bought, a duplicate of the first except for the monogram.

This is an instance of a loyalty which means returns, eventually, in a better magazine, because in these days of high publication costs, it is the advertiser who makes expenditures possible. We suggest that in purchasing for your Club luncheons or League teas you can materially assist the WOMAN CITIZEN by earnestly recommending the placing of advertising in it. This will benefit the advertiser and will help us make a better magazine. The CITIZEN accepts only advertising of standard well-tested products, like, for example, Jell-O in this number. Jell-O is almost a household word and is especially useful for club entertaining because of the ease of its preparation. In the same way, for every thing needed for the dressing table, either your own, or those of your club house, Colgate still stands as the standard American product. The CITIZEN is glad to carry such advertising and counts on you to let the advertiser know that advertising in the CITIZEN brings results. By the way, did you know that Lloyd George and his family followed the custom of royalty, and while in New York stayed at the Waldorf-Astoria?

—G. F. B.

A Line on the Movies

For Moving-Picture and Book Week

By LAURA L. LAEDLEIN

LITTLE OLD NEW YORK—A most interesting recent production. New York plays the lead with her usual zest: she has no compunctions about showing you the family-album photograph of her young self with expressionless face and pantalettes, and both are romantic. A credible *John Jacob Astor* (Andrew Dillon) buys up the town, and a sandwich-selling *Delmonico* is apologetic upon the price of his twenty-cent oyster suppers. Marion Davies plays the Irish girl-boy *Pat* with a good deal of charm, and Harrison Ford is equally deft as the New York cousin. A Cosmopolitan picture from the stage play of the same name by Rida Johnson, and directed by Sidney Olcott.

RICHARD THE LION-HEARTED—Scott's "Talisman" and the drama of medieval Christianity militant very entertainingly drawn across the screen. Wallace Beery plays the part of *Coeur-de-Leon* as though he were born in the twelfth century or at least preferred it, though when we see his bath we wonder why. The boy who saw "Robin Hood" should not miss this sequel to it. An Associated Authors picture, directed by Chet Withey.

IF WINTER COMES—A. S. M. Hutchinson's popular novel sketched upon the screen with plot fidelity and a good deal of character faithfulness. The story of a generous and simple-minded sort of man who runs his bewildered head into social disaster because he does not know how to handle the difficult fact of his wife's unconventional desertion

of him at a critical moment. Also, meet High Jinks and Low Jinks, and wonder again if the author didn't stretch probability a point in making them melt away after the catastrophe. An unusually well-cast set of actors, especially Percy Marmont as *Mark Sabre*. A William Fox picture, directed by Harry Millarde.

MONNA VANNA—A prosaic and somewhat sensual production of the Maeterlinck stage play of the same name. There is, however, an interesting background of medieval politics, and the full pageantry of the costumed picture. A William Fox presentation, directed by Richard Eichberg.

PURITAN PASSIONS — From Percy Mackaye's stage play, "The Scarecrow." A fantasy with the soundly romantic theme of what makes a man a man, laid —unsensationally—in the days when a panicky New England burned her witches. Glenn Hunter is interesting in the difficult rôle of the devil-created human. A Film Guild picture, directed by Frank Tuttle.

SCARAMOUCHE—The French Revolution without a guillotine, and from the novel angle of a young chap who wanders into "modern comedy" and becomes known by the name of his comedy-character, *Scaramouche*. Adapted from Rafael Sabatini's novel, as is the current stage play of the same name. A Metro picture, directed by Rex Ingram.

Feminism and Flowers

(*Continued from page* 13)

more perennials than Frau Hertzka herself. The course for teachers is three years. The girls who enter are from sixteen to eighteen years old. About two-thirds of them are from what is called "good" families and the others are from workmen's families. One railroad workman whose salary in present-day Austria is 2,500,000 kronen (about $35) a month, is paying 500,000 kronen out of it to keep his daughter at the school.

The pupils live across the street from the gardens in two white stucco houses, each house accommodating seventeen students and a teacher. The walls are white with gay little designs of flowers and fruit stenciled on them. There is a piano in the main schoolroom in each house and there are dainty white ruffled curtains through the lower floor and the bedrooms which fill the top story.

Whenever you go to the school you are rather likely to find a graduate of one of the recent classes, coming back to "visit" and to tell with pride of her own garden, from which she sells to florists or through her own little shop directly to the retail purchasers. It is a fascinating venture and verily makes one believe that gardening is woman's business.

Your Investments

Housecleaning Time

By ELEANOR KERR

DO you ever have a thorough housecleaning, when you look over all your investments and decide which of them are worth keeping and which it might be well to dispose of or change? You do this with your clothes and your house furnishings, so why not with the securities, etc., which are the very guarantee of your clothes and furnishings?

The highest grade and soundest bonds in the world are all the better for occasionally being considered in the light of changes which may have taken place in the affairs of the corporation, city, or country which issued them. The only exceptions to this are United States Government obligations, and holders of these would do well sometimes to consider probable market changes, although they can rest assured that no change will come in the soundness of their principal or interest.

But corporation affairs may vary greatly from time to time. Management changes and is more efficient at some times than at others. The demand for products is different from

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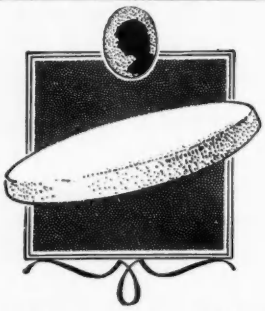

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month to month and from year to year, and it demands the greatest shrewdness and most experienced judgment to foresee correctly both the kind and the extent of such changes. New economic conditions arise; and new inventions and methods of doing business, changes in construction, in taste, in living itself, cause the soundest securities of one generation to become almost worthless in the next, unless the corporation has changed with the times and carefully and accurately met the varying needs which each year has brought.

What value today would there be in the bonds or stock of a company whose business was exclusively the making of expensive carriages? Those companies which formerly did this—and still exist—no longer make carriages only, but now produce high-grade automobile bodies.

How much demand today is there for wrought iron? Yet before the introduction of the Bessemer process of making steel, wrought iron was used for many purposes where it is no longer considered adequate.

At one time the most rapid and favored transportation was by canal boat, and important companies were formed to finance such enterprises. One can think of innumerable examples of changes due to developments entirely outside the actual business of a corporation.

And the changing economic, trade and industrial conditions constantly affect countries, cities, states in somewhat similar ways.

Competition is an important factor in the prosperity of a corporation. So is advertising, a modern development. The original policies of a company may be good, but if they become too inelastic, they may cause loss and finally be responsible for the complete failure of the enterprise.

In the public press, through various financial services, and in many other ways, information on conditions of industries, companies, countries and the various factors which influence them are readily available. Your bank or any good bond house will gladly tell you where to obtain this information, and in most cases will get it together for you, making reports on the specific securities which you hold, and on outside conditions which may influence them. Often they can suggest excellent changes which are of benefit to the investor.

Make periodic investigation of your investments and thoughtfully, with an open mind, consider their possibilities. Don't think just because a bond, or more particularly an issue of stock, was once a good investment it is necessarily as good a one for all time. Conversely, what may once have been considered a poor investment may become better.

The Woman Citizen

Volume VIII NOVEMBER 17, 1923 Number 13

News Notes of the Fortnight

No Conference

LATE October and early November were occupied with watching negotiations between Washington and Paris over the terms on which a conference of Allied experts might study Germany's capacity to pay reparations. Mr. Hughes, it will be remembered, had agreed to the condition accompanying the French acceptance-in-principle—that the conference should be under the Reparations Commission; and he had barred the discussion of Allied debts. Later M. Poincaré added other limitations—that the occupation of the Ruhr should not be questioned, and that consideration of the ability of Germany to pay should be limited to the "present," finally defined to mean the next six years.

The American government refused to enter a conference bound in advance not to consider all the factors; an auditor's report, Mr. Hughes said, would be all that the conditions permitted. Of course the door is not closed, since the original proposal from England contained a suggestion for a conference even without France, and aside from that there is hope of further diplomatic moves which will make the meeting possible. But it is now understood that for the present Great Britain will take no further action.

Before the close of the negotiations, France stood practically alone. Belgium was at least divided in its attitude, and leaned strongly to the conference on the American basis, while the Italian press has showed the greatest disappointment over the failure to get America in on the problem.

Poincaré is now moving toward an experts' inquiry on French invitation—still more strictly limited, and especially devoted to the search for German gold outside of Germany.

The German Monarchists

MEANTIME the threatened monarchist rebellion in Bavaria broke—and lasted just one day. It was led by General Ludendorff and Adolph Hitler, arch-monarchist and reactionary, who has been a menace to the republic for a long time. Hitler declared himself Chancellor of all Germany, with General Ludendorff as Minister-of-War and Commander-in-Chief of the German army, and the rebels entrenched themselves in the Ministry of War at Munich. Dr. Von Kahr, Bavarian dictator, and General von Lossow, head of the Bavarian Reichswehr, were apparently in sympathy with the rebels at first, but as it turned out were acting under compulsion. Supported by the Reichswehr, which proved loyal, they overcame the *putsch* in short order. Hitler is under arrest, Ludendorff was freed, but is under surveillance.

Immediately after the Munich episode involving the Wittelsbach monarchists, came the return of the Hohenzollern ex-Crown Prince. There had been much talk of the possibility in the papers, but it was still supposed to be under discussion for the future, when lo and behold, the Crown Prince had crossed the border. As a matter of fact, the Allies had a note of warning to the Dutch Government against allowing him to leave all ready to present—on the day he left. He has gone to his estate in Silesia, and of course has agreed to live quietly.

The German Government defends his right as a private citizen to return to his fatherland. Whatever its motives—and speculation provides any number—its attitude has created a very unfavorable impression among the Allied governments. They are in process of discussing whether any action can be taken. As this is written, another unpleasant surprise has been sprung, or at least reported: the intended return of the ex-Kaiser himself, with the date for restoration of the monarchy already set.

Just preceding these movements, the Allies had warned Germany that no German dictator could be set up who would defy the Versailles Treaty, and that the restrictions on armament must be enforced. In response, Germany reaffirmed adherence to the treaty, but requested that no military commissions should be sent into Germany at this time for fear of trouble.

Very Briefly

It is reported that dryness is becoming contagious—that France has cut her bill for liquors in two, and Italy has raised the number of persons per wine-shop license from 500 to 1,000.

Thirty-four nations have reached an agreement on customs reforms in a conference at Geneva, held under League auspices—another meeting at which the United States had only unofficial representatives. The general trend of the changes is toward more liberal treatment and greater smoothness. A permanent international body of customs experts is to be established with headquarters at the Secretariat of the League.

Lynching: Oklahoma, this time. The victim is variously described as a Mexican and a halfbreed Negro, and the lynchers were masked.

The Society to Abolish Capital Punishment has been formed in New York State, headed by the warden of Sing Sing Prison and others. It will work not only for the abolishment or limitation of capital punishment but to improve prison conditions and the criminal laws.

A British election is expected in December, to test the Government's new protection policy, as against the traditional British free trade. The Asquith and the Lloyd George Liberals have united forces to oppose protection.

President Coolidge's offices are being bombarded with post-card messages, in the course of a campaign conducted by the General Defense Committee, 70 Fifth Avenue, to secure the freedom of the remaining thirty-two political prisoners by Christmas.

Red Cross Roll Call again—from Armistice Day to Thanksgiving. During the past year the American Red Cross has spent $2,000,000 on disabled service men, another $2,000,000 for Russia, a third $2,000,000 on refugees in Greece, and the rest of its $9,000,000 budget for local health service, minor disasters and the Junior Red Cross.

Immigrants on Parole

NEARLY four thousand immigrants arrived at Ellis Island after the quotas of their countries had been filled. Over thirteen hundred were British. Under the law the ships bringing them were liable to pay a fine of $200 each and to refund the passage money, about $100, to each immigrant barred. The passengers, however, were permitted to land on parole, and their final disposition is not settled. They are largely a desirable type of immigration.

Help for Hungary

IN the middle of October the Reparation Commission voted to grant Hungary a moratorium for her reparations payments for twenty years. Such a moratorium had been refused earlier in the year through the negative vote of the French chairman, M. Cambon. The French opposition was based on the fear-born objections of the Little Entente, but in the interval the efforts of Dr. Benes, the Czecho-Slovak Foreign Minister, have been instrumental.

Count Albert Apponyi, Hungarian statesman, has recently been in this country seeking a loan and making a plea for the revision of the peace treaties, which he feels bear on his country with a severity out of proportion to the Hungarian share of guilt for the war. According to him, Hungary lost two-thirds of her territory, most of her woodlands, and two-thirds of her population. Currency is now enormously inflated, so that only what can be put into agriculture or industry is saved, the rest going into unsound speculation and extravagant living. The moratorium may be the beginning of some such reconstruction as has been made possible for Austria through the League of Nations.

Twelve Miles, Modified

THE British OK'd the Hughes proposal for the right of search within twelve miles—in principle though not in detail. They declined to make it an explicit twelve miles, not wanting to establish a precedent against the generally applied three-mile limit; but they agreed to take all necessary steps to help the United States stop rum-running, making the limit so flexible that it might even extend beyond twelve miles. In return British ships are to be permitted to retain liquor under seal in American waters. The agreement is of course not yet a treaty, and the arrangement may come in for some stiff arguing.

The Rhineland

THE young Rhineland Republic has had a bad time of it. In the first place, it got an untimely start. Planned to begin in several centers at once, the little revolution was launched ahead of time by Leo Deckers, in the hope of becoming leader. Joseph Matthes, whose orders Deckers disobeyed, gained control, but the revolution lost effect. But the thing that brought the Rhineland Republic to a swift collapse was a quiet little note from the British Ambassador to the French Foreign Office and a similar one to the Belgian Government. It said that the formation of this republic was a violation of Article XXVII of the Treaty of Versailles, which pledged the nations to respect the frontiers of the Reich as stipulated in the Treaty. Poincaré could do no less than yield. Belgium likewise.

A correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, visiting the so-called Republic's "battlefields," found in each city only a group of "youthful soldiery depending on French or Belgian troops of occupation to keep them safe from the attacks of the communists or nationalists and even the outraged citizenry." A few American soldiers left over from the Rhine occupation are the Rhineland's foreign legion. One solution suggested is that the Rhineland group should seek autonomy within the Reich.

Military Missions in South America

ANOTHER military mission from the United States is contemplated. Guatemala wants expert help next year in making its army efficient, and wants to hire a United States Army officer to give it. Congress would have to grant authority for such employment. Naval missions, now, are another matter. Several years ago a law was passed that permitted us to send naval missions to the Latin American countries, and we sent one to Peru in 1920 and one to Brazil last year. This latter, at any rate, was under heavy criticism for its probable effect in increasing armaments in South America. Argentina felt that we were helping to make her neighbor strong and that her own means of defense would have to be strengthened too. The response at Washington was that we were acting only on request, and were helping Brazil increase her navy in efficiency, not numbers.

As for Army instructors, before the war Great Britain, France and Germany all had training officers in South American countries. There are now French military instructors in Brazil and Peru, and there is a British mission in Argentina.

The movement to establish modern methods is in accordance with the treaty for limitation of armament in Central America. The five Central American republics agreed on a limitation of armies—Guatemala being allowed the maximum, 5,200—and on a reorganization of their limited forces to give them maximum efficiency.

While most of Kathryn E. Cherry's honors have been won in Missouri, quite a bit of her time has been spent at the picturesque places along the North Shore of Massachusetts, and it is there that she finds many themes for her canvases. (Witness our cover.) A student of the St. Louis and New York Schools of Fine Arts, she later spent a year abroad. Since 1918 "First Prize," "Honorable Mention," "Grand Prize" have been familiar words to her at the annual salons in St. Louis and Sedalia, Missouri. In 1923 she was awarded the Art Institute Gold Medal at Kansas City, and Honorable Mention at the Artists' Week Exhibition in Philadelphia. She is a member of the St. Louis Artists' Guild, the Chicago Arts Club, Rockport Society of Artists and the North Shore Society of Artists. The Boston Society of Arts and Crafts voted her a "Master Craftsman."

Concerning Taxes

SHALL taxes be lowered, or not? Secretary Mellon has thrown the ball, and a lively scrimmage is due when Congress opens. With a surplus of something like $300,000,000 indicated for the next four or five years, the Secretary of the Treasury proposes a program containing these points: reduction of the present normal tax on personal income from 4 per cent to 3, or from 8 per cent to 6; reduction of surtax rates, to begin on incomes of $10,000 instead of $6,000, and be scaled upward until they reach 25 per cent at $100,000. Mr. Mellon claims that this will bring *more* revenue from surtaxes because capital will not so extensively seek tax-exempt securities—a point at which the program will be hotly fought by radicals and liberals in Congress.

All this can be done, he says, only in case we have no soldier bonus. That is another phase of the coming fight. Bonus pledges vs. the popular appeal of lower taxes will present a menacing dilemma for many congressmen.

Golden Rule Sunday

THE Near East Relief has a new idea for securing help for the thousands of refugee orphans in its care—children whom war and persecution have left without mother, father or country. It is International Golden Rule Sunday, to be observed on December 2. And this is the manner of observing: You agree on that day to provide for your family a dinner as nearly as possible like that which these myriad orphans *hope* to have every day. You give the difference between the cost of that simple meal and your usual Sunday dinner to the Near East, to realize those children's hope. If you will tell the Near East, at 151 Fifth Avenue, New York (or a state office) that you will enlist, they will send you full information at once.

About Dryness, Railroads and Presidential Possibilities

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Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

November 8, 1923

IF there were real progress to report in the field of foreign relations, specifically the proposed allied reparations conference, other than "watchful waiting," then that development would be the main theme of this letter. Our attitude toward Europe now is the pivot not only of world affairs but increasingly of our domestic fortunes. As there is no progress, the main thing is to consider the continued lashing of prohibition and its direct connection with Presidential candidates.

Governor Pinchot is more and more talked of. Secretary Mellon has done his best, in official correspondence with Mr. Pinchot to tell him that he did not know what he was talking about in his recent broadsides against the loose enforcement of the liquor law. And that it was nonsense to think prohibition was not being rigidly administered; that such laxness as Governor Pinchot complained of was not general. Your correspondent had a personal experience in Washington on the day of this forward pass between Secretary Mellon and Governor Pinchot, and it may serve many women as an illustration (which needs no argument) of the extent of prohibition enforcement even at the seat of government.

Enforcement?

A few days ago an organization of professional women here held a luncheon at a hotel situated four or five blocks away from federal enforcement headquarters.

When the women gathered, much to their chagrin it was discovered that the private dining-room allotted to them was full of a jolly lot of men eating lunch. The table reserved for the women appeared to be a bountiful one in the main dining-room. The manager was apologetic. "Very sorry," he said, "but my assistant got drunk, made engagements without my knowledge and consent, and has given your room to the Grocers' Association. I regret it exceedingly. Can't I send in something to make up a little? How would you like sunshine cocktails?"

The President of the women's organization, in a matter-of-fact and unsuspecting mood, thinking of ice-cooled orange juice with maraschino and a cherry, acquiesced.

After the fattened calves had been served, waiters appeared up and down the long table with small thin glasses of the stuff. It was dry and strong: some kind of colored gin. Guests in the dining-room sniffed the air. Several members of the luncheon party who caught the fragrance, left it standing.

Now this is as dry as it is a few blocks from Secretary Mellon's and Prohibition Commissioner Haynes's offices. It seemed to a good many women in Washington that this was sufficient answer to Governor Pinchot as to whether or not there was truth in his statement regarding lax enforcement.

There are some at the capital who would vote for Governor Pinchot today for President, feeling that the slate of Presidential candidates contains little that signifies definite issues except the name of Gifford Pinchot. They think they know where he is going to be found.

Wayne B. Wheeler, general counsel of the Anti-Saloon League, has issued a statement practically repudiating Governor Pinchot and complimenting Secretary Mellon and the federal enforcement authorities on the conduct of this work, expressing great hope for success in the future if state authorities increasingly co-operate. To the uninitiated this might seem a dramatic situation and one that would deprive Governor Pinchot of a large amount of political following that would have been his as a dry leader endorsed by the League. But we must look farther than that. The history of the Anti-Saloon League shows that its tactics are to operate through the strongest agencies possible. That is, to work through the major parties and established administrations to the best advantage. The heads of the Anti-Saloon League know every move in the game of corralling the most effective support for the cause. They know when to move and how; they are thoroughly familiar with the ways of politicians, elections, campaigns, parties, and have personal contact with all the important political elements of the capital. With this in view, it can be understood that Mr. Wheeler, looking over the field, decided he could make more headway through the regular arm of the Republican Party.

Dry and Liberal

Moreover, the Anti-Saloon League general counsel is politically wise enough to make another analysis which would make him come to such a conclusion, viz.: the main support and sympathy for Governor Pinchot outside Pennsylvania comes from the liberal element in politics. He is considered as an outstanding hope among the liberals here. But their endorsement of him is not because he is vehemently pushing prohibition enforcement; but because they believe he and his wife are liberals, and that if Mr. Pinchot held the reins of government, the liberal theories would flourish. Many of these constituents, however, are wet, and it is a curious situation that they can overlook his dryness in the general cause of liberalism. So an endorsement of Governor Pinchot by the Anti-Saloon League might profit it little in the long run if this course of comment prevailing here is a correct interpretation.

"Congratulations on your publication of the results which the prohibition unit has secured in the enforcement of

the eighteenth amendment," Mr. Wheeler wrote to Secretary Mellon.

Yet it is all too obvious by personal experience at the capital that something besides congratulations is needed from every woman in the country if the United States is to be anything but a disgraceful example to other countries struggling today with the wet or dry problem.

William Gibbs McAdoo has been here during the week, apparently in the hands of a group of men who want to control his political future. He has been particularly silent and has limited his discourse to friendly groups and a story or two. He told about being in Kansas lately when a line of women approached him to shake hands. Nearly all of them greeted him cordially, hoped he would be President, and so on, to which he replied that he hoped a much better man that he would succeed and all that, until a woman put her face up to his and said with great finality, "Mr. McAdoo, you will never be President of the United States." That, he said, relieved his mind immensely. His presence here aroused considerable speculation and it is expected that he will make some kind of an enlightening statement before long. But this has been a season of interim, and every day it has been prophesied that somebody would throw his hat into the ring, particularly Senator Hiram Johnson, whose hat must have been off and on almost continually during the past two weeks. The candidates seem slow in announcing themselves, probably due to our befuddled foreign situation upon which they know not where to stand.

In a tentative list of Presidential possibilities there are the following: President Coolidge, William Gibbs McAdoo, Gifford Pinchot, Oscar W. Underwood, Hiram Johnson and John W. Davis. There is an occasional reference to Secretary Hughes, but it is idle to make anything definite out of it.

McAdoo's Railroad Views

Mr. McAdoo came to Washington filled with a plan for unraveling the gigantic railroad problem confronting the country. In financial and railroad matters Mr. McAdoo's judgment is treated with respect. He was one of the most productive Secretaries of the Treasury the country has had and his accomplishment in putting through with phenomenal success the great war loans made him an international figure. As Director General of the Railroads during war-time, he enlarged a field in which he previously had been an expert. His solution now is not far distant from the conclusions of Senator Cummins, chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Upper House. In the main Mr. McAdoo wants to develop compulsory consolidation, and it is likely that he soon will make a public detailed explanation of his theory. All his talk about the better man than he whom he wants in the White House is typical of a certain kind of Southern pleasantry. Mr. McAdoo is full of the Southern lingo and his accent sounds as if he had been born, bred and lived all his life in the cotton belt. He wants to be in the White House, for one thing, so that he can carry out his railroad plan.

Cummins Changes

Senator Cummins lately has given President Coolidge the benefit of his experience in transportation matters; his main argument being along the line of legislation to enforce the dividing of the railroads into a few groups, which system was recommended by the last Transportation Act passed by Congress but not made compulsory. Senator Cummins now wants to make it a matter of law. President Coolidge thinks so highly of Senator Cummins's advice that it is assumed that the part of his message having to do with railroads will follow Senator Cummins's recommendations.

President Wilson, as would be natural, has seen considerable of Mr. McAdoo this week. Washington again is making ready for a sizable demonstration in front of Mr. Wilson's home on Armistice Day, November 11.

It would be an inspiration to anybody to see one of these demonstrations. They are founded purely on the past. They have nothing to do with the immediate satisfaction which a bystander might get for two or three minutes in seeing Mr. Wilson stand in the doorway and bow. He can be seen for a much longer time any day of the week riding around Washington. So it is purely a pilgrimage of honor which takes so many hundreds of people to the S Street house to pay their respects. This year the former President has consented to make a ten-minute speech on the significance of Armistice Day, which will be carried by radio all over the country. This is the first speech of this length that he has made since his departure from the White House.

But the Wilson home has been less of a closed shrine lately. Mr. Lloyd George with his wife and daughter went there at tea time and apparently renewed, with the former President, the intimate relations of their days together at Versailles. Certainly events by this time have shown Mr. Wilson that the human effort of any one man is hardly able to make an impression upon the frightful tangle in world affairs. That he has not been the only man to succumb before it. That the measure of a man's worth has not been his actual concrete accomplishment in treaties and world associations, but the impress of idealism, of spiritual principles and forward-looking civilization left by his efforts. One after another, British statesmen have tried it. One after another, French premiers have battled for the French demands. One after another of the ablest German economists have tried to accomplish the situation from the German viewpoint, and one after another American statesmen have given all they had and come no nearer a solution. Senators are returning to the capital from Europe, one by one, and after having met the political leaders of Europe, talked with them personally, and made a first-hand investigation, they have nothing more constructive to offer than they had before they went. In fact, Senator Medill McCormick's broadside against joining any reparation conference is typical of the reaction. It was filled with non-constructive wrath, and it was poorly received. In fact, it was nicely characterized by Senator McCormick's irreconcilable mate, Senator Brandegee, who, the day after, said in his shrill treble,

"Well, Medill got a bad press."

The Great Question

The capital has been eagerly awaiting some intimation of what transpired when Ambassador Jusserand and Secretary Hughes held a two-hour conference when the Ambassador returned the other day from France. When Ambassador Jusserand came out, he was in a genial frame of mind and said that undoubtedly Mr. Hughes would make the disclosures as to what had gone on within. On the other hand, Mr. Hughes had no such intention and it is not known where the matter stands, with the exception that both the President and Mr. Hughes think very little of the restrictions placed upon such a conference by Premier Poincaré. They see nothing to be gained in a parley limited to the fixation of only what Germany could pay today, and having no consideration of the whole situation. It is admitted by all economic experts that what Germany could pay today is negligible; therefore the main part of the problem is the practicability and course of ultimate payments. The atmosphere surrounding the proposal for a reparation conference is not nearly as satisfactory as it was upon its initiation and acceptance by the American Government. As I wrote in the last letter, the attitude and action of France determines the whole course for good or evil. Premier Poincaré has sent further instructions to Ambassador Jusserand as I write.

Two hearings and investigations are going on here which are of considerable importance.

One is the investigation of the oil-

(*Continued on page* 27)

Mary Bartelme, Friend in Court

By T. S. Stribling

Author of "Birthright," "Fombombo," Etc.

THE Chicago policeman scratched his head and reflected, "Judge Bartelme . . . Bartelme . . . his court must be out on the West side. . . ."

"It isn't 'his court,'" I interrupted, "it's 'her court.'"

The blue one was astonished. "A woman judge in Chicago!"

"And by far the best known in town," I insisted, faintly incensed at his lack of information. "I was sent here from New York to interview her."

"Well," said the officer, "if there is such a judge, you'll find her name over at the city hall; they've got a list over there which has the name of every judge in Chicago, so if there really is such a judge," he waved his club with a logical gesture, "then her name is bound to be in that list. Two blocks west, four north."

[*Here we interrupt to say that while the policeman ought to have known the name of Bartelme, he wasn't so much to blame as Mr. Stribling thought. It was our fault. We wrote asking Mr. Stribling please to look up Judge Bartelme for us, and failed to explain that she was really to be called Miss Bartelme, because her official position was assistant to the Judge of the Juvenile Court. But we aren't changing it because his use of the very often-used title was prophetic. At the election just past Miss Bartelme was elected by a sound majority on the Republican ticket to be judge of the Circuit Court—the first time that a woman has been elevated to a court of such high distinction in Illinois.*]

Miss Mary Bartelme's court for girls is on the ninth floor of the Chicago City Hall in the southern wing of the building. It consists of a suite of three rooms, a large room and two small anterooms. The little antechamber in the middle is Miss Bartelme's court room. The big room on the right is merely where the principals, witnesses and probation officers foregather. The second little antechamber on the left is Miss Bartelme's private office.

I waited in the entry of this private office for about fifteen minutes and watched Miss Bartelme's private secretary copy a legal-looking document on a typewriter. This private secretary was a large black-haired woman; and following the axiom, like master, like man, I amused myself by deciding, as I sat there, that Judge Bartelme was a somewhat larger woman with, though I was a little dubious on this point, somewhat blacker hair.

Just as I had finished deducing her personal appearance, the door of the private office opened and sure enough,

Underwood, N. Y.

Mary M. Bartelme, new judge of the Circuit Court of Cook County, whose election is hailed with joy

out came a somewhat larger woman with brown hair (my mistake) and a decidedly judicial manner, and following her came a small motherly woman with gray hair, quite white in front. This little woman, I decided, had come to see about her daughter; so I extended my hand to the large, brown-haired, matronly one and began:

"Judge Bartelme, an editor friend of mine in New York sent me here to . . ."

The large, brown-haired woman waved my introduction to the little gray-haired woman who had come to see about her daughter, and said, "This is Miss Bartelme, if you please."

I oriented myself socially the best I could and shook hands with Miss Bartelme. After all, while deductions are very good things, one ought not to grow too personal with them. But still I was right on one point—the little gray-haired woman really was in the court looking after her daughters.

Now all three of these women, Miss Bartelme, her secretary, and the probation officer, seemed very, very busy, and as I came from the South where we make a special point of never doing anything when we are busy, I suggested to Miss Bartelme that I put off my interview till she was at leisure.

She laughed as she waved me into a chair, "You'll have to talk to me busy or not at all. I'm this way every day, all day long; and now what would you like me to tell you?"

"About you and your work and how you got into it," I outlined.

She paused a moment, collecting her past, and then began speaking in a low but rather rapid voice. Occasionally at the beginning of one of her sentences she would repeat a word two or three times as if she were afflicted with a slight impediment in her speech. This never occurred amidsentence. It seemed on the whole more the result of her haste in speaking than anything else.

She said after she had been graduated in law from the Northwestern University she went immediately into practice in the Probate Court of Cook County, and after some time at this bar, Judge C. C. Kohlsaat asked the Governor of Illinois to appoint her as public guardian. This brought her in intimate touch with endless estates, "from fifty dollars up," and naturally placed her in a responsible position toward many children and orphans.

While she was at this work, some of the children under her charge would now and then appear before the Juvenile Court, and on such occasions the Juvenile Court Judge fell in the way of asking the public guardian's advice on such matters owing to her close touch with the children. However, this work was very difficult and carried with it very little pay, and after seventeen years of this service, Miss Mary Bartelme resigned her office.

In 1913 Judge Pinckney was the Juvenile Court Judge in Chicago and he refused to handle any more of the girls' cases brought before him, saying it was impossible for him as a man to ask the girls the necessary questions, or to obtain their full confidence, and that therefore he could not do them justice. He asked the Governor to appoint a woman to act as assistant to him in his Juvenile Court work. The Governor acted upon his suggestion and appointed Miss Bartelme as Assistant to the Judge of the Juvenile Court of Cook County. And in this office she takes the evidence and makes recommendations in all girls' cases where the girl is under eighteen years of age.

Miss Bartelme's court procedure marks her sense of the different legal technique suitable for children. As I have said, the large, legal-looking room on the left of her suite is not her court room at all, but simply a place for the

witnesses and principals. The court room proper is the little anteroom in the center of the suite. As we sat talking she told me that she did not admit men to her court room, but that if I would walk around very quietly and get into a chair which I would see in the corner, it would be all right that morning. So I went out of her private office into the hallway, walked around through the big assembly room, and one of the probation officers turned me into the little court room, and sure enough there was a chair in the corner where I could sit on this especial occasion.

The court room itself was rather less in size than an ordinary living room; it had two or three chairs in it for a girl and her mother or friends. Behind a plain table sat Miss Bartelme and her secretary. I suppose the correct name for the woman who kept the books would be the Clerk of the Court, but in this little room with pictures on the wall and its homey atmosphere, the woman with the books could hardly hope for a title more dignified than Miss Bartelme's secretary.

Presently the door of the big room opened and a little Negro girl of about thirteen came in and stood immediately before the table with her hands on it. The probation officer who stood at her side said this little girl had been "taking things" and also "keeping bad company."

Miss Bartelme asked this and that question of the child, of the probation officer, "Did she take this, and that? Did she have any work? Did she go to school? What grade? Would she like to go to school again?" etc., etc. Her questions dwelt more on the pleasant things a girl would like to do. When she came to the "bad company" phase, Miss Bartelme put out her hand, led the little girl around the table and into her arms and sat whispering her questions while the little Negro child stood faintly nodding or shaking her head. At last on some inconclusive point, Miss Bartelme said:

"Now Annie, will you come back here Friday?"

The child said she would.

"Will that be convenient for you?"—as solicitously as to a friend.

Annie said it would be convenient.

And that was all the appearance bond required.

I asked Miss Bartelme what she finally did with her girls.

"If they haven't proper homes," she said, "we give them one. I began the idea by renting a little six-room flat and finding a woman who would attend to it. When I found the woman I thought would do, I said, 'Now I am going to give you these children to be your children, and I want you to treat them so.'" (*Continued on page* 27)

Choosing the President

By Schuyler C. Wallace

THE opening guns of the presidential campaign have already been fired. Gossip and speculation concerning presidential possibilities pervade the news columns. Skillful press agents for this or that aspirant are quietly securing the insertion in the Sunday supplements of human interest stories portraying their employers in their most appealing moods. Gradually the suggestions as to potential aspirants become more definite. Then follow speeches and interviews designed to test the strength of the respective candidates. Finally, if the "feelers" have disclosed sufficient strength, with an announcement that "his hat is in the ring" the candidate stands forth.

Meanwhile, chambers of commerce, newspapers, and other organizations the country over, begin "drives" to bring one or the other of the conventions to their city. The National Committees busy themselves considering the inducements offered by this city and that, finally deciding where the conventions shall be held and the time of meeting. The call for the meeting includes an apportionment of delegates. The Democratic party retains the traditional representation, two delegates for each representative and senator the state returns to Congress. Thirty-four extra members of the convention are divided among the territories and possessions.

The peculiar situation of the Republican party in the South, in certain sections of which it is known by reputation only, has caused this party to abandon the traditional apportionment of delegates and adopt one more nearly representative of party strength. The new basis has but recently been announced. Each state is to have at least four delegates-at-large and two additional ones for each representative-at-large in Congress. As a reward for faithful service two other delegates to be elected in a similar manner are allowed to all states which cast their electoral vote for the Republican nominee at the preceding presidential election. One district delegate is allowed to each Congressional district containing 2,500 Republican voters, a second one if the district contains 10,000 Republican voters as indicated by the preceding national election. The new distribution is expected to eliminate some of the "rotten boroughs" which have existed heretofore.

Having completed the arrangements for the convention the National Committee temporarily retires.

The center of the stage is now occupied by the aspirants for nomination. In some states they actively campaign to secure delegates pledged to their support; in others "gumshoe" methods are used.

Delegates are actually chosen in three main ways—through the primaries, through conventions, and through state committees. Seventeen states select their delegates through the primaries; twenty-nine through state conventions; and four through state committees. Two general types of primary exist—the unpledged direct primary and the presidential preferential primary. The two are not mutually exclusive, for the first is concerned with the election of delegates,[1] whereas the second deals with the expression of preference by the voters between the aspirants for nomination.[2] The preferential feature takes two forms, direct and indirect. Where the indirect preference primary exists, candidates for election as delegates may, but need not, indicate the aspirant for nomination whom they prefer. The direct preference primary permits the voter to indicate directly on the ballot which of the aspirants for nomination he inclines to support.[3]

Although a number of difficult problems still remain to be worked out in connection with the preferential primary, not least among which are the questions as to whether district or state preference should hold, and how long the mandate of the voters should be binding as the balloting at the convention continues, nevertheless it has the great advantage of bringing the fight out into the open. "From the very start candidates and

[1] The direct primary is found at present in Ala., Cal., Fla., Ill. (district delegates only), Mass., Mont., Neb., N. H., N. J., N. Y. (district delegates only), N. D., Ohio, Ore., Pa., S. D., W. Va.

[2] The Presidential preference primary is found in Cal., Fla., La., Ill., Me., Mass., Mich., Mont., Neb., N. J., N. C., N. D., Ohio, Ore., Pa., S. D., Vt., W. Va., and Wis.

[3] The primary requirements of any particular state can be found by writing to the Secretary of State of the particular state and obtaining a copy of the election and primary laws.

their supporters are under public observation, so that the 'gumshoe stalking of delegates,' and the secret buying of convention votes are at all events made more difficult." The convention system, nevertheless, still holds its own in the majority of states.[4] In Arizona, Arkansas, Louisiana and Washington the state committees have the power to select the delegates.

As the days for the choice of delegates roll round, the aspirants and their supporters become more and more active. In those states having the presidential preference primary an intense campaign often takes place. Frequently, however, the "organization" prefers to go to the national convention fancy free, believing that it can thus obtain more patronage and concessions for its state from the successful aspirant. In such a case it is not unusual for it to select a man of local prominence and pledge support to him, knowing full well that he will never be taken seriously by the nation and that the "organization" will be *in fact* free to trade and bargain. By cleverly appealing to local pride it can very often defeat in the local primaries all efforts to secure pledged delegations by even the most popular of national figures. This is in great part the reason for "favorite sons," most of whom are unknown beyond the boundaries of their own states.

These tactics can only be defeated by the admirers of this or that prominent aspirant, who persuade the machine to endorse their candidate, or else, if that is impossible, split the organization and with the aid of the independents put across a slate of their own in the primary. A still more difficult task is to defeat a united machine by an appeal to the independent party vote. The fact that there are often several prominent aspirants in the field, splitting the non-organization vote among them, makes this last almost, if not altogether, impossible, especially where the convention system of electing delegates exists. Most intense campaigning on the part of the independents alone can "turn the trick."

Convention in Session

By the time the pre-convention campaigns are over, the country has a fair idea who will be the leading candidates at the convention. Gossip and speculation, rife before, now increase a thousand fold. The country waits for the conventions to assemble.

At the appointed time delegates begin streaming into a city already thronged with the curious, already decorated with streamers and banners and flags, already studded with the "headquarters" of this aspirant and that. Each state delegation sets up its headquarters in a hotel and trumpets to the assembled throngs its arrival by signs and posters, and sometimes with the blare of a brass band. There it is that leaflets revealing the most intimate details of the aspirant's glorious life, and badges bearing his name, his likeness and his slogan, are distributed to all comers. There it is that interviews, exhortation and persuasion abound. There the bargain which will determine the presidency may be struck.

It takes considerable machinery to elect a President, and it is set in motion early. Every woman who plans to take a hand next year should be sure she understands the process. This article by Dr. Wallace, in the Columbia University series, makes that easy. Next time Dr. Wallace will tell the story of the formation of the Constitution of the United States.

Outlines of the course which these articles parallel may be obtained by writing to the WOMAN CITIZEN.

The convention assembles. The chairman of the national committee takes the chair and the machinery for selecting a presidential candidate is in operation. Prayer is offered, the Star Spangled Banner sung; the official photograph of the convention taken, the call for the convention read; a temporary chairman proposed and elected, and temporary rules are adopted. After the "keynote speech," the appointment of committees takes place. There are five great committees: credentials, rules, permanent organization, resolutions, and the national committee. All, with the exception of the last, are chosen by the state delegations at the convention, one member from each state. The membership of the national committee may be chosen at this stage of the proceedings or later, it may be chosen by the state delegation, or it may be that the state representative has already been chosen at the polls by the party voters on primary day.

Usually the credentials committee is ready at the opening of the second day of the convention. It goes over the temporary roll prepared by the National Committee and renders final decisions in all contests save in those rare cases when the convention itself intervenes.

The report of the committee on credentials is usually followed by the report of the committee on permanent organization, and then by the committee on rules and order of business. If the committee on resolutions is ready the platform is then considered; if not, reminiscences and song fill the interval. When the platform has been prepared it is brought in and may either go through with slight comment and great applause, or may stir up controversy to the point that it threatens to wreck the convention. After the platform has been settled, resolutions are in order.

They Say It with Words

Then begins the alphabetical roll of the states—and nominations. If a state has no nominee of its own, it yields to another state, maybe far down the alphabet. Nominating speeches, seconding speeches, applause and hisses fill the hall. The peroration of a nominating speech calls forth a demonstration, spontaneous or artificial, which may last for minutes or for hours. The proceedings of the Republican Convention of 1920 record the following:

"Governor Allen concluded his nominating speech at 10:26 A. M., and the concluding mention of the name 'Leonard Wood' was the signal for uproarious applause. A member of the Kansas delegation seized the Kansas banner and followed by other members of that and other delegations proceeded to march around the hall, delegates carrying flags, pictures of Leonard Wood, and blue and red feathers marked 'Wood' while thousands of others, similarly marked, rained down from the roof of the convention hall.

"At 10:45 a. m. the Permanent Chairman rapped for order, but as it brought forth a fresh volume of cheering, he resumed his seat.

"At 11 o'clock a.m. the Permanent Chairman rapped again for order, the cheering having in large measure subsided, but he was again greeted with a great volume of applause and cries of 'We Want Wood! We Want Wood!'

"At 11:04 a.m. the cheering having in great measure subsided, the Permanent Chairman rapped for order, and at 11:05 a. m. the majority of the delegates were again in their seats, but the galleries were still enthusiastically applauding."

And thus the business of the convention goes on, resembling more than anything else revival meetings of the Holy Rollers or "pep rallies" of a student body. Language, the excess of which seems ludicrous when read in calm reflection, is quite the usual thing. The tenseness of the moment seems to call for the use of nothing save superlatives. The concluding paragraph of John Wescott's speech nominating Mr. Wilson in 1916 furnishes an example.

"Sons of America, keep unsullied the sacred shrine of peace through whose portals will yet pass arm in arm the crowned head and the humble peasant in silent worship of God. . . . Therefore, my fellow countrymen, not I, but his deeds and achievements; not I, but the spirit and purpose of America; not I, but the prayers of just men; not I, but civilization itself, nominate to succeed himself to the presidency of the United States, to the presidency of 100,000,000 free people, bound in impregnable union, the scholar, the statesman, the financier, the emancipator, the pacificator, the moral leader of democracy, Woodrow Wilson."

Well may the question be raised: "Is an institution which creates an atmo-

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[4] Col., Conn., Del., Ga., Ida., Ill. (delegates-at-large only), Ind., Iowa, Kan., Ky., Me., Mass. (following presidential primary of May 5), Mich., Minn., Miss., Mo., Nev., N. H., N. Y. (delegates-at-large only), N. C. (delegates-at-large only. District elegates chosen by district conventions), Okla., R. I., S. C., Tenn., Tex., Utah, Vt., Va., and Wyo. still retain the convention system.

Where East Is Mistakenly Western

An Interview with Sherwood Eddy

By Mildred Adams

SHERWOOD EDDY is back from the Orient with a precious cargo of information concerning industrial conditions among the men, women and children working there. Now Y. M. C. A. secretary for Asia, and assistant secretary of the International Committee of the "Y," he has a background of fifteen years' service in India, so that his present observations are based on long knowledge of the countries and the people. This makes the more compelling his measured statement that "industrial conditions in the Orient surpass the shocking histories of the English industrial revolution of the eighteenth century."

"Especially is this true in China. The Chinese have imported the most modern machinery, the latest mechanical inventions of the western world. They have taken advantage of all we have learned in terms of iron and steel. But from our experience with the human factor in industry, they have learned nothing. They are starting as we started a hundred and fifty years ago, working their laborers sixteen and eighteen hours a day, underpaying them, crowding them into hovels, and thrusting women and children into the factories with a reckless disregard for the future."

His eyes grew troubled as he seemed to look into dark years ahead. It was obviously difficult to come back to his neat office.

"Modern industry is a terrific invasion to China, for it finds a social environment as little prepared for it as was mediaeval Europe. Up to thirty years ago, industry was confined to simple handicrafts, and people worked at home or in primitive factories. Now there are modern soap and candle factories, match factories which use the maiming chemicals outlawed in more progressive countries, knitting mills, canneries, engineering works, modern silk filatures, railway shops, woolen factories—most of the industrials found in a commercial western country. Capital and machinery is already organized and powerful, but the third factor, labor, is still dazed by the change, and is cheap and helpless.

"The cheapest and most helpless of the workers are the women and children. They will accept lower wages than men, and they are tragically docile and long-suffering. I saw women working with babies strapped to their backs. More than one woman working patiently at a machine had her baby bound to her

Courtesy, Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions

For twenty-seven cents a day

breast so that she could nurse it without stopping the busy motion of her hands and feet. As the children grow older, they play around among the machinery. Those who escape injury learn to do odd jobs, and at six, seven, and eight years of age they are regularly employed.

"In one silk filature, whose thousand employees work from five-thirty in the morning to six at night, we found little girls of six, earning ten cents a day. They labor in the hot steam, manipulating cocoons in boiling water. The employers say the agile hands of little children are best for this rapid work. And the supply of little children seems endless in China."

No, we can't throw stones at the Orient, for bad labor conditions. We are still too dismally far from universal fair play and efficiency. Instances are easy to cite—for one, our lack of a national child labor law. But unhappily the worst, not the best, of our example is being followed in the East. All the more reason for applying, and raising, our own standards.

According to statistics furnished to Mr. Eddy, the average wages of Chinese women in some twenty-nine of the principal industries range from four and three-quarter cents to eighteen cents a day, while the average wages of men range from four and a half to thirty-seven cents. Compared with the figures for minimum living wage, some forty per cent of the population live below the poverty line.

"There are literally no labor laws of any kind enforced," he continued. "I say 'enforced' because there are a few so-called laws written on paper by courteous Chinese officials to oblige outside pressure. But they mean nothing in practice. The twelve-hour day prevails in nearly all modern factories. Certain coal mines in the north work a 24-hour shift underground, with 12 hours free above. Twelve to eighteen hours a day, *seven days a week*, is the rule in the primitive factories.

"Some of the worst ones do not pay their laborers even the meager wage I have quoted. We visited one rug factory which makes the beautiful Chinese rugs prized by wealthy Americans. Men and boys work here for sixteen hours a day. Most of the boys serve as apprentices for a three-year period, receiving only their food. At the end of that time they find themselves discharged, their places filled by other boys who will in turn work for three years without pay, and be discharged.

"Of course there are no compensation laws, no safety rules, no industrial insurance. A few factories are making a tentative beginning toward a more intelligent labor policy, but these are in the very small minority.

"Who is responsible? Every one. Foreigners and Chinese alike exploit the hordes of cheap labor. Factories under foreign management usually set a slightly higher standard, because their owners have grown up in a tradition of better conditions. But no one is immune from the temptation of driving a cheap, docile, and apparently endless supply of labor as hard as possible."

"Is that true only in China, Mr. Eddy?"

He shook his head. "Conditions in Japan, the Japan of pre-earthquake days, are only slightly better. Like China, her industries have grown at a startling rate. In thirty years the total number of factory workers increased from twenty-five thousand to over a million and a half.

"One of the most noticeable things is the terrific strain to which the whole population is subjected. Japan is in the grip of world competition, and is being ground between the massed wealth and efficient industrial organization of the Occident, and the cheap labor of China, which can underlive and over-work Japanese labor.

"Nevertheless, Japan has had the courage to start improving industrial conditions. A factory law was enacted in 1911 to make working easier for women and children. It prohibited the labor of children under twelve, fixed a maximum twelve-hour day for women and children, and allowed them two holidays a month. Even though this seems so pitifully inadequate, and is only partially in force, it has resulted in a slight reduction of child labor.

"A rough estimate puts the number of Japanese child operatives at 1,397,000—many thousands of them below the legal age. In Shinsu nearly a third of the workers are between ten and fifteen years old. The fathers are paid forty to sixty dollars for each child delivered to the factory, where they are kept in dormitories which are virtually prisons.

"Conditions among women workers are probably worst in the mines. In 1920, out of 439,150 Japanese miners, 108,300 were women, and of these considerably more than half were working underground. Stripped to the waist, they work twelve-hour shifts, pushing coal cars to the shafts."

Mr. Eddy stopped to hunt out figures that showed Japanese wages to be slightly higher than in China, but the cost of living very much higher. The average wage for women is twenty-seven cents a day, though in the poorer industries they make only twenty cents. Men earn an average of fifty-five cents a day and the most that a skilled worker ever makes is two dollars.

"You see," he continued, "how natural it is that an active spirit of unrest is rising among Japanese laborers. Better organized than the Chinese, they have gone farther into the study of workers' groups in other countries. They are continually and actively opposed by the government, but this persecution only serves to bring them closer together. The government caught a glimpse of the fierce spirit underlying labor's patience in the 1918 riots, but it has not seemed to teach them the lesson of co-operation and fair dealing which they must learn if they would avert serious trouble."

"Is the whole Orient going through this industrial revolution?"

Mr. Eddy nodded. "Practically all of it. A curious anomaly prevails in India, where labor works under better conditions, and is worse off, than in either China or Japan. This is due to the basic fact of India's poverty, and the hundreds of years of destitution her people have suffered. The per capita income is only $17.66 a year, whereas the cost of living for a family of four at the minimum standard runs from $67.92 to $96 according to the location. This means for tens of millions perpetual poverty and actual hunger. Workers start with the handicap of tropical heat, hookworm, malaria, illiteracy, opium, bad housing, and a hundred kindred evils which follow widespread and continuous destitution. What wonder that the Indian laborer produces only a third as much as his British brother?

"The Indians owe their conditions of

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Nancy Red Cloud's Chances

By Estelle Aubrey Brown

ANY account, however brief, of the American Indian's reaction to the civilization being thrust upon him—often against his desire or ability to assimilate it—will abound with surprising incongruities. Three generations ago the famous Sioux Chief, Red Cloud, led his bedizened warriors against the encroaching whites, fighting gallantly in a cause already lost. To-day, the spiritless descendants of those warriors take their squashes and pumpkins and gawky yearlings to the reservation fairs, to compete for paltry prizes, after the fashion of the conquering pale faces.

So far, at least, the wild heart of the American Indian has been tamed.

Three generations ago, Red Cloud and his savage followers gave scanty thought to the hard-ridden plains horses they bestrode. Humane treatment of animals was beyond their comprehension. Today, Nancy Red Cloud, thirteen, full-blood great granddaughter of the intrepid old chief, is awarded one of the prizes offered by the American Humane Association for the best original posters depicting kindness to animals.

To this extent has the red man's apprehension of the humanities been broadened.

Nancy went to the Indian Fair this summer. She set up her tepee and stayed for several days. Just as country maidens everywhere don their finery for the county fair, so did Nancy dress up in her tribal garments. So did all the other Indians who were lucky enough to own any. Does the subdued warrior heart beat faster under this tribal raiment? Is a longing for the vanished glory of the war path revivified with the buckskin and feathers of these children of a race

In tribal garments, at the Indian fair

destined never to work out its own conception of life? For the Amerindians, as many ethnologists prefer to designate them, are a thwarted people, compelled to adopt alien ways and customs or perish. And what chance have they, when this foreign culture has been fastened upon them, of using it to become helpful members of the commonwealth that would absorb them?

What does the future hold of promise for Nancy Red Cloud?

Nancy lives on the Pine Ridge reservation. She walks two miles daily to one of the Day Schools maintained by the Federal Government on all Indian reserves. The winter climate of South Dakota has little to recommend it, yet during the entire school year of 1922 Nancy missed but two days in school. She made a full grade, with a general average of ninety, a record few full-blood pupils can equal. Nancy's teacher says of her that she is intelligent, ambitious and lovable.

On completing the Day School work, Nancy will probably enter the Pine Ridge Boarding School. Later, if her efforts here warrant, she will be sent to Haskell Institute, at Lawrence, Kansas, or to any one of several similar non-reservation schools, to complete her education. Let us consider her school days ended and Nancy a graduate of one of these institutions maintained for Indian youth.

How far has her education fitted Nancy for the duties of citizenship?—

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Editorially Speaking

A Telegram from Mrs. Catt

Mrs. Catt is on a speaking tour in the West. On the failure of the negotiations between France and the United States for a conference of experts on the capacity of Germany to pay, we wired her asking for a night letter giving her opinion of what the United States should do next in the face of the French limitations. Here is her answer, dated November 10:

THE entire world knows that until there is intervention in the matter of reparations and the Ruhr there will be no peace in the world. The terrible and far-reaching effects of that sorest of the world's sore spots are too great to allow a single nation, even though it be France, to stop procedure now. This nation should say to France:

"We aided you when you were direly beset with trouble. Now the greater cause of world peace calls us, and regretting your unwillingness to co-operate, the United States of America will heed the call."—CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

Let Women Wake Up

IN many places, prohibition is still a burning topic of discussion. Most women are for it in principle, and all good citizens, of course, are for the honest enforcement of the law. But neither all women nor all men are well enough informed to meet the current objections.

Very welcome, therefore, is "Save America," the admirable handbook of information lately brought out by the Women's National Committee for Law Enforcement, and edited by Mrs. Elizabeth Tilton, long a close student of the subject. It is a perfect arsenal of telling facts, illuminating statistics, and pungent quotations from distinguished men and women. There are conclusive answers to all the main objections; there is a showing up of the flood of skilful propaganda let loose by the enemies of law-enforcement; and there is a regular plan of campaign sketched out for its friends. Even those who have been life-long advocates of prohibition will find much new light in this volume.

It is often claimed that the Eighteenth Amendment was somehow "put over" by a minority. Before its adoption, 33 of the 48 states had prohibition laws, and out of the 2,543 counties in the United States, all but 305 had gone dry. It is hinted that the reform is losing ground in public opinion. In 1923, up to July 1, 24 states had strengthened their prohibition laws, while only one, New York, had repealed its enforcement code. It is claimed that there is more drinking under prohibition than under license, but in 1922 the deaths from alcoholism in 19 of the largest American cities were less than half as many as in 1916 and 1917, before prohibition was adopted. A long list of charitable organizations also report a marked decrease in the number of cases handled by them where the family distress is due to drink.

Nevertheless, there is a tremendous campaign on to nullify the law—a campaign largely financed by the European wine interests. The women need to be up and doing, and not the women only, but all good citizens. One of the best things they can do, as a beginning, is to read and circulate this book. It may be ordered from the National Committee for Law Enforcement, 302 Ford Building, Boston, Mass., price 25 cents post paid.

Mrs. Tilton says: "The other day I had a debate with one of the lawyers of the Association Opposed to National Prohibition. After I had finished, this friendly gentleman said, 'As you talked, I felt myself slipping; but then I saw your flaw. You believe the American man is better than he is. You think he will sacrifice his appetite to the good of the whole, but he won't. He wants to drink, and he's going to drink.'

"'But how about the American woman? She counts,' I said.

"'She will follow her man,' he said.

"'No,' I answered, 'where the welfare of the children is concerned the American man will follow his woman. Prohibition will win because, in the end, the American man will follow the sense of race-survival in the heart of the American woman.'"—ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

Judge Bartelme

THE addition of Mary Bartelme to the tiny list of women judges was a great triumph for women in the last election. For many years Miss Bartelme has been in public service, ten of them at her devoted work for girls in the Cook County Juvenile Court—which Mr. Stribling describes elsewhere in this number. Now, elected judge of the Circuit Court, she stays on, in a still more effective relation, with her chosen work. Chicago clubwomen wanted her, and worked for her; a woman managed her campaign; the women's vote was potent for her.

Judge Bartelme is the first woman in the history of Illinois to be elected to such a post. *More* such women are wanted on the bench—though there would be plenty to say there aren't any more like Mary Bartelme.

Modern Chivalry in Virginia

SPEAKING of elections, how about the state of Virginia with its stately traditions about women? It is now wholly clear—if anyone had a lingering doubt—that politics are not an unfit field for ladyhood, since two women have been chosen to sit in the next House of Delegates of Virginia. What with Mississippi's pioneering with a woman in the next Senate and one in the House, two councilwomen in Charleston, South Carolina, and now these Virginians, one may consider certain old ideas about the South exploded.

The Skyscraper Curse

JAPAN is to be congratulated that in her plans for rebuilding Tokio, destroyed by the earthquake and fire, she has escaped the modern mania for high buildings. In the residential section buildings are to be limited to three stories, while in the business districts they may not be more than one hundred feet in height. Streets are to be from 135 to 270 feet wide and the park acreage is to be doubled. Many canals will provide water transportation and will add very much to the beauty of the city.

One wonders at the tolerance of huge structures and congested population in the United States. When the skyscraper was an isolated structure it was often a picturesque landmark, but many streets of New York and other American cities have become narrow dark canyons between towering buildings which allow neither light nor air. The transportation problem that follows in the train of skyscrapers has never been solved, and human beings are packed in surface cars and subways in a manner which is indecent and often dangerous. The skyscraper has long ago invaded residential sections in many American cities and for miles uptown streets are lined with buildings housing thousands of families, bringing the

same problem of filled sidewalks and crowded traffic. Do Americans love the jostle and push of crowds, do they like the jam of traffic?

Zoning laws are greatly needed nearly everywhere. Definite, intelligent, farsighted planning for the development of a city needs to begin early—not only of a big city but of most communities. Such planning will not only conserve and stabilize property values but will add enormously to healthful and comfortable living. It is to be hoped that other countries besides Japan will avoid the coming of the American skyscraper.

An American engineer, recently returned from abroad, criticizes France because she is not rebuilding her devastated areas with what he calls modern methods. He finds great waste as a result of too much individualism. He admits that in building individualized homes, the French achieve beautiful and artistic results and that they build particularly well, but he would have large-scale production of homes and uniform houses built from standardized designs such as are found in Brooklyn, Philadelphia and other American cities.

We regard it as good news that in the face of their great need and superhuman difficulties the French will not tolerate ugliness and makeshifts, but insist on building permanently and according to their own artistic standards. One of the tragedies of the war was the wiping out of so much that was beautiful, the result of centuries of toil of an artistic nation. The world will be the richer if France rebuilds not according to American ideas, but in a manner true to her own ideals.

Housekeeping Help

THE Bureau of Home Economics has a new bit of help to offer on the housework problem. It has printed a chart designed like the face of two clocks, one for the morning and one for the afternoon, with the hour spaces divided into fifteen-minute periods. By marking off on the chart the time devoted to different activities, a housewife can judge the relative value of time spent and advantage gained.

We can hear the seasoned housekeeper snort—she has enough to do without spending time chalking up how long it takes her to do it! That won't help her to do it any faster, will it? Well—yes, it might. Any device for catching oneself at pottering is a good device, though that wasn't the moral expressed by the Bureau of Home Economics. We recommend the chart, however, particularly to the young housekeeper, whose habits haven't hardened, and who may be helped to a more intelligent planning of her day through studying its make-up.

Education Week

EDUCATION WEEK comes next—November 18 to 24—intended like all the other weeks, whether World Court or apples, to concentrate attention, increase information, and stimulate action. Education Week certainly ought to be *every* week for women. It is one problem on which every woman can work, locally if not nationally. Women can get close to the schools, find out what is wrong, encourage what is right, enter into understanding partnership with their children's teachers.

Women can serve on school boards, and the increasing number who are willing at any rate to run for election is encouraging. (A list of New York State women who ran this year is astonishingly long—though we don't know yet how many were elected!) It takes time, intelligence, devotion; there are in every community women, not too closely bound by family duties, who can give all three. Let's find them.

The Department of Education of the National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations has planned for what they call an Appreciation and Goodwill Day, to be observed on one day of Educational Week, to bring parents and friends closer to teacher and school. The good will they have in mind doesn't mean merely between parents and teachers, though; it means international good will, which must be taught to children as the only foundation of peace. And that can not be done by the school alone.

The Filipino Hope

WHETHER or not the Filipinos are anything like ready for the independence promised them by this country when they have demonstrated fitness for self-government, is not a question on which an offhand opinion can be formed. The newspaper despatches of the recent election and of the trouble last summer seem, however, to indicate that there is a growing native feeling which should have recognition. One thing is certain—that the right attitude is one of hopefulness and help toward the Filipino desire for independence. Possibly the time is not ripe, but we certainly ought to be very certain that our representatives are doing all possible to ripen it.—

Our Debt to the Disabled

A PAINFUL reflection for Armistice Day was the newest revelations about the Veterans' Bureau. Though the case is not yet concluded, the evidence of graft and neglect is heaped up. Most disturbing in the testimony are the new accounts of grave abuses in the award of compensation and vocational rehabilitation—deserving men slighted, undeserving winning through political pull, jobs awarded to the incompetent; cases some of them absurd if they weren't so flagrant, others bitterly tragic. Reviewing the entire story in the *New York Evening Post* (November 10), Harold A. Littledale says: "Personally, after four years of intimate association with the work, I have yet to see the first really rehabilitated veteran!"

One may as well admit that an organization of such colossal size, spending such huge sums of money, was bound to suffer from "predatory politicians." But that we should go on allowing the agency intended to pay a little of our debt to our disabled soldiers to be a political grab bag—it is all but incredible. Concerning the former Director of the Bureau, Colonel Forbes, whose testimony has not yet been given, judgment should be suspended. But whoever among the officials are finally found responsible, a great share of the blame belongs to the system under which the organization works. What an excellent place to apply, and enforce, Civil Service rulings.

The Right to Jail

HURRAH for the Nebraska women who are demanding their right to be sent to jail. According to the newspaper reports (we haven't time to get word direct) the Police Commissioner of Omaha ordered that women speeders should not be arrested and jailed, but that a "Golden Rule Summons" should be served on them instead. Now we don't know exactly what a Golden Rule Summons is, but it obviously is filled with chivalry, consideration, and condescension. The Omaha Women's Club and many other women will have none of it. They demand the "privilege of arrest"—that is, equal treatment, with over-gallantry omitted.

In the Readers' Guide

WE are happy to announce that for 1924 the WOMAN CITIZEN has been added to the list of periodicals indexed in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature published by the H. W. Wilson Company for libraries and reference rooms. Every one who really uses a library knows the value of this index, and we are certain our readers will be glad to have its help in consulting CITIZEN files. Magazines win a place in this Guide only through the vote of its subscribers.

What the American Woman Thinks

The American Peace Award

By Narcissa Cox Vanderlip

Member of the Policy Committee

THE most interesting aspect of the American Peace Award is the fact that it opened up the whole subject of our foreign policy to the consideration of the individual voter. It did this in two ways.

In the first place, it gave everybody in the country who had a good idea or plan by which the United States might co-operate with other nations looking toward the prevention of war, an opportunity to focus public attention on the plan. Our Committee has sometimes been asked whether we thought the rank and file voters were likely to produce a dream of statecraft which our greatest statesmen had failed to evolve. Our answer has been that the statesmen are quite free to submit plans under the terms of the award, and that there could be no possible harm and might be much good from increasing the sources of good ideas as to the achievement of world peace. There are in many places in this country, in universities, and indeed in every city and village, a few people who have for years been pondering the groundwork of world peace. The award gives them their opportunity.

The second way in which it is possible for you and me as individual voters to make our point of view count is in the referendum on the winning plan which will be conducted widely throughout the country in January. We think the Jury will have made its selection by January first. We hope the plan will be presented to the Senate by the President of the United States around February first. In that intervening month we want to submit the plan to the widest possible popular reaction. I think it would be extremely disappointing if every woman in the country who has a real concern for the prevention of war does not manage to vote in that referendum. Her opportunities to do so will come in two ways: Through the organizations to which she may belong, and through the daily press. We are prepared to supply to any community or to any individual as many copies of the text of the plan, accompanied by a coupon for voting, as she can use and distribute to her neighbors. The winning plan will be published widely, we hope, in the daily press, and we are asking editors to carry a coupon which readers may sign, expressing their approval or disapproval of the plans, and mail back to us. Any reader who, by either of these methods, fails to obtain a coupon, is certain at least to be able to read the plan in the press and may send us a yes or no vote upon it, accompanied by her name and address, and a statement as to whether she is a voter, on a post-card.

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This referendum is a vast undertaking. It aims to make sure that the plan when it goes to the Senate around February first, shall be accompanied by powerful evidence of popular opinion upon it. It is our opportunity to send a direct message to the Senate as to what we want that body to do. It is the only direct opportunity the American citizen has had to make his or her individual vote count in making possible a means by which the United States may cooperate with other nations looking toward the prevention of war. We hope every reader of the WOMAN CITIZEN will participate in the January referendum.

Where Peace is War

By Sarah Wambaugh

Who Attended the Fourth Assembly of the League of Nations and Came Home by Way of the Ruhr

LAST September I had watched the world trying to solve its troubles at Geneva. I had seen Ireland take its seat with the fifty-two other nations in the League, I had heard Austria give its thanks to the League for saving it from ruin and putting it on the road to prosperity, and I had heard Politis, the representative of Greece at Geneva, thank the League for its help in getting Mussolini out of Corfu. Peace had meant peace at Geneva in September. But on my way back to America from Switzerland I traveled through a country where peace means war, a war in one sense new, in another as ancient as Caesar himself. I mean of course the Rhineland and the Ruhr.

The very effort to travel through the Rhineland plunges you at once into a phase of this ancient struggle between France and Germany, for when you set out you do not know when you will reach your destination, or even whether the train will go all the way. At one place in our journey we were suddenly told that at the little town of Kierberg we must all leave the train and carry our luggage a mile and a half to another station. The rain was pouring and the prospect was black indeed, but it is an ill occupation which brings no one good. The small boys of Kierberg, a mixture of guardian angel and Shylock, were ready for our luggage with small carts hitched to dogs, and soon the whole train-full of us were clattering along behind the boys, around corners and over rain-soaked country roads, on the half-hour walk to the little station at Brühl.

At last I reached Düsseldorf, headquarters of the French occupation, and my first visit to the Ruhr was made from Düsseldorf in a French military car, which meant a comfortable limousine, with a German driver at the wheel and a tin-hatted French soldier by his side, his rifle ready for any emergency. I had also as escort one of the officers in charge of the French publicity.

I had come to the Ruhr to find what the people of both sides were thinking, so as we drove over the wooded hills to Essen I asked my French companion to tell me what the French occupation meant to him. He was a splendid type of Frenchman and nothing could have been finer than his spirit. By rights a teacher of German in a school in Paris, as well as a composer and musician, he had a warm appreciation, he said, of what he owed to German culture and philosophy, and moreover he had many good friends in Germany. He felt no bitterness against the Germans, but only against the Prussian philosophy of the state, which he blamed for the war. Though an officer and the son of an officer, he said he was a pacifist and was always working for peace. He would not allow his school boys to use the word "Boche" nor his own sons to play with leaden soldiers. It was from no love of a military occupation but for the sake of a real and permanent peace that he had left his school and come to the Ruhr, for a real peace could only be won by making the Ruhr capitalists surrender. That would happen now in a short time, he went on confidently, and soon, in a very few years,

we should see friendship between France and Germany.

Our escort left us at the door of the Essener Hof, Krupp's private hotel in Essen, and we set out to hear the German side. Our first interview was to be with one of the Krupp directors. As we walked down a narrow street lined with wooden fencing, it was hard to realize that behind those sooty boards stretched the miles of factory buildings from which had come such sorrow to the world. No war elation or excitement now. Only groups of workmen's wives, bareheaded, waiting patiently in the rain to buy potato rations against the coming famine.

At the entrance to the Krupp offices a porter handed us over to a small boy in buttons who left us in a pleasant waiting-room where we had time to look over the catalogues of the Krupp milk separators and Diesel engines and springs and medical instruments and dental plates that they are making now in place of the Big Berthas. Then we were taken up in an elevator, and at last found the director.

"We lost the War. Now we have lost the Ruhr war," were the director's first words, in perfect English. "And no one knows what will come next," he added, in a tone of quiet despair. Now that the Germans had dropped passive resistance the French had taken it up, he said, by refusing permission to relay tracks and wires and other things necessary to start work. "So," said the director, "we see now that the French do not want us to start work again. We see that they have decided that if they cannot get control of our industries for our French rivals, they want the Ruhr to die." The steel industry of the Ruhr could not keep on, he said, if the tax on coal were not removed, and the workmen did not give up the eight-hour day, that first and to them most precious fruit of the German Revolution of 1918. It was obvious that the Ruhr capitalists feel that they have two adversaries, the French and their own workmen.

But I was far more interested to know what was in the mind of the Ruhr working-men. Do they acknowledge the debt, and will they work now for France? These were the questions in my mind as I set out for my interview with a leader of the working-men in the Krupp factories.

I have seldom, in any country, met a more able or compelling personality than that of this young man, self-taught yet speaking with perfect lucidity of thought and in excellent English. With every word one felt the deep distrust of the Ruhr workmen for their own employers. He came to us direct from the Works Council and we learned that the order had just been given to cut down the week's working hours from forty-eight to thirty. The reason given by the Krupp directors had been lack of funds, but the workmen were suspicious that it was simply another attempt of the Ruhr capitalists to break the eight-hour day, for by reducing the workers wages so drastically they might hope to force their consent to a ten-hour day the week after. Wages were already cruelly low. A skilled man in the metal industry was getting only thirty-six million marks an hour while a loaf of bread cost sixty-six million. And, worse still, the money in his pay envelop would be cut in half by the fall of the mark before he had had time to put by enough to buy anything with it. To help themselves out of this morass of poverty, the workers had invented a plan by which ten men would club together and each contribute one hour's wages a week to one of their number who had then enough marks to buy for his family some necessity such as a pair of shoes. The next week another of the ten would have the pool,

and so in rotation. But even that plan was ceasing to help, with the fall of the mark, and he told of a workman's joke that with those hundred hours at first they could buy a piano, the next week two pairs of boots, and now only a necktie.

The truth is that the workers in the Ruhr feel that they have not one but two adversaries: France and their own employers. It was this that made the passive resistance doubly popular. Big armies are always on the side of the employers, the workers reasoned. In Germany there is no army, the workingmen at last are free from it. But with the advent of the French army the balance is once more on the side of the employer. If the German and French employers should join, the workers would be lost. The French workmen would give sympathy, but they would be too weak to do more, for the total membership of the unions of France, he said, was only as great as the number of unionists in Essen alone.

When we spoke of our conviction that the German capitalists had not done what they could toward paying Reparations he answered swiftly that the workers of Germany thought the same as we. The poor had paid the taxes, the rich had gone free. Only last summer was the income-tax law so readjusted that a proper share fell on the rich, and they could no longer take advantage of the fall of the mark to evade it.

Everywhere in the Ruhr are French soldiers on duty as sentries or walking along the streets. On the streets, too, one sees many officers and their wives and families. The French do not seem in the least to show the arrogance of conquerors, and there appears to be little friction. I asked my labor leader how the workmen felt when they passed a French sentry. "Only indifference," said he. "We know they are here only because they have been ordered here. We know what it is to be in an army." The workmen of the Ruhr hate France, and especially Poincaré, for the occupation, but they do not hate the French.

When I asked him about the workers' attitude toward Reparations he answered: "The workmen see that the devastated regions must be restored, and though our trades unions have offered to give labor, and have been refused by France, the workmen often say at their meetings "we will go over and do it, anyway." But the attitude is changing, for Poincaré's continued refusal to talk to Stresemann, even though he has withdrawn the order for passive resistance, is making the workers think that what France wants is not Reparations but the Ruhr itself. "While we looked on it as a question of Reparations we knew we owed France much," but when it becomes a political question the workmen know that they are better off in Germany than in France. "The people of Essen," he continued, "are broken. Half of them have no coal whatever. They would be willing to work now under the French. But Poincaré knows that. He does not want it, and so we see that he is under the influence of the small group in France who want the Ruhr for themselves. German labor," he went on, "understands how the greater part of the French people, suffering from the war and the high prices, are behind Poincaré when he says the Germans must pay. It is a most natural psychology. But," he added sternly, "if Poincaré waits for three or four weeks before consenting to talk to Stresemann, and civil war comes in Germany as a consequence, as it may, it will surely be the cause of the next war."

On the journey back to Düsseldorf I spoke to my French escort of the ominous growth of bitterness among the Ruhr workmen. But it was what seemed the hour of triumph for the French, for they had forced the German government to withdraw its order for passive resistance, and he was full of confidence in the future. "The bitterness will pass. See how German hatred of England has already passed. In a few

(*Continued on page* 23)

The Woman Voter

(This full-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.)

Edited by RUTH KIMBALL GARDINER *for*
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The Directing Board Meets

AT the board meeting of the National League held at Washington headquarters in the closing days of October it was reported that more work had actually been turned out from this office in the month of October than in any one month in the preceding two years. This increase was probably due to the growing demand for League publications.

Immediately preceding the board meeting there was a three-day session of the regional directors and their secretaries in conference with Mrs. Park, and Miss Marguerite Owen, the organization secretary of the National League. This conference concerned itself more with making plans for building up organization throughout the country, than with reporting achievements.

The regional directors remained for the board meeting and at its conclusion Mrs. William G. Hibbard, director of the fourth region, left for the Michigan state convention and Miss Gertrude Ely, director of the second region, for the Maryland convention. The board adopted the following pronouncement on law enforcement, which together with a flier on the same subject to be prepared immediately by Miss Sherwin's department, will be widely used throughout the country:

Believing that work for good government will have been wasted if legislation secured is allowed to become a dead letter, and that there is no greater incentive to contempt for law in general than the spectacle of a law unenforced, the Board of Directors of the National League of Women Voters advises state and local Leagues to do all that lies in their power, by co-operation, and active work for law enforcement, to bring about obedience to the Constitution of the United States.

From this same meeting there was also issued a startling appeal signed by Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, vice-chairman, Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee, Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and Mrs. Maud Wood Park, for the League, which doubtless had a great deal of influence November 6th and will have increasing influence in future elections. The statement is given herewith:

The rock upon which this Nation was founded is the principle of self-government. Because this is true, loyal American citizens, whatever their political faith may be, should join in the effort to get out the vote at every election in order that decisions which concern the welfare of town, county, state, or nation shall be made, not by a minority of the citizens, but by the majority.

A pronouncement not only favoring the participation of women voters in all the activities of their respective political parties but also urging qualified women as candidates for public offices and as delegates in the national nominating conventions, attracted much attention.

A session was devoted to the national convention which will be held in Buffalo, New York, April 24-29, and for which elaborate preparations are already under way, nationally and locally. The National League convention in a presidential year is sure to be of outstanding interest to the public generally as well as to the League membership.

The major matters to which the League will devote its attention in the Congress this winter are the World Court and the children's amendment, while in the states they will stress law enforcement, with special reference to social hygiene measures.

The board adopted a resolution of the first vice-president that next year an institute of politics similar to the one held last July at Columbia University shall be conducted in each of the seven regions into which the League divides the country for organization purposes.

Extremely satisfactory progress was reported by the Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War, and in general with the educational program of the League.

ELIZABETH J. HAUSER, Secretary.

The First Vice-President's Trip

THE League's first vice-president has returned from keeping speaking engagements in South Dakota and Nebraska, delighted with the beauty of the country and with the thoughtful hospitality of the people.

At Vermillion she was entertained by Miss Henley in the girls' dormitory of the state university. There was tea with old English silver—Queen Anne's time, unless the first vice-president's informed eyes deceived her—and at breakfast there was honey and biscuits of a kind the guest thought the best she had tasted since her grandmother died. There were other things for breakfast, too, for the meal was prepared with the knowledge that the guest's train would not reach the next stop till three o'clock in the afternoon, and it was luncheon and breakfast in one. South Dakota hostesses think of things like when the next stop will be reached. Twice they expressed their thought in a box luncheon most delicately packed.

In Mitchell there was an interesting teachers' institute and the novelty of the Corn Palace, a building the size of an armory, covered inside and out with pilasters and panels and cornices and friezes and all manner of designs everywhere carried out in corn. Nothing but corn was to be seen and the effect was rich and warm and deep of color, like ripened old tapestry. Corn Palace Week was in full swing and the local League with other women's organizations had booths in the building, for the distribution and sale of various articles. One of the articles was a leaflet named "The News Bug" which will form part of the permanent exhibit at Washington headquarters.

At Watertown, which is the largest distributing center in South Dakota for farm machinery, there was a memorable dinner meeting, with the leaders of the public school system prominent among the guests.

Sioux Falls gave a luncheon and a reception, with a program of music, and there was the home feeling of talks with League officers who saw problems precisely as the guest's earlier fellow-workers farther east saw them.

The journey to Deadwood is something the first vice-president has hung permanently in her mental picture gallery. There was the splendor of dark pines splashed here and there with a quivering aspen as yellow as the Deadwood gold mines, all under that incredibly blue bowl which is the South Dakota sky. There were astonishingly bold rocks and gulches and

canyons—in a four-hour stay the Deadwood League hostesses managed a luncheon, a drive through Boulder Canyon, a meeting, and a tea-party—all associated with the adventures of "Calamity Jane," who died in Deadwood twenty years ago.

Pierre is a town magnificently planned and the League guest arrived when there had been a convention and the well-laid-out streets were filled with brightly painted agricultural and road-making machines. A part of the entertainment was a dinner in the Methodist Church, attended by the justices of the Supreme Court of South Dakota and their wives, and by a United States Senator. Autumn leaves blazed everywhere in the decorations and there was hearty singing of songs made for the occasion, to greet each speaker. Sometimes a trio sang and sometimes everybody joined in.

Miss Gladys Pyle, who is associate secretary of state, and was the only woman in the last state legislature—daughter of the state League president—also made an address and women doctors and lawyers and members of other professions talked, for the most part, of education in its broadest aspect.

In Huron there was a veritable roundup of women from many organizations besides the League. Miss Pyle was in Huron, her home town, and displayed a chart showing lucidly and clearly the successive steps of what the Richards primary law requires of the conscientious voter.

"If women in South Dakota wish to have real influence in the political parties," Miss Pyle said, "the first step is to be present at the precinct meeting place at eleven o'clock in the morning on November thirteenth," and the guest felt sure that everybody who heard her and saw her brilliantly simple chart would be there on the dot.

The first vice-president spent Aksarben Week in Nebraska and she does not say whether she saw at once that "Aksarben" is the state name spelled backward or thought it Arabic till somebody told her. She speaks only of the inspiring convention at Aurora and of the friendly hospitality of a charming home there.

Telling of the many places to which her speaking tour took her, she makes it evident that each place is quite unlike every other. The one quality the many towns in that colorful, delightful country possess in common is unaffected friendliness and a knowledge of how best to show it.

An Employment Bureau

THE New Jersey League in starting an employment bureau, followed the example of the thrifty old lady who made her spring bonnet out of what she had in the house. In this case they had in the house an executive secretary who had formerly been director of the Newark Y. W. C. A. Employment Bureau and it seemed like a promising bit of financial aid, to utilize this experience. Everybody was willing to work a bit harder and it meant very little extra expense since the state offices were admirably adapted to the new venture. In fact, the only expense incurred so far has been the mailing of cards announcing the opening of the bureau on September first. Until January, the service will be free, with no registration charge, but after that there will be the usual charge and the bureau will function under the New Jersey Department of Labor.

There are three reasons for the inauguration of this rather novel experiment and these reasons vary in size as did the Three Bears. The big reason, of course, is a financial one. Employment work *pays*, if it is properly conducted, and it seems like a perfectly feasible way to finance the state League in a dignified and practical manner; and while the combination of work makes a very busy office, the two interests are not at all incompatible. In fact, it is quite the other way, for applicants for positions almost invariably become interested in the League, and without being asked, usually join, although many of them never knew much about it before.

The middle-sized reason is that the League Employment Bureau is a definite service to the community. For this reason it is called officially a placement bureau for business and professional women. Years of experience have proved to the secretary in charge that it is easy enough for the young clerical worker to "get a job" but the higher paid worker who loses her position, or the specialized person who must be properly placed, finds the average employment bureau none too helpful. All is grist to the miller there and it is often too commercial to be of aid. The League bureau can afford to take time and interest for each individual and for this reason it is bound to meet a real need and be of infinite service.

And the little reason? Well, the little reason may sound as squeaky as did the Little Bear, but it is a very real one—the executive secretary does not mind work of any kind, but she specially likes employment work. It is so vital, so human, that even though one grows tired, one does not seem to mind; and just when it appears almost a tragedy because there is no position open for one who must have it, or depressing because so many people are looking for workless work, there will be a flash of humor that takes the edge off of weariness. For instance there is the applicant who said she did not know what she could do but she knew she could do it if she ever could find out what it was! It was difficult to straighten her out. Then there was the lady who registered for "Art or Housework." Not that she knew anything about either, but she was "always willing to try anything once." And still another who wanted to be a traveling companion to a woman who was able to wait on herself!

So it goes. Interesting work always and helpful too. Best of all, it will, when firmly established, bring in a financial return that will do much to relieve the burden of office expenses and make the wheels go round a bit more merrily.

VIOLA DEY HALLIDAY, Executive Secretary.

News From the D. I. C. P. W.

UNDER the leadership of Mrs. E. K. Bowman, the Montana League of Women Voters is carrying on an active campaign for the World Court. A petition is being widely circulated, sticker stamps are being sold and a state-wide effort was made to secure the co-operation of the clergymen in having "A Woman's Plea" read in the churches on Armistice Day.

Mrs. Edward A. Simons, of South Pasadena, California, is in charge of the state work of the Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War. In co-operation with the California Federation of Women's Club, the W. C. T. U., the Y. W. C. A., American Association of University Women, Business and Professional Women, and other organizations of women, two institutes of international relations were planned, one held in San Francisco, November 9 and 10, and one in Los Angeles, November 12 and 13. A detailed plan of suggestions for work and study with a bibliography attached has been widely circulated among the women of the state.

Mrs. Edward S. Romine, president of the West Virginia League of Women Voters, circulated among the women of her state a plan for the celebration of Armistice Day.

Under the leadership of Mrs. Ida W. Harrison, of Kentucky, plans have been outlined for study classes on international problems. A pamphlet of suggestions has been sent out with recommendations that the women hold classes in the state during the month of November, for the purpose of studying the three methods that are being largely discussed for the substitution of law for war.

Under the leadership of Mrs. Henry E. Whitmarsh, of Providence, the United League of Rhode Island conducted round tables last year. A most enthusiastic group was developed and this year each of these women is undertaking to organize another group in order to spread the study of international problems.

The following suggestions have been sent out by the Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War, of the Ohio League:

A. Meetings.

1. For members, on the general subject of international co-operation and the prevention of war, but more especially to discuss present conditions in Europe. If possible, some one who has been in Europe during the summer should be obtained for a meeting, some one who is a trained observer and can persent in a lucid way, opinions and facts. Have at least one League meeting this fall devoted entirely to international relations or have some one phase of the subject presented at every meeting.

2. Round table discussion meetings for smaller groups. It might be well to review the work of the League of Nations to date, especially the part it played in the recent controversies between Italy and Greece, and Italy and Jugoslavia. Whether we believe in the League of Nations or not, we should study its work and know what it is doing and failing to do; or take one of the primers, copies of which are enclosed, and use it as a basis of discussion.

3. Mass meetings. In co-operation with other organizations if that seems advisable, with some well-known speaker.

B. Work for American Participation in the World Court.

Since at both the National League's convention and at our Ohio state convention our League went on record as favoring full American participation in the Permanent Court of International Justice, the concrete task for our committee this winter is to help bring about favorable action on the matter, in the United States Senate. To this end, our Ohio senators should hear from each of our local Leagues. Letters from the president of the League and from the chairman of the Committee on International Co-operation to Prevent War should be sent each senator. If your League has not already passed a resolution similar to the one passed by the National League and the state League in convention, this would be the strategic time to pass such a resolution and to send it with a personal letter to each of our United States senators. Other letters to them should be encouraged and interviews arranged if possible.

C. Library Work.

Every library can be made an effective factor in our campaign of education for peace and international co-operation by posting in conspicuous places, lists of books and magazine articles on foreign affairs. If possible, keep some of the primers at the library for free distribution. These primers can be obtained from Miss Ruth Morgan, Room 1010, Grand Central Terminal Building, New York City.

D. Work In, and Through Our Schools.

Reach the teachers. Find a way of inducing your public school teachers to attend at least one League meeting at which prevention of war is discussed by those who believe war can be prevented, provided our young people are educated for peace. In some places it will be difficult to enroll teachers in our Leagues because they find it difficult to attend meetings. Will not the Leagues this fall devote their keenest intelligence to the problem of interesting teachers in our great cause? Their influence is incalculably great. Also, it is highly important to discuss with your superintendent the possibility of introducing into the high school curriculum, current events courses and instruction in international affairs, stressing the idea of international co-operation and the settlement of international controversies by peaceful means. Even in the grammar grades much can be done in the way of giving to peace-time heroes and achievements the recognition due them.

E. Work with Other Organizations.

The scope of our educational campaign can be greatly enlarged by securing the co-operation of clubs and other organizations in each town and city. Representatives from each club can be specially invited to some particularly worthwhile League meeting on war prevention. It is even more important to obtain a place on the yearly program of each organization, including men's clubs, such as the Rotary, Kiwanis, etc., for our subject in general, and more particularly to obtain an early meeting in favor of American participation in the World Court, to be discussed by an able speaker, himself thoroughly in favor of the late President Harding's proposal. Indeed, what more fitting tribute to our late President could we give than to work for the cause which he had so much at heart?

F. A Speakers' Bureau.

It will undoubtedly occur in many places that various organizations will agree to give the subject of the World Court and international co-operation a place on their program if we can secure them a desirable speaker. To do this, each of the larger cities in the state should conduct a speakers' bureau by filing the names of persons in their locality and in the state at large, or in near-by states, who are prepared to speak on this topic and kindred topics. Such a bureau should keep lists of literature on our subject and should have on hand pamphlets for distribution, and as far as possible should train speakers among its own members. The state office purposes to conduct such a speakers' bureau and to give all possible help to the various Leagues in carrying out the foregoing program of work.—J. S.

Leagues and League Work

THE three candidates for governor of Louisiana have promised to support the Sheppard-Towner Law, Miss Marguerite Woolley, secretary of the third region, reports. She gives interesting pictures of the way in which the support of law-makers has been obtained, describing a time when she and Mrs. Lydia Wickliffe, of the state League, journeyed toward Baton Rouge and found the road so bad that it was necessary to leave their motor car and struggle on a-foot. As always happens in Louisana, the nearest man came to their rescue and there was a spirited discussion of who was responsible for the state of the roads, the Highway Commission or the Levee Board which had left them torn up after levee repairs. In the midst of it the man let drop that he was a candidate for the state legislature and both ladies, instantly forgetting bad roads, and taking the greatest care to step lightly as if the highway of that county were the best in the South, at once put before that man the wisdom of supporting acceptance of the Sheppard-Towner Law. League work has been advocated under many circumstances but probably never before have two tired members converted a man ankle deep in mud.

THE Montclair (New Jersey) League used for registration day, October 16, and election, November 6, a handbill with two striking pictures on it. One is of "Mrs. Remiss," with the legend beneath, "She would like to vote wisely but she knows nothing of candidates or public policies." One sees instantly that she is more worried than is comfortable for her. Her hat is awry and she is tearing her hair in despair as she holds the ballot she cannot mark with knowledge. The other picture is "Mrs. Ready," who "belongs to the League of Women Voters and has all the information she needs and enough left over for her family and friends." She is voting smilingly and contentedly, and obviously with thorough-knowledge of what she is doing. The Montclair League generously offers to lend the two cuts to any League which wishes to get out the same kind of handbill. Mrs. Edmund Osborne, League treasurer, who lives at 29 Harrison Avenue, in Montclair, is the person to address.

THE fourth annual convention of the Texas League, held at San Antonio, October 22-26, had a full and carefully worked-out program. Mrs. C. W. B. Collyns, of Fort Worth, made a report of the national convention in Des Moines, as a feature of the session devoted to reports. An especially interesting evening session, with Mrs. W. E. Spell, of Waco, presiding, had on its program Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, vice-chairman Democratic National Committee, who talked on women's contribution to political parties. Senator Morris Sheppard, who made an address on international co-operation, was the third speaker. One afternoon session was given up to a discussion of the campaign to get

out the vote in 1924, and a considerable time, in different sessions, to education, the workings of the Sheppard-Towner Act and to the Texas prison survey. Miss Katharine Ludington represented the National League.

THE subjects to be discussed and studied by the Milwaukee League in the year's program are: rural schools, in October; international co-operation to prevent war, in November, and responsibility toward defective children, civil service schools, the foreign-born, and amendments to the Federal Constitution vs. states' rights in the following five months. The first evening session of the recent school of citizenship conducted by the League, October 23-24, was held in the auditorium of the Cathedral of St. John and men of varying political faiths explained their beliefs. A Socialist, a Democrat, a Republican, and a Progressive-Republican spoke in the order named. Other sessions of the school were held in the chapel of Milwaukee Downer College.

THE Boston League has just brought out a new and revised edition of the *Manual for Massachusetts Voters* which was originally published by the College Equal Suffrage League as a memorial to Lucy Stone. It has been so successful in meeting the need of teachers and students of citizenship for a *vade mecum* that it is now in use in the public schools of more than forty municipalities and in three state normal schools. It deals with Massachusetts conditions especially but is sufficiently general in its interest to be a valuable addition to any League or civic library. The nominal charge of twenty-five cents the copy is made for the new edition.

THE Massachusetts League has its 1924 calendar ready for distribution, and women who take time by the forelock are advised to order copies now for Christmas gifts. The calendar is well worth the fifty cents it costs. It is printed in two colors with a picture of the State House for cover design and no less than six pages of information in addition to reminders of the dates of primaries, of the legislature's convening, of the session of Congress, and of other important days, on the calendar itself.

THE Indiana *Woman Voter*, with Miss Julia Landers as advertising manager, intends to give every Indiana town the opportunity to let members of the League, increasing numbers of whom motor about the state, know where to find the best hotels, garages, shops, soda fountains, physicians, lawyers, and all other useful persons and establishments. The November issue is to be a " travelogue of Indiana " and will doubtless surpass the *Voter* October record of five pages of advertising by Indiana citizens who can supply wants of motoring League members.

THIS year's questionnaire, sent to candidates by the New York League, included questions on complete restoration of the direct primary, jury service of women, right of married women to choose their voting residence, right of married women to full control of their earnings, a state prohibition enforcement law, the forty-eight-hour week for women and minors in factories and mercantile establishments, a minimum wage commission, a published legislative journal, enlargement of the basic tax unit for rural schools, a state amendment providing for an executive budget system and a four-year term for governors, bills providing for the consolidation of departments and the reduction of elective offices, and the extension of existing emergency rent laws.

ONE of the lawmakers who will come to the Sixty-eighth Congress thoroughly informed of the attitude of the women of his state toward the World Court is Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts. By invitation of the state League he attended a conference at League headquarters, 607 Boylston Street, Boston, in October, on which occasion Mrs. Arthur Rotch, state president, acted as spokesman. Later in the same day the League delegation called on the other Bay State senator, Senator Walsh, and urged him, in turn, to use his influence for the entry of the United States into the Permanent Court of International Justice.

IN TALKING of practical politics, on October 18, at the school of citizenship carried on by the Oneida County (New York) League and Hamilton College, Mrs. F. Louis Slade, state president, said: " We women didn't fight for our rights. We fought for our responsibilities. In the old days, when things went wrong in the ward, the city, the nation, we could sit back and say, ' Not our fault. Thank God we can't say that now! When things are wrong now we know that we are responsible. We women are responsible for corruption, you and I."

THE Maine League at its annual convention in Augusta last month, took a determined stand on a phase of prison reform, the proper housing of women prisoners, and named a committee to express to the state prison commission the League's interest in the construction of the new prison at Thomaston along lines which will make adequate care of women prisoners possible. Miss Mabel Connor, of Augusta, retiring League president, was made chairman of the committee, with Mrs. Richard Elliott, of Thomaston, and a still unchosen member serving on it.

THE St. Louis League spiced its campaign for new members with an offer of prizes. One prize was offered to the person obtaining the largest number of new members, and consists of a trip, with all expenses paid, to the next National League convention. A luncheon and theatre party made up the prize for the campaign team which turned in most names, and a membership cup the prize to the ward League showing the highest percentage of increase in membership.

DURING the recent campaign when Ohio was facing voting on six state-wide measures one of which was the Taft taxation bill, the author of the bill, Mr. Robert Taft of Cincinnati, son of the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, must have dreamed nights about the League of Women Voters. From one end of the state to the other, east, west, north and south, he was called to their meetings to explain the provisions of his bill.

THE Canton, Ohio, League of Women Voters succeeded in interesting a local store in League work to such a degree that the firm joined with the League in an invitation to first voters to the special meeting arranged in their honor to be held in the auditorium of McKinley School. The League compiled a list of several young girls, just reaching their majority, to whom the invitation was sent on the letterhead of the firm.

ONE of the important things the Rockland County (New York) League did at its annual convention at Spring Valley last month, was to go on record in favor of a child labor amendment. The League also made formal statement of its approval of the entry of the United States into the Permanent Court of International Justice and of its hearty support of the National League work to get out seventy-five per cent of the possible vote in 1924.

THE National League has pledges of co-operation in the get-out-the-vote campaign for 1924 from the National Association of University Women, the American Home Economics Association, the National Education Association, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and the Women's Auxiliary to the American Legion. Other organizations will consider the matter at their first opportunity in convention.

THE Cincinnati League arranged to have local milk companies add slips with " Law not War " printed on them, to bottles of milk delivered on Armistice Day.

World News About Women

Some Election Results

IT is too soon after election to make a country-wide statement of women who won on November 6. So far, we can give reports from only four states.

Illinois made a record by electing Miss Mary Bartelme Judge of the Circuit Court of Cook County. See page 9 for more about her work in the Juvenile Court. Miss Bartelme has been for ten years in the Chicago Juvenile Court with only the power of recommending judgments. Her new office now gives her the authority to make final rulings. Miss Bartelme refused to run for the Superior Court with its higher salary because she feels that the Juvenile Court is where she has had her experience, where she can do her best work, and where she wants to be.

In *New Jersey* four women were elected to the House of Assembly: Miss M. Fort, Republican from Essex County, Miss M. M. Carty, Democrat, from Hudson County; Mrs. Catherine Finn, Democrat, from Hudson County, and Mrs. J. W. Thompson, Republican, from Ocean County.

Miss Fort, the only one of the four of whom we know details, comes from a family of political importance in New Jersey—her father and grand uncle both being one-time governors of the state. Coming down to her own history, Miss Fort is a director of the state League of Women Voters, president of the Essex County Women's Republican Club, member of the Republican County Committee and active in other organizations. She is very much interested in remedial legislation to eliminate sweatshop evils and child-labor conditions in homes.

Ohio reports that Miss Mary B. Grossman was elected municipal judge of Cleveland—the second woman to be elected judge in Cleveland and the first woman to sit on the municipal bench. Miss Grossman has had eleven years' experience in civil and criminal work, and founded the Cleveland Women's Protective Association. Mrs. Virginia Greene, who was defeated for United States senator on an independent ticket last year, was elected a member of the Board of Education.

Virginia's election was important as it opened the doors of the House of Delegates to women for the first time by electing Mrs. Sarah Lee Fain (Russell County), and Mrs. R. A. Henderson (Buchanan County), both Democrats.

Won't other states that had state elections this year please send returns?

"Peace on Earth"

A LETTER addressed to Mrs. Meredith Hare, National League of Women Voters, 100 East 45th Street, New York City, will bring full details about the National Peace Christmas Card Competition, to be held by the National League of Women Voters. Three prizes—$2,500, $1,000, and $500—are to be awarded for the design best representing "Peace on Earth, Good Will Toward Men," adaptable to post card use. The cards selected will be sold for the 1924 Christmas season, but to make this possible designs will have to be submitted before January 10 of next year.

The Servant Question Probed

A COMMITTEE of twenty women was appointed recently by the Minister of Labor in England to investigate domestic service conditions. The points to be considered were the shortage of servants; the change in social habits; improved standard of education; effect of the war; personal relations between maids and mistresses; service in big hotels; the influence of unemployment doles; lack of technical efficiency on the one hand and of social "status" on the other; lack of free time for the employee. A report on the findings is expected very soon.

Women of Mexico

THE women of Mexico are making wonderful strides toward emancipation and there is remarkable recognition of their aspirations.

Miss Rosa Torre is an alderwoman in Yucatan. We have been very proud that Miss Florence Allen was elected to a judgeship in the Supreme Court of Ohio, but a Mexican State, San Luis, has also a woman judge in the Supreme Court of the State, Mrs. Arriaga.

Miss Elena Torres, whom delegates to the Pan-American meeting in Baltimore will remember as the chief of the Mexican delegation and who was elected Vice-President for North America, has received from the government of Mexico an unusual appointment. Probably the work she is about to do is a wholly new experiment; at least, I have not heard of this kind of work in any other country. She has charge of a new type of education in social hygiene. She will travel over the country visiting many villages and will be accompanied by a mason and a carpenter who will erect a modern home, and with this as a center Miss Torres will give lectures and instruction to the people on better methods of living. She will point out the dangers of poor living conditions and the advantages to health, morals and general progress of better homes. This kind of work is needed in most countries, but especially in those of warm climates, and it is most meritorious of the Mexican government to lead in the experiment. No more enthusiastic and optimistic leader for this new reform could be found than the spirited and very able young Señorita Torres. C. C. C.

The National Council Meets

THE National Council of Women, representing some six million women throughout the country, met in Decatur, Illinois, October 26 to November 5. Discussions were held on peace, the Ku Klux Klan, prohibition, birth control, the single standard of morals, child welfare, and national education. Mrs. Philip North Moore, of St. Louis, Missouri, president of the National Council, presided. The entrance of the United States into the International Court of Justice was heartily endorsed, as was prohibition and its enforcement. Miss Mary Anderson, chief of the Federal Women's Bureau, urged protective legislation for women workers. Miss Agnes Nestor, president of the Chicago Women's Trade Union League, opposed the Woman's Party blanket amendment, arguing that it would strip women workers of advantages they now possess and put them at the mercy of exploiters of labor.

A Federal Department of Education, not combined with a department of welfare, with a secretary in the Cabinet, was endorsed, the representatives of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National W. C. T. U. and the National Women's Relief Corps all taking active part in the discussion.

Prof. Marian P. Whitney, of Vassar, deplored the multiplication of private schools on the ground that they made for class distinction.

Plans for the quinquennial session of the International Council, to be held in Washington in May, 1925, were made, and a campaign begun to raise from $100,000 to $200,000 to pay the passage for women from countries where the money has greatly depreciated.

It was also voted to send a committee to London in 1924 to represent the United States at the International Disarmament Conference of Women, called by Lady Aberdeen, president of the International Council of Women.

Near East Heroines

DEEP in the Volga region "three days East of Moscow" two women doctors are at work—Dr. Elfie Richards Graff and her associate, Miss Phillips. They are in the most remote and dangerous place in which the American Women's Hospitals are conducting medical work, and because of the special self-sacrifice involved in this particular service, the remoteness, danger and isolation, the Board of the American Women's Hospitals passed a special resolution of gratitude, which was submitted to the Medical Women's National Association at its last annual meeting, and (of course) passed.

Dr. Graff is a slight, tiny woman, blond and blue eyed, with a mouth that expresses sweetness and determination. So Dr. Elizabeth B. Thelberg characterized it, in telling how she chose her, on first sight, for her assistant in the department of Physiology and Hygiene at Vassar. Three years Dr. Graff stayed there—three war years—and then went out, accompanied by her friend and classmate, Miss Phillips, nurse and social worker, under the American Women's Hospitals to Constantinople, to work at orphan relief. Later they went to the Caucasus, where Dr. Graff had charge of a great eye hospital; still later to the suffering district of Samara, and a similar task. Early in 1923 the two came home on leave, but returned after a while, signed up for two more years' service. They are among the heroines of the work done in the East by the American Women's Hospitals, worthy associates of Dr. Esther P. Lovejoy, Dr. Mabel Elliott, Dr. Gray of Serbia, and others.

Birth Control in Yucatan

IN August Mrs. Juliet Barrett Rublee and Mrs. Anne Kennedy of the American Birth Control League left for Yucatan to interest the government in establishing Birth Control clinics in that country. Word has now come back that they were successful in getting the co-operation of the Governor, Felipe Carrillo, and two clinics were opened under the direction of the Board of Health during their stay in Merida.

Equal Rights

A LARGE delegation from the National Woman's Party will visit the President, November 17, to urge action in the next Congress on their proposed equal rights amendment to the constitution. Mrs. Belmont reports that Senator Curtis and Representative Anthony, both from Kansas, have already agreed to present the question when Congress meets.

Ninety-eight Loops

MME. ADRIENNE BOLLAND, a French aviator, has established a record by looping the loop ninety-eight times within fifty-eight minutes, including the time necessary for ascent and descent. Had the gasoline tank not been leaking the record would doubtless have been higher.

A New Scholarship

A JANE CAMPBELL scholarship at the State College of Pennsylvania is the manner in which the State Federation of Pennsylvania Women plan to honor their pioneer suffrage worker and active club woman now in her eightieth year. The idea was recently presented by Mrs. Charles Purnell, of the Philomusian and New Century Clubs. The State College already has three scholarships, one the gift of the junior section of the Delaware County Clubs, one from the Central district, given by Mrs. Marlin Olmstead, and the other supported by the state club women. The Jane Campbell will make the fourth.

Limited Suffrage in Spain

A NEWS note in *La Prensa* reports that the military dictator of Spain, Primo de Rivera, has promised suffrage to Spanish women—but with heavy reservations, on the Mussolini model.

One of the World's Greatest

INHERITING a business upon the death of her husband, Mme. Yone Suzuki—a Japanese lady, as her name implies—is now known as one of the greatest business women in the world. She has built up a fortune estimated at more than $65,000,000; is seventy-one years old, and still going strong.

More of Law and Women

SOME months ago we discussed in the WOMAN CITIZEN the question of women in law, and the colleges open to them. In the columns of a recent *Vote* we see that there were thirty-five women among the one hundred and fifty students who enrolled for the first summer course of the Academy of International Law, held at the Palace of Peace at the Hague.

Where Peace Is War

(*Continued from page* 17)

years they will have forgotten it."

Will they? I long to believe it. What I do believe from my visit to the Ruhr is that the people of Europe, even such ancient enemies as the Germans and the French, do not really hate each other. What they hate is the other's government. If only my Frenchman could take the place of Poincaré, and my German workingman could direct the policies of Germany, then even on the Rhine, peace would indeed be peace.

General Federation Notes

By LESSIE STRINGFELLOW READ

A SYLLABUS on Studies in Citizenship, by David Y. Thomas, Ph. D., professor of history and political science in the University of Arkansas, is much in demand and has been sent to many states upon request. The syllabus was especially prepared for the club women of Arkansas.

Address the General Extension Division of the University.

WEST VIRGINIA FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS at their state convention voted to make every club in the state a direct member of the national body. Mrs. Thomas G. Winter, national president, addressed the convention, which had much to do with inspiring a vote for universal membership.

THE Woman's Club of Minneapolis co-operated in a motion-picture conference in October. Mr. Will Hays, director general of the motion-picture industry, and other noted speakers took part. Discussions covered every phase of the relation of motion pictures to public entertainment, morals and education.

FORT WORTH, Texas, boasts a woman's club building presented to the club women of the city by a woman who is not a member of any club, but whose husband was always interested in women's activities. The home was a memorial to the husband and is called the "William G. Newby Memorial Woman's Club."

"MOTHERCRAFT," founded in Massachusetts by May Bliss Dickinson, nurse, and adopted as a working plan by the General Federation of Women's Clubs in 1920, has spread to Canada, according to Mrs. George Minot Baker, president of the Massachusetts Federation of Women's Clubs. "An especially comprehensive application of the principles and methods in mothercraft has been undertaken in Canada," writes Mrs. Baker. "Beginning experimentally at Winnipeg, with a few classes, the Victorian order of nurses has extended its mothercraft instruction into the schools of many communities. A recent interesting development has been its introduction into French Canadian villages."

The meaning of mothercraft, Mrs. Baker points out in an article in the *Atlanta Constitution*, is restricted to a definite, carefully planned course of study, usually twelve lessons, to classes of young girls. These include personal health and habits and the right care of the baby in the home.

The Bookshelf

By M. A.

FIVE years ago this month the Armistice closed a world's war. It also stopped the flood of war books which had risen high on bookseller's shelves, overflowed on to the library tables, and practically inundated reading minds. Then the reaction set in, and "no more war books" joined "back to normalcy" as easy slogans of the over-tired. Publishers responded instantly and so completely that only one or two shy volumes slipped through the blockade, until now it is beginning to seem absurd that we are not allowed to read about the greatest catastrophe of our generation.

Perhaps something of this feeling emboldened Messrs. Scribner to publish Edith Wharton's "*A Son at the Front.*" Dates in the book prove clearly that it was at least started in 1918, and something about the immediate poignancy says that actuality, not memory, is working here. It is a familiar story, for the armies of the world were composed of "sons at the front." There is nothing new in John Compton's passionate love for his son, his attempt to keep him in a safe staff job, the boy's secret transfer to dangerous work, his wound and recovery, his dubious yet matter-of-fact love affair, and his death; nothing unknown in the tides of feeling, the intrigues and fads of Paris. We know all that, it's "old stuff." And that is part of the marvel of the book. It comes five years afterward, and as you read it you feel again the tearing strain of uncertainty which was continuously the war's strong emotion. In drawing the conflict in John Compton's soul, Mrs. Wharton has individualized the struggle, the sleeplessness, the illogic, the hysteria, the courage, of the world which had to stay at home. She is traditionally a great stylist. Here her finest talents are employed on a subject greater than they are, and produce a book of magnificent clarity and humbled humanity.

And after the war was over it still went on. Philip Gibbs might well have taken for the text of "*The Middle of the Road*" the Biblical verse about men crying for peace, and there being none. He starts with a very real conflict between Bertram Pollard, ex-army officer of the upper middle class, and his aristocratic young wife. Pollard is jobless and uncertain, trying to construct a new world of ideas and ideals out of the chaos left by war. Joyce desires only to get back to the good old days of privilege and servants. Pollard's brother is a "Black and Tan," one sister is married to a German and the other to a Sinn Feiner, and so his torn family symbolizes his own inner conflict. Out of it all emerges a definite desire for world peace and understanding as the most important thing in life, and he goes as journalist through Germany, France, into the Russia of the Volga famine. For sheer horror of presentation of a starving people, not many things surpass the famine chapters. And it is not strange that in the interest of writing them the author forgot his plot until, reminded of it, he tied it up with a careless and unsatisfactory knot. Sir Philip Gibbs is an excellent journalist, too much engaged by the drama of life to bother over the intricacies of plot solution. Granting that, his book becomes an absorbing picture of a dissolving, even a dying, Europe.

Louise Bryant believes that of all Europe, Russia is in the throes of birth rather than death. Her "*Mirrors of Moscow*" is a group of portraits which picture the leaders of the revolution as men and women, rather than as legendary bugaboos. Each person is drawn with the phase of Russian life which most concerns him, Lunacharsky with art and literature, Madame Kollontai and the woman's movement, Trotsky with his army, Kalinin and the peasants. The book is both real and readable, written by a woman who is frankly a sympathizer with the aims of the revolution, yet wise enough to appreciate its inevitable and terribly costly mistakes.

A Son at the Front: Scribner, 1923. $2.00.
The Middle of the Road: Doran, 1923. $2.00.
Mirrors of Moscow: Seltzer, 1923. $2.50.

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Information Without Obligation to Those Interested in Purchasing

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A Line on the Movies

By LAURA L. LAEDLEIN

DAVID COPPERFIELD—A very good Danish production of the Charles Dickens novel, with small *David*, his mother, *Dora*, and the buoyant *Micawber* pretty much as we want them. The Anglo-Saxon—or kindred—faces seem somehow to run closer to our notion of the English characters than do American types, and give a kind of poetic conviction to the story. Interesting picture of English life for children (but father and mother and great-aunt will enjoy it as much), and some painful assurance that the good old days were not all that they might have been, for little boys. Directed by A. W. Sandberg; an Associated Exhibitors presentation.

A WOMAN OF PARIS—Paris night life as the background of a usual sort of story of one kind of woman and two kinds of men, told with sympathy and a delightfully true humor; unusually wholesome treatment; not for children. Edna Purviance, Adolph Menjou and Carl Miller play their triangular points with a delicacy that reveals a sensitive directing. A United Artists picture, story and direction by Charles Spencer Chaplin ("Charlie Chaplin").

WOMAN-PROOF — The ever-entertaining comedy of the pursuit of a fleeing bachelor, and the tribal attempt to corral a son and heir into satisfactory matrimony. The Prince of Wales would probably pity the always heroic hero, Thomas Meighan. Done with a light touch, and amusing. A Paramount picture, by George Ade, directed by Alfred E. Green.

THE FIGHTING BLADE — Richard Barthelmess as dashing as necessary in the rôle of a young Dutch fire-eater in the employ of Oliver Cromwell, in the days when Cavalier and Roundhead matched strategy for England's dictatorship. A First National picture, from the story by Beulah Marie Dix, directed by John Robertson.

UNSEEING EYES—Sharp realism of the north woods and rude life. The story is of brutes but is not brutal, having the saving grace of sincere acting, and is stirring up to the point of sentimental climax and conclusion. Lionel Barrymore is the positive man of civilization and Louis Wolheim the positive man of savagery, with civilization riding to supremacy in an airplane. A Cosmopolitan picture, from the story "Snowblind" by Arthur Stringer, directed by E. H. Griffith.

HIS CHILDREN'S CHILDREN—People of wealth and a generation's tradition of wealth in New York are for once shown as likable family people; in fact, the family flavor is the best thing in a good picture. The story shows the effect of money on three generations of the same stock—as something to relentlessly get, respectably keep, and furiously spend, with most of the laurels to the getter. George Fawcett is very plausible in the part of *Rufus Kane*, the middle—and most confused—of the three generations. Bebe Daniels does finished work as the grandfather's most recognizable granddaughter. A Paramount picture, from the novel by Arthur Train, and directed by Sam Wood.

Our subscription department says, please don't mind receiving a letter asking you to take the CITIZEN *when you are already a subscriber. It is very difficult to keep a large list of names checked over and up to date. The subscription records have to be so kept, but inaccuracies are bound to creep into promotion lists.*

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Cantilever Stores

Cut this out for reference

Akron—11 Orpheum Arcade
Albany—Hewett's Silk Shop, 15 N. Pearl St.
Allentown—907 Hamilton St.
Altoona—Bendheim's, 1302 Eleventh Ave.
Asheville—Pollock's
Atlanta—126 Peachtree Arcade
Atlantic City—2019 Boardwalk (Shelburne)
Baltimore—325 North Charles St.
Bangor—John Conners Shoe Co.
Berkeley—The Booterie
Binghamton—Parlor City Shoe Co.
Birmingham—219 North 19th St.
Boston—Newbury St. cor. Clarendon St.
Bridgeport—W. K. Mollan
Brooklyn—516 Fulton St. (Primrose Bldg.)
Buffalo—441 Main St.
Butte—Hubert Shoe Co.
Canton, O.—H. M. Horton Co.
Cedar Rapids—The Killian Co.
Charleston, S. C.—J. F. Condon & Sons
Charleston, W. Va.—John Lee Shoe Co.
Charlotte—226 North Tryon St.
Chicago—{30 E. Randolph St. (Room 502) 1059 Leland (near Broadway)
Cincinnati—The McAlpin Co.
Cleveland—1705 Euclid Ave.
Colorado Springs—Wulff Shoe Co.
Columbus, O.—104 E. Broad St. (at 3rd)
Dallas—Volk Bros. Co.
Dayton—The Rike-Kumler Co.
Denver—224 Foster Bldg.
Des Moines—W. L. White Shoe Co.
Detroit—41 E. Adams Ave.
Duluth—107 W. First St. (near 1st Ave. W.)
Elmira—C. W. O'Shea
Erie—Weschler Co., 910 State St.
Evanston—North Shore Bootery
Fall River—D. F. Sullivan
Fargo—Hall-Allen Shoe Co.
Fort Wayne—Mathias App's Sons
Fort Worth—Washer Bros.
Grand Rapids—Herpolsheimer Co.
Greenville—Pollock's
Hagerstown—Bikle's Shoe Shop
Harrisburg—26 No. 3rd St. (Second floor)
Hartford—Trumbull & Church Sts.
Haverhill—McGregor's, 21 Washington Sq.
Holyoke—Thos. S. Childs, 275 High St.
Houston—205 Foster-Bank Commerce Bldg.
Huntington, W. Va.—McMahon-Diehl
Indianapolis—L. S. Ayres & Co.
Ithaca—Rothschild Bros.
Jacksonville—Golden's Bootery
Jersey City—Bennett's, 411 Central Ave.
Kalamazoo—The Bell Shoe House
Kansas City, Mo.—300 Altman Bldg.
Kingston—E. T. Stelle & Son
Knoxville—Spence Shoe Co.
Lancaster, Pa.—Boyd's, 5 E. King St.
Lawrence, Mass.—C. H. Woodman
Lewiston—Laney-Wellehan, 110 Lisbon St.
Lexington, Ky.—Denton, Ross, Todd Co.
Lincoln—Mayer Bros. Co.
Long Beach, Calif.—Farmers' Bank Bldg.
Los Angeles—505 New Pantages Bldg.
Louisville—Boston Shoe Co.
Lowell—The Bon Marche
Lynchburg—Isbell-Bowman Co.
Madison—Family Shoe Store
Mansfield—Brownell Shoe Co.
Memphis—28 No. Second St.
Milwaukee—Brouwer Shoe Co.
Minneapolis—25 Eighth St. South
Mt. Vernon, N. Y.—A. J. Rice & Co.
Nashville—J. A. Meadors & Sons
Newark—997 Broad St. (2nd floor)
New Bedford—Olympia Shoe Shop
Newburgh—G. A. C. Van Beuren
New Castle, Pa.—229 E. Washington St.
New Haven—153 Court St. (2nd floor)
New Orleans—109 Baronne St. (Room 200)
Newport, R. I.—Sullivan's, 226 Thames St.
New Rochelle—Ware's
New York—14 W. 40th St. (opp. Public Library)
Norfolk—Ames & Brownley
Oakland—20s Henshaw Bldg.
Oklahoma City—The Boot Shop
Omaha—1706 Howard St.
Pasadena—378 E. Colorado St.
Paterson—10 Park Ave. (at Erie Depot)
Peoria—Lehmann Bldg. (Room 203)
Philadelphia—1309 Walnut St.
Pittsburgh—The Rosenbaum Co.
Pittsfield—Wm. Fahey, 234 North St.
Plainfield—M. C. Van Arsdale
Portland, Me.—Palmer Shoe Co.
Portland, Ore.—353 Alder St.
Poughkeepsie—Louis Schonberger
Providence—The Boston Store
Reading—Sig. S. Schweriner
Richmond, Va.—Seymour Sycle
Roanoke—I. Bachrach Shoe Co.
Rochester—257 Main St. (3rd floor)
Rockford—D. J. Stewart & Co.
St. Louis—516 Arcade Bldg. (Opp. P.O.)
St. Paul—47 E. 5th St. (Frederick Hotel)
Sacramento—208 Ochsner Bldg., K nr 7th
Saginaw—Goeschel-Kuiper Co.
Salt Lake City—Walker Bros. Co.
San Diego—The Marston Co.
San Francisco—Phelan Bldg. (Arcade)
Santa Barbara—Smith's Bootery
Savannah—Globe Shoe Co.
Schenectady—445 State St.
Scranton—Lewis & Reilly
Seattle—Baxter & Baxter
Shreveport—Phelps Shoe Co.
Sioux City—The Pelletier Co.
Sioux Falls—The Bee Hive
South Bend—Ellsworth Store
Spokane—The Crescent
Springfield, Mass.—Forbes & Wallace
Stamford—L. Spelke & Son
Syracuse—121 West Jefferson St.
Tacoma—255 So. 11th St. (Fidelity Trust Bldg.)
Toledo—LaSalle & Koch Co.
Topeka—The Pelletier Store
Trenton—H. M. Voorhees & Bro.
Troy—35 Third St. (2nd floor)
Tulsa—Lyon's Shoe Store
Utica—28-30 Blandina St., cor. Union.
Washington—1319 F. Street
Waterbury—Howland-Hughes Co.
Wheeling—Geo. R. Taylor Co.
Wichita—Rorabaugh's
Williamsport—John B. Irvin
Wilmington, Del.—Kennard-Pyle
Worcester—J. C. MacInnes Co.
Yonkers—22 Main St.
Youngstown—B. McManus Co.

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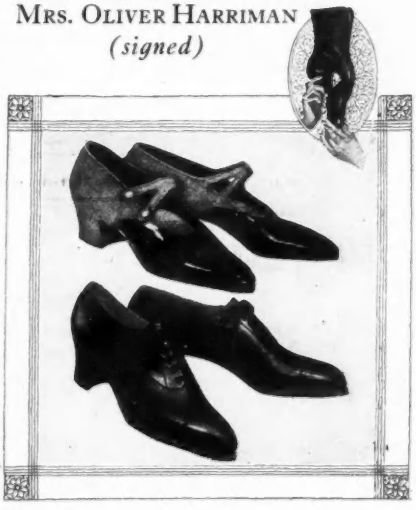
WOMEN all over the United States are turning to Cantilever Shoes for relief from the restraint and discomfort of unnatural, stiff-arched footwear. They find in the Cantilever Shoe, with its graceful, natural lines and flexible arch, the finest fulfillment of their needs for comfort and freedom from foot troubles and nervous strain.

Mrs. Oliver Harriman, a leader in important forward movements of American women, voices this widespread approval in her letter:

"It has always seemed to me that walking is enjoyable and beneficial, or otherwise according to the shoes one wears. I have found Cantilever Shoes particularly gratifying. The freedom which their flexible arches allow the foot, together with their restful support, are reflected in improved health, as well as physical comfort."

MRS. OLIVER HARRIMAN
(signed)



The Cantilever Shoe gives unusual comfort because it fits the foot smoothly, supporting it restfully, and because it also conforms to the *movements* of the foot. The Cantilever Shoe has a flexible arch, just as the foot has a flexible arch. Instead of checking the action of the foot, as an ordinary stiff-arched shoe does, the Cantilever gives the muscles free play and permits the foot to flex naturally as you walk. This exercise keeps the muscles young and supple, strengthens them in their function of upholding the small bones that compose the springy arch of the foot. It improves circulation and benefits the entire body.

Mrs. Oliver Harriman
Painted by DOROTHY E VICAJI

You walk with new and pleasurable ease in Cantilever Shoes. Their graceful heels of moderate height are well set for correct posture. The lasts are patterned from the natural lines of the foot. Thus they obviate the nervous strain of standing in unnatural position. The toe is nicely rounded; there is room for the foot to stretch comfortably. Every detail of design and finish is carefully planned for comfort and good looks.

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How to Fall Asleep

By GULIELMA F. ALSOP

College Physician at Barnard

MOST of us, fortunately, are able to go to sleep at once and sleep soundly through the night, our chief trouble being that we refuse to retire early enough to give the body an adequate chance. There are, however, a few people so constituted that sleep refuses to come easily, and who, even after capturing it, turn and toss, wakening two or three times during the night, and arising unrefreshed in the morning. To these the question of how to go to sleep becomes important.

Usually this inability to go to sleep arises because the brain is still excited and the blood vessels of the brain are distended with blood. During sleep a comparative anemia of the brain blood vessels takes place, the excess blood flooding the skin. The brain cannot lose consciousness while it is stimulated with a large amount of blood coursing through its blood vessels. Many people go to bed, say at midnight, with brains still excited and wide awake, yielding only because they know they have to try to get some sleep or they will be worn out in the morning; but it takes them one or two or even three hours to decrease the rapid brain circulation, enough to permit of unconsciousness. If, instead of going to bed with a brain on fire, they would go about diverting the blood from the brain to other parts of the body, they would find themselves falling asleep in an incredibly short time.

In the natural course of events, the surplus blood shifts from the cerebral arteries to the skin, so that a sleeping skin is flushed and pink. Very well then, a hot bath will do the same thing. In nine cases out of ten, a hot bath makes the individual sleep; in the tenth case it is stimulating and therefore useless.

Furthermore, if the stomach has food in it to be digested, all the blood vessels in the stomach and in the liver become engorged with blood for the formation of digestive juices. A glass of hot milk and one or two crackers are sufficient to inaugurate the stomach engorgement. A hot water bottle at the foot of the bed helps to keep the blood in the feet and lower extremities. No one, not even a good sleeper, can go to sleep until the feet are warm. If the feet are cold, it is a great waste of time to lie in bed thirty minutes warming them up by sheer bodily heat, when a hot-water bottle will do it in five minutes. Put the hot-water bottle in the bed first, next take the hot bath, and lastly the drink of hot milk. These devices will send most people off to sleep in no time.

If, in spite of the suggested remedies, the person still has difficulty in getting off to sleep, the brain work ought to be stopped an hour before bedtime, and something else substituted: a walk, a game of solitaire, the victrola, knitting, something, anything, to let down the tension in the brain. And then go to bed and don't worry.

The patient says, "But I can't control my thoughts. How can I help worrying?"

She doesn't realize that whenever she reads a page of print, she controls her thoughts to what is written before her eyes; whenever she listens to a conversation, she restricts her thoughts to what is said. Controlling one's thoughts is one of the very first and most elementary lessons of education.

The tardy sleeper, then, must will to think of pleasant things and not to worry over anything, least of all over sleep. Lots of people are so afraid they won't go to sleep that they keep themselves awake. Prepare yourself for sleep as directed, then go to bed at the same regular hour every night and think of something happy. This last stage involves a certain learning in the art of contemplation and meditation, which for itself is enormously valuable. The Coué method of auto-suggestion is both effective and somnifacient.

No one should be satisfied to live her life at a lower pitch of vitality than that bestowed by eight or nine or even ten hours' sound sleep each night. In our hurried cities where physical fatigue and spiritual ennui are the two great drawbacks to living, an adequate amount of sleep is a modern necessity.

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East Is Western

(*Continued from page* 13)

labor to the policies of the English government. When the factory system began, work went on from sunrise to sunset. In 1921 a Factory Act limited work to a maximum of eleven hours a day, or sixty hours a week, with six hours for children from twelve to fifteen years of age, and one day's rest in seven. An inquiry in Bombay showed that the actual average working time of mills now is ten hours a day for men and women, and five for children. Several leading manufacturers testified that labor is producing more in ten hours than it formerly did in twelve or fourteen.

"Besides, the right of collective bargaining and trade union organization has long been recognized in Great Britain, though when individual employers break unions and prevent organization, it is not the policy of the government to interfere with them.

"But hours of labor and the right to organize are only the first steps. Wages are miserably low, though factories fre-

quently make from 100 to 200 per cent on their investments. Machines are generally unprotected, welfare work is frowned on. Indian women work in shoe factories, their babies on the floor beside them, half suffocated by the stifling dust of tan bark. In 1921 there were 91,949 women and 8,548 children under twelve working in Indian mines. What chance will they have for happiness, or even life, against the long hours, bad ventilation, dampness, and constant standing?" There was a moment's sorrowful silence. Then he summed up slowly:

"There are five hundred and seventy millions of industrial workers in China, Japan, and India, employed too long hours on unprotected machines, receiving something less than a living wage, forced to subsist on insufficient food and crowded into filthy hovels. Their employers come to the West to study our factories, to buy our latest inventions so that they may make as much money as possible. Will they disregard the experience of that same West that the laborers must also profit? It is sad if history is read to no purpose, and if the Orient must go on repeating the blind and selfish mistakes which have cost the misguided Occident so dear."

Washington

(*Continued from page* 8)

leasing activities of the Department of the Interior during the term of Secretary Fall. The anomalous situation exists of the investigation of oil leases made by the Secretary of the Interior, with the Secretary of those days sitting at the table as the paid counsel of the oil interests to whom he gave the lease. It has all the dramatic points of a great trial but has made a very small sensation in the news. The intrigues of the oil interests with politics are such an old story that even this climax arouses little outside interest. It is undoubtedly one of the coolest propositions ever investigated. Secretary Fall personally never could be dissociated from the oil interests and as soon as he relinquished his portfolio he became counsel for the Sinclair Oil industry. The public has heard most of this controversy under the name of the Teapot Dome affair.

The other investigation of moment is that of the affairs of the Veterans' Bureau as administered under the former director, Colonel Charles R. Forbes, who is about to take the stand in his own defense after several weeks of gruelling. Washington was inclined to be sympathetic toward Colonel Forbes, but as the hearing progresses, the details begin to look sordid.

The result of President Coolidge's mission to the farmers, consisting of the personal visit of the former Republican leader, Frank W. Mondell, and Eugene Meyer, head of the revived War Finance Corporation, has been made public in the fortnight. It is understood here that this report will probably be the basis of what President Coolidge has to say on farm relief in his message. In the main, both Mr. Mondell and Mr. Meyer repudiated the recommendations of the radicals of the Northwest that farm relief lay in the purchase of the surplus wheat supply by the Government. The report was along conservative lines and made the following recommendations: First, that there be an adjustment of wheat production to American needs in an endeavor to cut down over supply. Second, that we develop an improved co-operative marketing association, enlisting the aid of American bankers and business men. It is known that this may be what President Coolidge wanted to hear. At least, in answer to the stringent demands for an extra session of Congress, he sent out his own investigators, and their report was against price fixing and other radical suggestions.

Mary Bartelme

(*Continued from page* 10)

This arrangement has now grown to three homes, one for six or seven girls, one for twelve or fourteen girls, and another smaller one. The second home is as large as Miss Bartelme wants her homes to be, because beyond that they lose the quality of home and take on an institutional character.

When a girl enters one of these homes it does not mean that she has done any guilty act, but simply that the child has no proper home of its own. Many of the inmates are simply dependent children.

These little places are called "Mary" homes, and "they are just as nice and sweet," Miss Bartelme assured me earnestly, "as your home or mine, or anybody's home. The other day the girls in one of the Mary homes gave a dinner and invited me and the home mother and their high-school teachers to it, and it was a lovely dinner, and they cooked it all themselves."

The girls remain in these Mary

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homes until they are adopted by some good family or until they finish high school and go out into the world as stenographers, or bookkeepers, or to any of the innumerable places open to girls of today.

Then Miss Bartelme showed me letters which some of her girls still write to her. They were from this and that state; some of the girls were married now and had other homes of their own.

At the end of the interview, Miss Bartelme suddenly said, "Oh, and let me show you the suit cases." She got up quickly and went into a closet of the little court room and brought out a little suit case. She opened it and showed me a girl's dress, underclothes, stockings, sachet bag, toothbrush, hair brush, etc. etc.—a complete outfit for a girl.

"When a girl comes in here improperly clothed," said the judge, "we take her to the bath room and give her a complete new outfit, and you know, I think that helps mark the change in their lives of starting completely fresh and new. I am always needing these little suit cases full of girls' clothes. The women's clubs here in the city send me some, but I always want more and need more."

Everyone who gives one of these suit cases places on the top garment a little note saying, "Will the wearer of these garments please write to Mrs. ———," giving the maker's name and her address.

"Some of the girls who get these suit cases go back to their own homes to live, but not one girl has failed yet to send a letter of thanks."

This finished my interview and the little white-haired lady closed up the suitcase with its little stock of clothes which she was waiting to give to some one of her many, many daughters.

Important

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Nancy Red Cloud

(*Continued from page* 13)

duties for which so many of her white sisters are still unready.

From the beginning, accent will have been placed on the domestic side of Nancy's training. In addition to the equivalent of two or more years of high-school work, Nancy will know how to sew. She will know how to cut and make her own and her children's garments. She will know considerable of ornamental needlework, a craft in which nature has equipped her to excel. She will know how to cook a good meal. She will know how to care for a modern sanitary home, in spite of the distressing fact that she may never own one. She will understand the proper care of small children. She will know the simple remedies for common physical ailments.

Possibly to a greater degree than many white girls, Nancy's education will have fitted her for the sensible management of a humble home, for wise expenditure of the meager family income, and above all, for willing and capable motherhood.

To the American woman, it was only a step from efficient home management to capable supervision of civic affairs; from an intelligent care of her own children to a direct interest in the child welfare of the nation. Nevertheless, it is a step many women have yet to take. What, then, of Nancy? Can she enter into this fuller citizenship and its responsibilities?

Those who hope for the assimilation of the Amerindian must needs be far-sighted. An understanding of the obligations of citizenship implies for Nancy a grasp of phases of life entirely outside her sources of knowledge, innate or acquired. Her background is the reservation, her instincts remain primitive. But the educators of our Indian youth have struggled to implant in Nancy, and in thousands of her brothers and sisters, a desire for our cultural advantages as they see them, to the end that Nancy's children may demand, and her children's children may utilize, this culture.

Notwithstanding her education, citizenship for Nancy will not come automatically with her majority. While citizenship is within the reach of all competent adult Indians, the Government does not force its responsibilities upon them. The allotments of the Pine Ridge Indians are held in trust for them. But individual members of the tribe are granted patents in fee simple upon their request and proof of competency. With this patent in fee goes full citizenship.

If Nancy Red Cloud, the young woman, fulfills the promise of Nancy, the youthful winner of the Humane Association's prize, she will desire and obtain the title to her allotted land that carries with it the duties and privileges of an American citizen. She will take the first step along the difficult trail that leads into the land of promise.

Choosing the President

(*Continued from page* 11)

sphere in which men go wild over language that only writers of mining prospectuses could hope to approach or oil promoters expect to equal the best machinery that can be devised for selecting a presidential nominee?"

It must be remembered that while the oratory and demonstrations are working the convention up to a white heat, there are here and there, on the floor of the conventions and at the "headquarters" throughout the city, seasoned politicians who are thoroughly "hard boiled," from whom all this falls like water from a duck. In great measure it is these political managers that determine the nominations. Only rarely does the convention get away from them. Rear and paw and tug as the delegates may, they usually stand hitched until they feel the guiding hand upon the reins. It is in the back rooms of the headquarters where the "bosses" are bargaining and trading that the final outcome is determined. No better statement of this can be found than that made by Harry Daugherty, campaign manager for Harding. He said, doubtless you recall:

"At the proper time after the National Republican Convention meets some fifteen men, bleary eyed with loss of sleep and perspiring profusely with the excessive heat, will sit down in seclusion around a big table. I will be with them and will present the name of Senator Harding to them, and before we get through they will put him over."[5] (And they did.)

Hardly are the speeches finished and the first roll call begun, than the trading is under way and with every ballot it grows more and more intense. Slight shifts appear here and there indicating individual delegates who have grown tired of waiting for the guiding rein, but not until whole states begin to go can anything startling be expected to happen. When it at last becomes apparent that the final bargain has been struck, or when the impression that it has, has been created, a stampede to the bandwagon begins, each delegation hop-

[5] *N. Y. Times, June* 13, 1920, 1:7

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ing to gain something for itself by joining the merry throng. The final vote is made unanimous. (Sometimes it is necessary to pronounce it so by a majority vote, as was the case in the nomination of Harding.) The nomination of the Vice-President then takes place, and the work of the convention is practically over.

The speeches of acceptance of the nominee may in one sense be considered the opening of the campaign, although it does not reach white heat until October. Propaganda is the chief task of the campaign. Literature, speech making, and house to house canvassing are the methods chiefly used. Through newspaper press, periodical, pamphlet and poster the appeal is carried to the voter. The printing presses of the nation work overtime. Banners and buttons combine to turn the decision. Assembly halls and autos alike furnish rostrums for speakers. Inside and outside the haranguing goes on. It may be that the day of the parade and barbecue is fast passing, but in certain parts of the country they still maintain their appeal. Just as effective, if not more so, is the silent work of the political visitors, making calls here and there, ingratiating themselves and their cause by this little bit of flattery or that, winning a vote by an appeal to vanity or to prejudice. And the "gumshoe" campaign is becoming more and more popular.

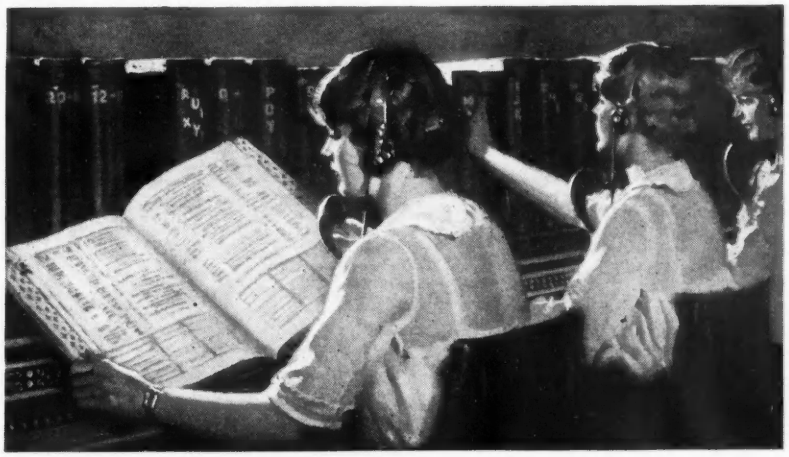
Finally election day rolls around, and fourteen million voters march steadfastly to the polls to indicate their choice of a president. One million more are brought up by the party workers as they "get out the vote." Thus the judgment of the natoin is registered, i. e., if the votes are correctly counted. "Today the people cast their votes; tonight I count them," is a jest that has by no means lost its meaning in the United States. The organizations still "count 'em out" in many a district.

Be it remembered, however, the vote has not been a vote for the president, but a vote for electors. Each state is entitled to as many presidential electors as it has representatives and senators in Congress. In legal theory they constitute the wise, the virtuous and the judicious of each state, and in legal theory they may cast independent votes. In practice, however, they are mere automatons registering the will of the people, balloting as they are pledged, and transmitting a record of their votes to the President of the Senate as directed by the Constitution.

Though the electoral college has been reduced to innocuity in its actual working, nevertheless at any time it may cause a defeat of the will of the majority. All the electoral votes of a state go to the successful party no matter how slight its lead. It may easily occur that a party may carry the country by a majority but lose the electoral college through the loss of certain critical states by slight margins. For example, it may well be that the Republican party at some election will carry Pennsylvania by 500,000 votes, yet lose New York by 1,000 and in so doing lose the election because of the large number of New York electors. Whether such a dangerous vestigial organ should be allowed to remain is well worth consideration.

It is, however, but one among many questions which arise in connection with the election of the president. Some of the most outstanding this brief review suggests are: How can I influence my party to nominate the candidate in whom I believe? What machinery for the selection of delegates to the national convention is the fairest? Is the convention itself conducive to the selection of the best candidate? How can it be improved? What can I do to elect the candidate I prefer? How can I see to it that the popular judgment is not frustrated by a miscount? Should the electoral college be abolished?

For further reading see Merriam: the American Party System, and T. O. Ray's Political Parties and Practical Politics.



Crossroads of Conversation

Could the telephone directory in the hands of each subscriber be revised from hour to hour, there would be no need for the information operator. But even during its printing and binding, thousands of changes take place in the telephone community. New subscribers are added to the list. Old ones move their places of business or of residence.

Though their names are not listed on the directory, these subscribers must be connected by the highways of speech with all others in the community. To supplement the printed page, there must be guides at the crossroads of conversation.

Such are the information operators, selected for their task because of quickness and accuracy, courtesy and intelligence. At their desks, connected with the switchboards in central offices, they relieve the regular operators from answering thousands of questions about telephone numbers that would otherwise impede the rendering of service. If they are unnecessarily asked for numbers already in the directory, service is retarded.

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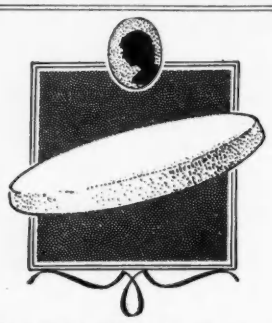

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OUR OWN DINGBATS

OUR week has been simply packed full of thrills. ◆ ◆ ◆ Voting. ◆ ◆ ◆ Well, of course, and before breakfast too, which gives one that virtuous (and solemn) feeling. ◆ ◆ ◆ But besides we saw Duse in "Ghosts." ◆ ◆ ◆ We haven't wanted anything so much since we went to Bermuda. ◆ ◆ ◆ After we bought the ticket (by courtesy of our family's standing in line), we were a victim of fear—Duse would be ill, or we should, or the ticket would get lost, or the Citizen would develop a crisis. ◆ ◆ ◆ Even after we were in our seat we darkly suspected there would be a fire alarm. ◆ ◆ ◆ Well, it was worth it all, only we realize fear is bad form these days. ◆ ◆ ◆ Thrill number two was a lesser matter, a momentary glimpse of Lloyd George. ◆ ◆ ◆ We saw him, though we are not quite sure which one he was. That, however, we shall not tell our grandchildren. ◆ ◆ ◆ And the third was the infinitely weary voice of Woodrow Wilson from his home in Washington on the anniversary of the day with which he must forever be linked. ◆ ◆ ◆ We discover that in another incarnation we must have been a peasant in fear of the Cossack's knout or something like that, because of our terrific respect for policemen. ◆ ◆ ◆ It alarmed us when we were waiting for Lloyd George to be told to "keep moving" and we fully expected to have our briefcase searched for bombs. ◆ ◆ ◆ There seems to be a great deal of conversation going on about coffee—any amount of history and hints at campaigns against it. ◆ ◆ ◆ And it appears that the coffeehouses of England were once closed because they formed centers for "scandalizing great men" and spreading reports against the government. Later this "coffa-drink" was restored to its constitutional freedom, and praised for causing "a great sobriety among all nations." ◆ ◆ ◆ Speaking of food, may we mention that a waffle has been defined as a pancake with cleats?—that scientific study has disclosed why the holes in Swiss cheese are often too large?—and that cooking has been proclaimed the eighth art in France? ◆ ◆ ◆ That ancient skull found in California isn't doing so well. ◆ ◆ ◆ They've gone and lopped several thousand years off his age. California is being brave about it, though. ◆ ◆ ◆ And as for the rest of us, we can follow the researches of the archeologist who is hinting, from bone study, that Eve preceded Adam, or of the one who says the stone man had just about as much brain capacity as any one. ◆ ◆ ◆ We have a new clock with a bright little radio face, which you can see in the night if you have so strange a taste, though its bright little face usually fibs. ◆ ◆ ◆ And did you ever hear of the man who went to buy a clock (this is why we mentioned ours) and was told that the one he fancied would run eight days without winding. "For the love of Mike," he exclaimed, "how long would she run if you wound her?" ◆ ◆ ◆ Why should winding make us think of the near opening of Congress, we wonder? Anyway we yearn for our daily readings in the Congressional Record. Only we do think it ought to be indexed, daily. ◆ ◆ ◆ A college professor in Chicago has been trying out men and women with optical illusions, and he avers that women are often wrong and more often sure they are right. Now, what does that prove?

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